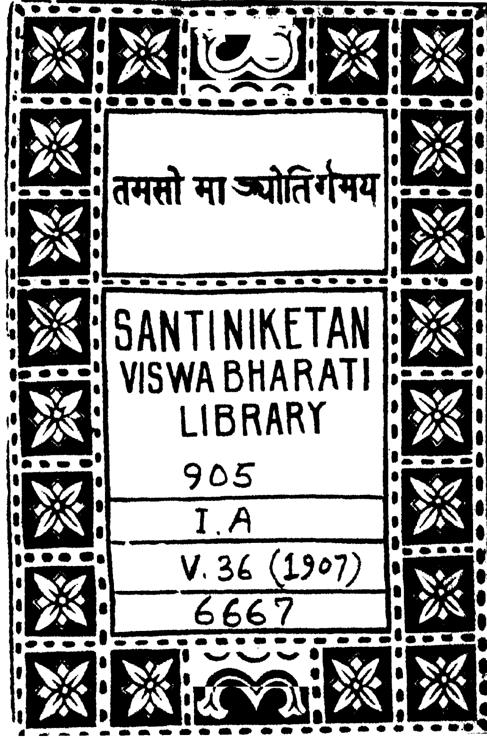


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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

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THE KHOKHARS AND THE GAKKHARS IN PANJAB HISTORY.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Introduction.

IN an article entitled *A History of the Gakk'hars*, contributed to the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1871, by Mr. J. G. Delmerick, the Khôkhars of the Muhammadan historians were taken to be the Gakkhars, a tribe which is settled in the Râwalpindî District of the Pañjâb. The late Major Raverty, however, expressed a strong opinion that the writer of the article had **confused the Gakkhars with the Khôkhars**, a totally distinct tribe, and a full examination of all the evidence at present readily accessible has convinced the present writer of the correctness of Major Raverty's position. The Khôkhars were settled in the Pañjâb centuries before the Gakkhars, and were early spread all over the central districts of the Province before the Gakkhars acquired their seats in the Salt Range, to which they are and always have been confined. If this thesis be correct, it follows that Farishta's description of the customs of **polyandry and female infanticide**, as practised by the tribe, **apply** not to the Gakkhars at all, but to the essentially Pañjâb tribe, **the Khôkhars.**

I. — THE HISTORY OF THE KHÔKHARS.

A. — An Account of the Traditional History of the Khôkhars, by a Khôkhar of Khokharain, in the Hoshiârpur District, Pañjâb.

Beorâsâhsâ,[1] who succeeded Jâmshîd, King of Persia, was called Dahâk or the 'Ten Calamities.' On his shoulders were two snake-like tumours, whence he was nick-named Mârân or Aydahâ by the Persians, and called Dahâk (or Zuhâk)[2] Mârân, while his descendants were designated **Tâk[3]-bansi, Nâg-bansi or Takshak.** About 1500 B. C. Kâma, the ironsmith, aided Farîdûn, a descendant of Jâmshîd, to subdue Dahâk, who was cast into the well of Koh Damavind, and Farîdûn became King of Persia. One of Dahâk's descendants, named **Bustâm** Râjâ, surnamed Kokrâ, was governor of the Pañjâb and had his capital at Kokrânâ, on a hill in the Chinhath Doâb, but it is now called Koh Kirânâ.[4] At the same time Mihrâb, also a descendant of Zuhâk, held Kâbul as a feudatory of Farîdûn.

After acquiring the Persian throne, Farîdûn marched against Dahâk's descendants. Bustâm fled and sought refuge in the Hill of Ghor, west of Qandahâr, where his people ruled for generations, being called Ghorî or Ghoriâ and all being pagans.

[1] Afrâsiâb. [2] Zuhâk is merely the Arabicised form of Dahâk. [3] Tâk for Dahâk.

[4] A singularly unsuccessful attempt to identify the isolated Kirânâ Hill, that in the Jhang District, with Kokrânâ by assuming that the syllable *ko-* was mistaken for the Persian *koh*, mountain, and dropped in the course of time — an utterly impossible suggestion.

Some years later Bustâm was murdered and some powerful Râjâ took possession of the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb, where Alexander found Takshail (Taxiles), founder of **Takshala (Taxila)**, now Dheri Shâhân in the Attock District. But before the Macedonian invasion **Kaid Râj**, King of Mârwâṛ, overran the Pañjâb in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, soon after Bustâm's murder. His capital was Bherâ on the Jhelam District and he also founded a fort at Jammû, which he entrusted to **Virk**[5] **Khôkhar**, one of his kinsmen. Virk, with his own tribesmen, conquered the northern hills, and then, in league with the hill-men of Kohât and the Sulaimân Hills, drove Kaid Râj out of the Pañjâb. **The Khôkhars**, under such chiefs as Jot, Sâlbâhan, Tâl, Bâl, Sirkap, Sirsuk, Vikram, Hodi Sândâ, Askap, Khôkhar (*sic*), Bâdal and Kob, thenceforward held the Pañjâb.

A long period after this, Bahrâm, Râjâ of Ghor, left Shorâb, which lay 100 miles from Qandahâr,[6] and, regaining the Kokrânâ territory, his hereditary province, he founded **Sharâb** to the east of the Kokrâna Hill. Another Râjâ of Ghor, named Zamîn Dâwar, founded yet another city 3 *kos* to the east of Shorâb and called it **Dâwar**, and this was laid waste by the Tartars, but the mound still exists. To the west of it lies the new town of Dâwar, which is still in possession of the tribe. Shorâb was destroyed by Sultân Mahmûd, and its ruins stand at the foot of the present Shorâbwâli Pahâri Hill.

Goriâ, the Kokrânâ Râjâ of Sharâb, was succeeded by his two sons **Bâdal**[7] and **Bharth**[8] and 11 others who were sons of handmaids. Bâdal succeeded to the upland tracts of Chiniot and Kokrânâ,[9] while Bharth took those east of the Chenâb. The latter, who dwelt in Bharth, a city named after himself, which lay 6 *kos* west of Nankânâ village, came, stone in hand, to aid his brother Bâdal Khân in battle; but learning that he had already fallen, he placed the stone on the ground and marched to avenge his loss. He was, however, worsted in the conflict, and Bharth, his city, destroyed. But the stone still lies on the hill. South of Chiniot Bâdal founded Mârî Tappâ, on a hill still so called. In the middle of the Chenâb he commenced a stone-fort and a masonry bridge which he never completed, but a wall of the fort, called the Bâdalgaṛh, still remains. With Dârâ, his beloved kinsman, Râjâ Bâdal Khân (*sic*) was assassinated on his way to Mârî Tappâ, some 3 *kos* from Chiniot, and here his tomb, called Bâdal Dârâ, still stands to the west of the village of Amîrpur.

Bharth's territory had extended as far as Gujrât, and he left 8 sons of whom 4 left issue. These were **Sândâ**, Hassan, Hussain, and Mahmûd. **Sândâ built a city**, **Sândar**, between the Râvî and the Dek streams, the ruins of which are still called Sândar-kâ-tibba in the (Pindî) Bhattiân tract. He ruled so justly that his dominion is still called the Sândar or **Sandal Bâr**.[10] He left 4 sons, **Mandâr**, Ratn Pâl, Bâlâ, and Jâl. From Ratn Pâl sprang the **Ribiân**,[11] a sept

[5] This is to account for the existence of the Virk, a powerful Jat tribe, still numerous in Gujrânwâlâ. It also seems to connect them with the Khôkhars.

[6] Eight or ten miles west of Qandahâr lies the village of Khokharân. The *kabits* of the bards record a Râjâ named Kokrâ, of Gaṛh Kokrânâ, now called Kadyâna.

[7] Bâdal would appear to be a Hindu name; *cf.* Rai Bâdal of Chittor: but lower down we find him called Bâdal Khân, the latter a Muhammadan title. It is curious to find Hindu and Muhammadan names mixed up in this history without apparent sense of incongruity. Thus below we have Ratn Pâl, undoubtedly a Hindu, descended from Sândâ, whose three brothers all bore Muhammadan names, even if Sândâ was himself a Hindu. Among the Meos of Gurgaon the position at the present time is precisely the same, and the present head of the Muhammadan Kharrals in the Lyallpur District is called Jagdeo.

[8] The name Bharth occurs elsewhere.

[9] It is unsafe to identify places like Kokrâna with the Khôkhars. Near Rohtak are the mounds called Khokrâ Kot, under which lie ancient cities, but the word Khokrâ has no connection with the Khôkhar tribe. (See *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 16.)

[10] But a local legend, recorded by Mr. E. D. Maclagan, says this Bâr is so named after one Sandal, a Chuhrâ, who used to commit great depredations. Another Chuhrâ used to live in the Gûn rock, *i. e.*, the rock with the 'cavern,' and eat men. The people sometimes called the Bâr, Tattar, *i. e.*, 'the Desert.'

[11] Probably the Ribâns, a tribe still found in Jhang District: see the *Jhang Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 61, where they are described as rulers in old days of the Kâlowâl tract, which once formed a part of the Siâl kingdom; (but they are not said to be a branch of the Khôkhars).

which has two branches, the **Nissowânâs**[12] and the **Bhikhâs**,[13] found in Shâhpur and Jhang. Kâlowâl was the headquarters of this sept. **Sultân Mandâr's descendants** are now found in **Bannu**, where they trace their origin to Kais Abdur-Rashîd, and are thus called **Mandâr Afghâns.** Mandâr himself prospered, kept in with the ruler of Kâbul and conquered the Kohistân-i-Namak and the Koh-i-Naudanâ. Of his twelve sons, three were legitimate, and of these three Rai Singin remained in the Kohistân-i-Namak and married his daughter to Sultân Jalâl'u'd-Dîn Khwârizmî, who made his son general of his own forces, with the title of Qutlugh-Khâni. The second son Ichhar founded **Ichhrâ** near Lahore, and the third was Mâchhî Khân, who became Râjâ of Chiniot, which was named from Chandan, his sister, who built a palace on the hill as a hunting lodge for her father. Mârî Tappâ was not then populated, but Andherî was flourishing, and north of it lay the *dhaular*,[14] or abode of Rânî Chandan, which was called Chandniot, now **Chiniot.** When Andherî was deserted, Mâchhi Khân[15] shifted his residence to the eastern bank of the river. Rai Singin had four sons: Sarpâl, Hast,[16] Vîr and Dâdan. Some of Sarpâl's sons went to Afghânistân and now trace their descent to Shâh Husain Ghori. Chuchak or Achu was sixth and Malik Shaikh seventh in descent, from Sarpâl, and the latter founded **Shaikha**, a fort, and **Dhankar**, a village in the hill of Bhâwân, north of Manglân, he and his father holding the hill-country and the tracts west of Gujrât. Malik Shaikhâ was appointed governor of Lahore by the king of Delhi, and Nusrat, his younger brother, opposed Tîmûr's invasion, with only 2,000 men, on the Biâs.

Malik Jasrat, son of Shaikhâ, is a historical personage. In 1442 A. D. he was murdered by his queen, a daughter of Bhîm Deo, Râjâ of Jammû, because her father had been put to death by the Malik. His descendants are found in Mârî and Shakârpur in Gujrât, at Malikwâl in Shâhpur, at Jasrat near Chiniot, and in Dhankar near Khângâh Dogrân.

The Tartars spared the territories of Sarpâl's descendants. After 1200 A. D.[17] they had burnt all the Khôkhar settlements on the Biâs and Sutlej. Râjâ Vîr Khân fled towards Multân, but returned and founded **Kângra, 9 kos from Chiniot,** east of the Chenâb, but soon moved towards the Biâs with Kâlu, his kinsman, who founded Kâluwâhan, now **Kâhnuwân**,[18] in Gurdâspur, on the right bank of the river. For himself Vîr chose a tract 32 *kos* south of Kâhnuwân, and there he founded **Vairowâl** in Tarn Târan, naming it after his son Vairo. Bhâro, another tribesman, founded **Bhârowâl** in the same tahsîl. Kulchandar, another Khôkhar, founded Mîrowâl, Mardânâ, Auliapur, &c., in **Siâlkot.** Râjâ Vîr Khân also founded a new Kângra midway between Kâhnuwân and Vairowâl. His territory was 40 *kos* in length, and the town extended 5 miles along the bank of the Biâs. At its north and south gates stood two forts or *mârîs*,[19] now occupied by Bhattî Râjputs[20] and Panuân Jats. On the ruins of this town now stands the small village of Kângra,[21] just opposite to Tahlî or Khokharain on the west

[12] The Nissowânas are also still to be found in Jhang — in the northern corner of Chiniot Tahsil: *Jhang Gazetteer*, p. 66.

[13] The Bhikhas I cannot trace.

[14] *Dhaular*, in Pañjâbi = palace (*lit.*, 'white house'?)

[15] This Machchhe Khân appears to be alluded to in the following ballad, which records the deeds of the Chaddrâ tribe of the Sandal Bâr:—

Modâ de Chiniôt leô ne.	(After their victory over the Kharrals the Chadrâ) with a push of the shoulder (*i. e.*, with a certain amount of trouble) took Chiniôt.
Zôr chhangêrâ lâeâ ne	They used more force.
Malik Machchhe Khân kutthô ne,	They killed Malik Machchhe Khân.
Ragraṇ rôk rulâeâ ne.	They harried and destroyed him.

[16] Hast: a Malik Hast is mentioned in Bâbar's *Memoirs* (Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. IV. pp. 236-237,) but no particulars regarding him appear to be given. Raverty mentions him and Sangar Khân as chiefs of the Janjûas and Jûds. — *Notes on Afghânistân*, p. 355.

[17] *c.* 600 A. H.

[18] Which place the Khôkhars are said to have held in Akbar's time.

[19] *Mârî* in Pañjâbi means a lofty house of masonry, or a small room erected on the roof of a house.

[20] Of the Buchâ *gôt*, whence the present village is called Mârî Buchiân.

[21] Kângrâ is close to Srî Hargobindpur.

bank of the Biâs, in Hoshîarpur. In the village is **the tomb of Ladahâ Khân, Khôkhar,** called the *pîr ghâzî*, at which offerings are still made. This *ghâzî's* head is said to be buried at Mandî Rohr, a village in Kapûrthalâ, 3 miles south of Tahlî, to which place it was carried by the stream when he was killed. Ladahâ Khân left seven sons, (i) Jago, whose descendants founded Dinamâl, Akâlgadhâ and Kotlî Sâra Khân in Amritsar, close to Bhârowâl and Vairowâl ; (ii) Rup Rai, whose sons founded Dând in Râyâ tahsîl, Siâlkoṭ ; (iii) Bego, who founded Begowâl and 16 villages, now in Kapûrthalâ ; (iv) Dasihan, the author's ancestor, who founded Khokharain[22] as his residence and 12 other villages : Jhân, who founded Balo Chak, naming it after his son Bâlo, with 9 more villages. As these *three* brothers owned in all 40 villages the tract was called the **Châliâ Khokharân.** Bhogrâ migrated to Murâdâbâd.

B. — The Khôkhars of the Muhammadan Historians of India.[23]

In 399 A. H. (1009 A. D.) the Gakkhars, by whom in all probability are meant the **Khôkhars,** then infidels, joined the Hindus who had collected under the leadership of **Anandpâl to resist the sixth invasion of India by Mahmûd.** Their number is said to have amounted to 30,000 men, who, with heads and feet bare, and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated the Muhammadan lines on two sides, and in a few minutes cut down three or four hundred Muhammadans.[24]

The earliest distinct mention of the Kôkars occurs in the *Tâju'l-Ma'âsir*, a history written in A. H. 602 (1205 A. D.),[25] which describes the revolt of the tribe or confederacy under the chiefs Bakan and Sarkî, which occurred upon a false report of the death of the **Sultân Muhammad of Ghor** having been put about by Aibak Bâk, who seized Multân.[26] The Kôkars raised the country between the Sôdra (Chenâb) and the Jhîlam and defeated the Muhammadan governor of Sangwân, who held a fief within the borders of Multân, but they were defeated by Qutbu'd-Dîn Ibak, and one of the sons of Kokar Rai escaped to a fort in the hill of Jûd, which was captured on the following day by the Sultân.[27]

The next mention of the Khôkars occurs in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, written about 658 A. H. (1259 A. D.).[28] It relates that **Muizzu'd-Din** in 581 A. H. (1185 A. D.) ravaged the territory of Lahore, and on his return homeward restored Siâlkoṭ, in which fortress he left a garrison, but as soon as his back was turned, Malik Khusrau, the last of the Ghaznivides, assembled the forces of Hindustan and a levy of the Khôkhar tribes and laid siege to Siâlkoṭ. This account is confirmed and amplified by *A History of the Râjâs of Jammun*, which says : — "The tribe of Khôkhar, who dwelt round about Manglan at the foot of the hills and were subject to the Jammû dynasty, having received encouragement from the Lahore ruler (Malik Khusrau), and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jammû and threw off its yoke." In return the Khôkhars then assisted Malik Khusrau in his attempt on Siâlkoṭ, whose garrison was befriended by the Jammû forces.[29]

The next notice of the Khôkhars in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî* is an important one, and confirms the account of the *Tâju'l-Ma'âsir*. It describes the confusion which arose in the Sultân's dominions on account of the rumour of his death, and states that the Khôkhars (and other tribes of the hills of Lahore and Jûd) broke out in rebellion in 602 H. and were defeated with great slaughter.[30] In this rebellion the Khôkhars appear to have been in alliance with the Rae Sâl, the ruler of the Salt Range, or Koh-i-Jûd, but it is not certain that Rae Sâl himself was a Khôkhar.

[22] Also called Tâhlî, because one of its quarters was so called from a *tâhli* or *shisham* tree.

[23] The following account is extracted from Elliot's *History of India*, cited as *E. H. I.*; from the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, Raverty's Translation, cited as *T. N.* ; and from the latter writer's *Notes on Afghânistân*.

[24] *E. H. I.* II. p. 447.

[25] *Ib.* p. 209.

[26] *Ib.* p. 233.

[27] *Ib.* p. 235.

[28] *Ib.* p. 264.

[29] *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 455 ; *cf.* p. 453, note 4 (Raverty suggests that Manglan is Makhiâla).

[30] *T. N.* p. 481 ; *cf.* 504.

In 620 H. (1223 A. D.) the **Sultân Jalâlu'd-Dîn**, driven from Ghaznî by the Chingiz Khân, who pursued him to the Indus, sought a refuge in the Pañjâb. He occupied Balala and Nikala[31] near Lahore, and, being too weak to advance on Delhi, sent a part of his army against the hills of Jûd. This force defeated the Khôkhar chief, and the Sultân obtained his daughter in marriage, whereupon the Khôkhar Rai[32] joined him with a considerable body of his tribe.

The Khôkhars had a longstanding feud with Kubâcha, governor of Sind (which then included the whole valley of the Indus below the Salt Range), and the Sultân's troops, under the guidance of the son of the Khôkhar chief, by a forced march, fell suddenly upon Kubâcha's camp near Uch and totally defeated him.

The Khôkhars, however, do not appear to have been confined to the country between the Jhîlam and the Chenâb, but to have also held a considerable tract *East* of the Biâs (and the good horses to be obtained in their *talwandîs* or settlements are often mentioned), for in 638 A. H. (1240 A. D.) we find them enlisted in the forces of the **Sultâna** (Queen) **Raziyyat** and her consort **Malik Ikhtiyâru'd-Dîn, Altûnia**, but they abandoned her after her defeat at Kaithal.[33]

After the sack of Lahore by the Mughals in 1241-42 A. D., "the Khôkhars and other Hindu Gabrs" seized it.[34] And in 1246-47 A. D. the future Sultân **Ghiyâsu'd-Dîn Balban** was sent against the Khôkhars into the Jûd Hills and Jhîlam.[35] The Khôkhars were apparently subjects of Jaspâl, Sihrâ.[36]

About this time **Sher Khân** reduced the Jats, Khôkhars, Bhaṭṭîs, Mînîs (Mînas), and Mandâhars under his sway,[37] apparently in or near his fief of Sunâm.

In 647 A. H. (1250 A. D.) the upper part of the Pañjâb appears to have been in the hands of the Mughals and Khôkhars,[38] but nothing more appears to be heard of them until the reign of **Muhammad Tughlaq Shâh**, when they again began to be troublesome, and in 1342-43 A. D. they revolted under their chief, Chandar. The governor of the Pañjâb, Malik Tâtâr Khân, had to march against them, and though he was able to subdue them for a time, they caused great disorders under the last Tughlaq kings of Dehli.[39]

We now come to the *Târîkh-i-Mubârak-Shâhî*, an imperfect manuscript, the history in which has had to be completed from the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, which copied from it. According to this history, the Khôkhar chief Shaikhâ[40] seized Lahore in 796 A. H. (1394 A. D.), and Prince Humâyûn, afterwards **Sikandar Shâh I.**, was to have been sent against him,[41] but his father, Muhammad Shâh III., dying suddenly, he was too occupied in securing the throne to set out on the expedition. Sikandar Shâh, however, only reigned some six weeks, and on his death **Sultân Mahmûd Shâh II.** succeeded him, but it was not for some months that Sârang Khân could be nominated by him to the fief of Dibâlpur and entrusted with the war against Shaikhâ. Sârang Khân took possession of Dibâlpur in June, and in September he advanced on Lahore with the forces of Multân, and, accompanied by the Bhaṭṭi and Main (Mîna) chiefs,[42] crossed the Sutlej at Tihâra and the Biâs at Dubâli. On hearing of Sârang Khân's advance, Shaikhâ Khôkhar invaded the territory of Dibâlpur and laid siege to Ajûdhan, but hearing that Sârang Khân had passed Hindupat and was investing Lahore, he returned hastily to that city and encountered Sârang Khân at Sâmuthalla, 12 *kos* from it. There he was defeated by Sârang

[31] Bankâla or Mankâla — *E. H. I.*, II. p. 553; *cf.* 563.

[32] Called Kokâr Sankâ, who had embraced Islâm in the time of Muhammad Ghorî — *ib.* p. 563; *T. N.* p. 294.

[33] *T. N.*, pp. 647-8, notes. [34] *Ib.* p. 656 n. [35] *Ib.* p. 678; *E. H. I.*, II. 347.

[36] *T. N.* p. 815. [37] *Ib.* p. 795. [38] *Ib.* p. 822.

[39] Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367. Farishta turns Chandar into Haidar. — Brigg's *Trans.* I. p. 425.

[40] Shaikhâ was the general name by which the chiefs of the tribes styled themselves, because "being Hindus by descent, they had become converts to Islâm." Hence Jasrath is often styled Jasrath Shaikhâ. — Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367.

[41] *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 272.

[42] *Ib.* p. 29. Dibâlpur is the ancient Deobâlpur and the modern Dipâlpur. Ajûdhan is the modern Pâkpattan.

Khân and fled to the hills of Jûd, while the victor took possession of Lahore. Four years later occurred the grim interlude of **Tîmûr's invasion.** Shaikhâ, says the historian, out of enmity to Sârang Khân, early joined Tîmûr and acted as his guide, in return for which he received mercy and honour,[43] but before Tîmûr left India he made Shaikhâ prisoner, and with him all his wives and children.

According to the histories of Tîmûr, however, the Khôkhars played a much more important part in the resistance offered to the invading armies of Tîmûr than the *Târîkh-i-Mubârak-Shâhî* is inclined to admit. In October 1398 A. D., Tîmûr halted at Jâl on the Biâs, opposite Shâhpur. Here he learnt that Nusrat of the tribe of Khôkhar was established in a fortress on the bank of a lake. He attacked Nusrat, and completely routed him, taking immense booty in cattle and burning Nusrat's residence. Nusrat himself was slain. Some of his followers escaped across the Biâs, which Tîmûr crossed, marching from Shâh Nawâz to Janjân, a few days later.[44] We next read of **Malik Shaikhâ** or Shaikh Kûkar, 'commander of the infidels,' who was defeated and slain by Tîmûr in the valley of Kûpila or Hardwâr.[45] The *Zafarnâma*, however, differs from this account. It mentions Alâu'd-Dîn as a deputy of Shaikh Kûkarî, who was sent as an envoy to Kûpila,[46] and describes the advance of a Malik Shaikhâ as being misreported as the advance of Shaikh Kûkarî, one of Tîmûr's faithful adherents, a mistake which enabled Malik Shaikhâ to attack Tîmûr unawares, though he was promptly repulsed and killed. Then we hear of Tîmûr's arrival at Jammû on his homeward march. In its neighbourhood he captured seven strongholds, belonging to the infidels, whose people had formerly paid the *jizya* or poll-tax to the Sultân of Hindûstân, but had for a long time past cast off their allegiance. One of these forts belonged to Malik Shaikh Kûkar, but, according to the *Zafarnâma*, the owner of this stronghold was Shaikhâ, a relation of Malik Shaikh Kûkar[47] (or Shaikhâ Kûkarî), which possibly makes the matter clear: — Nusrat, the Khôkhar, had been killed on the Biâs, after which his brother, Shaikhâ, submitted to Tîmûr, and was employed by him during his advance on Delhî.[48] The Malik Shaikhâ killed at Kupila was not a Khôkhar at all, but in Tîmûr's *Autobiography* he has become confused with Malik Shaikhâ the Khôkhar. Lastly, Malik Shaikhâ had a relative, probably a Khôkhar, who held a little fort near Jammû.[49]

After his arrest by Tîmûr, Shaikhâ disappears from history: but in 823 A. H. (1420 A. D.), or some twenty-two years later, **Jasrath (the son of) Shaikhâ** makes his entrance on the scene. In that year the king of Kashmîr marched into Sindh, and was attacked by Jasrath, who defeated him, took him prisoner, and captured all his *materiel*. Elated by this success, Jasrath, an independent rustic, began to have visions about Delhi. Hearing that Khizr Khân (whom Tîmûr had left in charge of Multân as his feudatory, and who had become Sultân of Delhi in all but name) was dead, he crossed the Biâs and Sutlej, defeated the Mîna leaders, and ravaged the country from Ludhiâna to Arûbar (Rupar).[50] Thence he proceeded to Jâlandhar, and encamped on the Biâs, while Zîrak Khân, the *amîr* of Samâna, retired into the fort. After

[43] *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 35. [44] *E. H. I.*, III. pp. 415-6. [45] *Ib.* pp. 455-6; *cf.* p. 510. [46] *Ib.* p. 505.

[47] According to the *Malfûzât-i-Tîmûrî*, Malik Shaikhâ Khôkhar was the brother of Nusrat Khôkhar, formerly governor of Lahore on the part of Sultân Mahmûd of Dehli. After Nusrat's defeat Shaikhâ Khôkhar had submitted to Tîmûr, and had accompanied him on his march to the Jamna, his influence being sufficient for him to obtain protection for his subjects from pillage by Tîmûr's army. Shaikhâ, however, obtained Tîmûr's leave to return to Lahore, where he soon incurred the suspicion of being lukewarm in Tîmûr's cause, and Tîmûr sent orders to arrest Shaikhâ and levy a ransom from Lahore. *E. H. I.*, III. p. 473. This account is confirmed by the *Zafarnâma*, which calls Nusrat Kûkarî brother of Shaikhâ Kûkarî — *ib.* p. 485. Raverty states that some authorities say that Shaikhâ died a natural death, while others allege that he was put to death, Jasrath being imprisoned in Samarqand. Some years later Jasrath was released and returned home. There he put to death Shâhî, his brother, and, seizing Jâlandhar and Kulânaur, began to aspire the sovereignty of Hind. — *Notes*, p. 368.

[48] *E. H. I.*, III. p. 520. [49] *Ib.* p. 467.

[50] *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 54. Raverty adds that he attacked Sirhind, but it was defended by Sultân Shâh Lodi and he failed to take it in 1421. — *Notes*, p. 368.

some negotiations it was agreed that the fort was to be evacuated and given up to Tûghân, the Turk-bacha (Jasrath's ally, who had taken refuge in his territories), while Jasrath was to pay tribute and return home. But as soon as Jasrath got Zîrak Khân into his camp, he detained him as a prisoner and carried him, securely guarded, to Ludhiâna, whence he marched to Sirhind. That fortress, however, defied all his attempts, and the **Sultân Mubârak Shâh**, advancing, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat on Ludhiâna, whence, having released Zîrak Khân, he crossed the Sutlej. The Sultân's forces then advanced as far as Ludhiâna, but were unable to cross the Sutlej, as Jasrath had secured all the boats. When the rains ceased, the Sultân withdrew to Kabûlpur,[51] and Jasrath made a similar movement, whereupon the Sultân sent a force to effect a crossing at Rûpar. Jasrath marched on a line parallel to this force, but it effected a crossing, and the Sultân then passed the river without opposition. Jasrath's followers then abandoned the opposition he had chosen without striking a blow, and their leader fled hastily to Ludhiâna, whence he crossed the Biâs, the Râvî, and finally, after the Sultân had crossed the latter river near Bhowa,[52] the Jânhâva (Chinâb). Jasrath now took refuge in his strongest place, Tekhar[53] in the hills, but Rai Bhîm[54] of Jammû guided the Sultân's forces to the stronghold, and it was captured and destroyed. Jasrath's power was, however, undiminished, for, as soon as the Sultân had returned to Delhi after restoring Lahore, he recrossed Chinâb and Râvî with a large force of horse and foot, and attacked Lahore and was only driven off after nearly five weeks' fighting round the fort. He then retreated on Kâlânaur to attack that stronghold, into which Rai Bhîm had thrown himself in order to relieve Lahore. After protracted fighting round Kâlânaur, Jasrath patched up a truce with Rai Bhîm and then went towards the Râvî, where he collected all the people of the territory of the Khôkhars, who were in alliance with him, but on the advance of an imperial army from Lahore, supported by one which advanced on the ford of Buhî, he again fled to Tekhar. The united forces of the Sultân now marched along the river Râvî and crossed it between Kâlânaur and Bhoh,[52] afterwards effecting a junction with Rai Bhîm on the confines of Jammû. These forces defeated some Khôkhars who had separated from Jasrath on the Chinâb.

In the following year (826 A. H. or 1423 A. D.) Jasrath defeated Rai Bhîm and captured most of his horses and *matériel*. The Rai himself was killed, and Jasrath now united himself to a small army of Mughals and invaded the territories of Dibâlpur and Lahore, but on the advance of the imperial leader he retired across the Chinâb.

After this the Khôkhars appear to have remained inactive for four or five years, but in 831 A. H. (1428 A. D.) Jasrath laid siege to Kâlânaur, and on advancing from Lahore to relieve the place, his old opponent, Sikandar Tuhfa, was defeated and had to retreat on Lahore. Jasrath then besieged Jâlandhar, but he was unable to reduce it, and so he retreated to Kâlânaur, carrying off the people of the neighbourhood as captives. Reinforcements were sent to Sikandar, but before they arrived, he had again advanced to Kâlânaur and united his forces with those of Rai Ghâlib of that town. These leaders then marched after Jasrath and completely defeated him at Kângrâ on the Biâs, recovering the spoils which he had gained at Jâlandar. Jasrath again took refuge in Tekhar.

In 835 A. H. (1431-2 A. D.), however, Jasrath descended from Telhar (Tekhar) and marched on Jâlandhar. Sikandar drew out of Lahore to intercept him, but incautiously allowed his small force to be attacked by Jasrath's superior numbers and was defeated and taken prisoner, some of his followers escaping to Jâlandhar. Jasrath in triumph marched on Lahore and laid siege to it, but it was vigorously defended by Sikandar's lieutenants, and on the Sultân's advancing to Sâmâna to its relief, he abandoned the siege, but kept Sikandar in captivity.[55]

[51] Kâbulpur (Raverty). [52] Not identified; possibly Bhowa and Bhoh are the same.

[53] Tharkar or Talhar in other historians. Farishta has Bisal, but that is on the Râvî. Raverty calls it Thankir. — *E. H. I.*, IV. pp. 55-6.

[54] Raverty calls this *Hindu* Râjâ of Jammu Rai Bhalîn, but adds that he was son-in-law of Ali Shâh of Kâshmîr, against whom Zainu'l-Abidîn, his brother, enlisted Jasrath's aid. The Khôkhars and their ally marched from Siâlkot against the Sultân, Ali Shâh, and defeated him prior to 1423 A. D. About this *time* the Gakkhars, under Malik Kad, wrested their conquests from Zainu'l-Abidîn.

[55] *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 74.

In 835 A. H. (1432 A. D.) Malik Allâhdâd was appointed feudatory of Lahore, but he was promptly attacked on his arrival at Jâlandhar by Jasrath, defeated and compelled to seek a refuge in the hills of Kothî.[56]

In 840 A. H. (1436 A. D.) the Sultân Muhammad Shâh sent an expedition against Shaikhâ (*sic*) Khôkhar, which ravaged his territories.[57]

In 845 A. H. (1441 A. D.) the Sultân conferred Dibâlpur and Lahore on Bahlol Khân and sent him against Jasrath, but Jasrath made peace with him and flattered him with hopes of the throne of Delhi.[58] After this the Khôkhar power declined, owing to causes of which we know nothing.

In the time of **Akbar** the Khôkhars held 5 out of 52 *mahâlls* in the Lahore *sarkâr* in the Bârî Doâb, and 7 out of 21 *parganas* in the Chinhath Doâb, with one *mahâll* each in the Bist-Jâlandhar and Rachna Doâbs. In the Dibâlpur *sarkâr* of Multân they held 3 out of 10 *mahâlls* in the Bîst-Jâlandhar Doâb, and one in the Berûn-i-Panjnad, west of the Indus. Raverty puts their population then at more than 200,000 souls.[59]

It must be confessed that the above notes leave the question of the origin of the Khokhars precisely where it stood. In an account of the Kâtil Râjputs from Gurdâspur it is said that some of the (earliest) converts to Islâm became known as Khokhars, but further on it says: "One of our ancestors settled in the fort of Mangla Devi in the Jammu State and then took possession of Kharipur. *Hence* his descendants became known as Khokhars," after being converted to Islâm in the time of Mahmûd of Ghaznî. And further on it says that Kâtils do not intermarry with Khokhars, because the latter are of their blood, and are descendants of Kâtils by Muhammadan wives.

II. — A HISTORY OF THE GAKKHARS.

The Gakkhars do not appear, *eo nomine*, in history until the time of the emperor **Bâbar.** Their country, says the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, lies on the Indus, well known as the Nilâb, and the territory from the Siwâlik hills to the borders of Kashmîr has been *from all times* in their possession, though other tribes, such as the Kharî,[60] Janûba, Jatriya, Bhûkyâl (Bhûgiâ) and Jat, dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakkhars. In the *Tûzak-i-Bâbarî*, Bâbar describes the hill-country between the Nilâb and Bahra (Bhera), as inhabited by the Jats, Gujars, and many other similar tribes under a Gakkhar *hâkim* or ruler, their government much resembling that of the Jûd and Janjûha and the lands adjoining the hill-country of Kashmîr. The government in this time was held by Tâtâr and Hâtî, Gakkhars, who were cousins.[61] Tâtâr's stronghold was Parhâlah. Hâtî's country was close adjoining the hills. Hâtî was in alliance with Bâbâ Khân, who held Kâlinjar,[62] Tâtâr was in a certain way subject to Daulat Khân (the governor of the Pañjâb), while Hâtî remained independent. Tâtâr, at the instance of the *amîrs* of Hindustân (the Delhi kingdom) and in conjunction with them, was keeping Hâtî in a state of blockade in some sort, when Hâtî, by a stratagem, made a sudden advance, surprised Tâtâr, slew him and took his country. He then sent on Parbat, his relation, to Bâbar with a contribution by way of tribute, but the envoy went to Bâbar's main camp and thus missed the expedition which had already set out for Parhâla.

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56 *E. H. I.*, IV. p. 75.

57 *Ib.* p. 85: Jasrath must be meant.

58 *Ib.* pp. 85-6.

59 *Notes*, pp. 366-67. The Khôkhars of the Jâlandhar District do not mention Jasrath, but only date their settlement there from the time of the Sayyid kings. Mr. Purser (*Jullundur Settlement Report*, p. 16) says this is negative evidence that Jasrath was a Gakkhar, but he refers to Major Waterfield's *Gujrât Settlement Report*, in which the Khôkhars are quite correctly put down as descended from Jasrath, "who, with Bharat, took Jammû, when in Timûr's service," and afterwards settled in the Gujrât District. — See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, I. p. 141.

60 Possibly the Khattars.

61 Abu'l-Fazl says that in the time of Zainu'l-Âbidîn of Kashmir, Malik Kad, one of the nobles of Ghaznî, dispossessed the Kashmiris of the tract between the Jhelum and the Indus. He was succeeded by: (1) Malik Kalân, his son; Bîr, his grandson; Tâtâr, the opponent of Sher Khân and Salîm Khân, who had two sons, Sultâns Sârang and Adam. — Raverty's *Notes*, p. 366. Sârang's sons were Kamâl and Sa'îd.

62 Kâlinjar lies west of the Indus near Swâbî. — Raverty's *Notes*, p. 274.

Bâbar, at this stage, arrived from Bahra on his way to Kâbul, and, instigated by the Janjûhas, old enemies of the Gakkhars, attacked Parhâla, which he took, Hâtî seeking safety in flight. Bâbar's guide to Barhâla was Sûrpa, Sarpa or Saropa, Gujar, a servant of the Malik Hast,[63] whose father had been slain by Hâtî. Hâtî now submitted to Bâbar.[64]

After the Afghâns, headed by **Sher Shâh,** had recovered their power in India and expelled Humâyûn after Bâbar's death, the Sultân Sher Shâh made over the Ninduna *pargana* to Ismâ'îl Khân Balôch in return for the Sarwânî territory, which had been usurped by the Baloches and which he restored to Shaikh Bayazîd Kalkapûr Sarwânî, its rightful owner.[65] Sher Shâh also marched through all the hills of Padmân and Garjâk[66] (or Girjhâk Ninduna[67]), and selected a site for the great fortress of Rohtâs, which was designed both to hold in check the Gakkhars and restrain the Mughal invasions. The Gakkhars, however, prevented Tôdar Khatrî, who was in charge of the work, from obtaining labour, and it was only by offering exorbitant pay that the Gakkhars were tempted to flock to the work.[68] Sher Shâh, moreover, sent a force against Rai Sârang, the Gakkhar, and subdued his country, plundering also the hill of Balnâo. Rai Sârang's daughter was captured and given to Khawâs Khân, one of Sher Khân's nobles,[69] while the Rai himself, having surrendered or being taken prisoner, was flayed alive.[70] His son Kamâl Khân was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior,[71] in the Siwâliks. Rohtâs was then committed to the care of Hâbîb Khân Niâzî and other leaders, 30,000 horse being kept in its neighbourhood to hold in check Kashmîr and the Gakkhar country.[72] Rohtâs appear to have been thus partially built in 1540 A. D., but it was not completed till eight or ten years later.

In 955 A. H. (1548 A. D.) the Niâzîs, defeated by the troops of Sultân Islâm or **Salim Shâh Sur,** fled for refuge to the Gakkhars' territory.[73] Upon this, Islâm Shâh advanced on Rohtâs, the completion of which he urged forward with much earnestness, and which work was carried out in not less than two years, amidst incessant and desperate fighting with the tribe. **Sultân Âdam** eventually sued for peace and agreed to compel the Niâzîs to quit his territories.[74] Salîm Shâh also released Kamâl Khân, son of Rai Sârang, and appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Pañjâb, in the subjugation of the Gakkhar territory.[75]

In 1552 A. D. Kâmrân, driven from Kâbul by **Humâyûn,** sought a refuge in the territories of Sultân Âdam, who had succeeded his brother Sârang, but that chief sent word to the emperor Humâyûn that he was willing to acknowledge his authority and deliver Kâmrân into his hands. Kâmrân, however, took refuge with the Sultân Salîm Shâh, on Humâyûn's advancing to Dinkot on the Indus,[76] but, failing to obtain any assistance in the Pañjâb, he returned in disguise to the Gakkhar territory on his way to Kâbul, and rashly disclosed his identity to Sultân Âdam, who surrendered him to Humâyûn, and he was blinded (September 1553 A. D.).[77] Humâyûn now marched against Pirâna, a chief of the Janjûha tribe, who held a strong fort in the Bhîra (Bherâ) country and secured his surrender, handing his territory over to Sultân Âdam.[78]

After the restoration of Humâyûn, Kamâl Khân, son of Rai Sârang, was given half the territories held by his uncle (Sultân) Âdam Khân.[79] Âdam Khân resisted this mandate and a royal army had to be sent to enforce it. Âdam Khân was defeated and captured and his son fled into Kashmîr, but was subsequently taken also. **Kamâl Khân** then became sole chief of the Gakkhars and he detained Âdam Khân in captivity till his death.[80]

In **Akbar's reign** the Gakkhars held 7 out of 42 *mahâlls* in the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb of the Lahore *sarkar*.[81]

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[63] Who the Malik Hast was does not appear. See note 16, *supra*. [64] *E. H. I.*, IV. pp. 234-8.

[65] *Ib.* p. 389. [66] *Ib.* p. 390. [67] *Ib.* V. p. 114. [68] *Ib.* V. p. 115.

[69] *Ib.* V. p. 114, and IV. p. 390. A *Song of Khwâs Khân* is under publication in this Journal, and the present writer hopes to publish shortly a very curious legend connecting him with the shrine of Shâh Daulâ in Gujrât.

[70] *Ib.* V. p. 114. The *Târîkh-i-Dâûdî* says that Sâlîm Shâh captured Sârang Sultân and had him flayed alive. —*Ib.* IV. 493.

[71] Probably Kahlûr of the hills, *i. e.*, the old capital of the State of Kahlûr or Bilâspur in the Simlâ hills.

[72] *E. H. I.*, IV. pp. 390 and 415. [73] Erskine, II. p. 462; *cf.* p. 419. [74] Erskine, II. pp. 465-6.

[75] *E. H. I.*, V. p. 279. [76] *Ib.* V., pp. 278-9. Erskine, *Baber and Humayoon*, II. 407. [77] Elphinstone, p. 470.

[78] Erskine, II. p. 419. [79] *E. H. I.*, V. p. 279. [80] *Ib.* p. 280. [81] Raverty's *Notes*, p. 367.

AHMAD SHAH, ABDALI, AND THE INDIAN WAZIR, 'IMAD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

THE following narrative is taken from a Persian manuscript, being the third of four works bound together in a small quarto volume which I bought at Quaritch's some ten or twelve years ago. The other tracts are :—(1) *Inshāe Miram*, copied Ṣafar 1198 H. (Dec. 1783) ; (2) *Inshāe 'Abdullah*, copied at Lakhnau, Rafī' I., 1198 H. (Feb. 1784) ; (3) the present narrative ; (4) a fragment of Mḥd. Aḥsān, Ma'ānī Yāb Khān (Ījād), Samānawī's *Farrukh-nāmah*. This fragment carries on this rare work to some date in 1128 H. (1716), that is, much farther than either B. Museum MS. Oriental, No. 25 (Rieu, 273), or the twenty-five folios of it in the Münich MS., No. 265 (Joseph Aumer, 'Catalogue,' 1866, p. 97).

The volume has on the flyleaf a list of contents in English, in an 18th century handwriting which I have seen elsewhere ; I think it is that of Jonathan Scott, Polier, or W. Francklin. Some one has noted that the initials "W. O." on the same flyleaf are those of Sir William Ouseley, presumably a former owner. The book was No. 387 in the bookseller, W. Straker's Catalogue of 1836, and in 1839 it belonged to Dr. John Lee of 5 Doctors' Commons, by whom it was lent to B. Dorn, when his 'History of the Afghans' was in preparation for the Oriental Translation Fund.

The account of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's incursion into India in 1757, as here presented, is one of three notable contributions to Indian history of the 18th century, for which we are indebted to the initiative of Captain Jonathan Scott ; and so far as I recollect, not one of them is referred to in the article devoted to him in the "Dictionary of National Biography." The other two works are :—(1) *Ḥadīqat-ul-aqālīm*, by Shekh Murtazā Ḥusain, Bilgrāmī, surnamed Allahyār Sānī, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Moortuza Hosain" ; (2) *Shahādat-i-Farrukhsiyar wa Jūlus-i-Muhammad Shāh*, by Mirzā Muḥammad Bakhsh, Ashob.

Ṣamīn is the author of *Sharāif-i-'usmānī*, a history of Bilgrām Shekh families written as a counterblast to Ghulām 'Alī, Āzād's *Ma,āsir-ul-kirām fī tārīkh-i Bilgrām*, a panegyric of the Saiyid families there. He pours fine scorn on Āzād, who was a *Samdhanī*, though he calls himself a *Bilgrāmī* ; that is, his mother was of Bilgrām, but his father Muhammad Nūh was of Samdhan, an obscure village on the other side of the Ganges, between Farrukhābād and Qannauj. In the *Sharā,if* (my copy, page 255) we find that Ghulām Ḥasan, poetically Ṣamīn, Ṣadīqī, Farshūrī, Bilgrāmī, was the son of Shekh Ghulām Ḥusain, son of Qāẓī Faizullah of Bilgrām (now in the Hardoī district). He was born about 1129 H. (1716-17) and had a brother called Muḥammad Ṣadīq (poetically Sukhanwar). He traces his descent in the 37th degree from Abī Bakr, Ṣadīq ; and for 25 generations his ancestors had been *qāẓīs* of Bilgrām. Up to 1179 H. (1765-6) Ṣamīn had three sons and two daughters. The present narrative shows that he was alive in 1197 H. (1782-3). I have found no record of his death.

I think the story here given is of great historical value, as it furnishes us with a first-hand account of actual events. The doings of Aḥmad Shāh in India, except those leading up to the crowning victory of Pānīpat in January 1761, are elsewhere recorded for the most part in a vague, confused manner. Many points are cleared up by Ṣamīn's story, and it helps to do for Aḥmad Shāh's Indian record, what Dr. Oskar Mann has done so brilliantly for his non-Indian conquests, in a series of articles in the Z. D. M. G. for 1898. The intercalated narrative of 'Imād-ul-mulk's marriage troubles is new and curious ; and it throws further light on the character of Mu'īn-ul-mulk's widow, the disagreeable traits in which are largely depicted in Ghulām 'Alī Khān's *Muqaddamah* and the autobiography of her husband's house-slave, Mirzā Tahmāsp, Miskīn.

God the Helper, — In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. — and may the end be favorable.

After praises and prayer, this humble slave (May God impress truth on him) Ghulām Hasan, Ṣamīn, (God pardon him and his connections) states that in the year 1197 after the Holy Flight of the Prophet (the Protection of God be upon him, and Peace), at the instigation of a friend, Shekh Allahyār, Bahādur (May God on High save him), son of Shekh Allahyār, the martyr;[1] I arrived in the town of Allahābād, and was introduced to the extremely improving audience of the Lord of Benefits, Captain Jonathan Scott, Bahādur, (May his Good Fortune endure). The beauty of his condescension is more than can be brought forth by the strength of this wounded pen. (Verse.)

Kih dūrad ham chū ū luṭf wa sakhā wa shafkat wa aḥsān,	"Who like him has grace, liberality, affection, kindness,
Dil-i-khurram, rukh-i-zībā, lab-i-shīrīn, jabīn-i-anwar;	"A joyous heart, a handsome face, sweet speech, an ample brow;
Zi shukr-i-madh wa akhlāq-i-karīm-i-ū farū mānd,	"I fail in recounting his praise and his gracious manners,
Zabān 'ājiz, khirad ḥairān, sukhan qāṣir, qalam muẓṭarr;	"My tongue stammers, my wits wander, my words suffice not, my pen stumbles;
Sāzad gar man warā dā,im ba ṭaba' khūsh zi jān-o-dil,	"If for ever I could do what my heart and soul desire
Kunam khidmat, buram farmān, niham gardan, shawam kih tar.	"I should serve him, obey him, bow before him, be his humble servant."

In the said year 1197 H. (1782-83) by order of the said Captain Ṣāḥib, I wrote something of the doings of Aḥmad Shāh, the Abdālī king, when long ago, in the year 1169 H. (1755-6), he (Aḥmad Shāh) entered the capital, Shāhjahānābād. It was then the reign of 'Azīz-ud-dīn, emperor of Hind, entitled 'Ālamgīr Sānī. All these events the writer beheld with his own eyes; and I now reduce them to writing. Owing to the haste in which I write, I have paid no heed to elegance or style or the employment of metaphor. In spite of scantiness of acquisition and absence of ability, I have not been afraid to become the submissive carrier-out of that Ṣāḥib's orders.

Be it known then, wherever the tongue of the pen mentions "Shāhan Shāh," it means Aḥmad Shāh, king of the Abdālī, and the words "Emperor of Hind" indicate 'Azīz-ud-dīn, 'Ālamgīr II.; and where the phrase "Great Wazīr" occurs, Shāh Walī Khān, the minister of the Abdālī, is intended. By "'Imād-ul-mulk" is meant Nawab Ghiyāz-ud-dīn, minister of the emperor of Hind and grandson of Nawāb Niẓām-ul-mulk. By "Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang" is meant Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, ruler of Farrukhābād; and "Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah" means the son of Nawāb Abu,l Manṣūr Khān, Bahādur, Ṣafdar Jang, *nāẓim* of the *ṣūbah* of Akhtarnagar Audh.

ACCOUNT OF SAIYID SHER ANDĀZ KHĀN.

Be it remembered that the writer, in order to gain his livelihood, was for several years with that Protector of Saiyids, one Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (poetically, Sayyāḥ), bearing the title of Sher Andāz Khān Bahādur, an employé of the late Nawāb Ṣafdar Jang already mentioned. He was on duty in attendance upon Nawāb Ẓafar Jang, Khān Zamān Khān Bahādur, 'Alī Qulī Khān, Dāghistānī (poetically, Wālih), and nicknamed the "Six-fingered."

[1] "The martyr," he was killed in battle on Oct. 20, 1730, outside Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt. He was chief commander under Surbuland Khan, the governor, who fought his successor in the government, Rājah Abhai Singh of Jodhpur.

The deceased Saiyid (Sher Andāz Khān) was a native of the town Shāhī, which lies between the towns of Barelī and Pīlībhīt. He was exceptionally well-instructed in all sciences, unequalled in valour, generosity and enterprise. At the age of twelve the Saiyid left his country of origin to obtain instruction, and was for nearly two and a half years in the house of this poor one's respected grandfather, with whom he read Arabic as far as the Sharḥ of the Mullā. After that time he went to the town of Ṣaifīpur,[2] the honoured burial-place of the venerable Shāh Ṣaifī, and there the then occupier of the seat of authority, Miyān 'Abdullah Ṣāḥib, adopted him as his son.

After the lapse of some time the Saiyid became anxious to make the journey to the Hajāz and other places of pilgrimage. Accordingly with this intent he quitted Ṣaifīpur, and binding the skirt of enterprise round the middle of his heart, he made for the regions of 'Arabistān, and by the special grace of the Lord was honoured by a visit to the Holy Ka'bah, Luminous Madīnah, Holy Najaf, Exalted Karbalā, Mashhad the Pure, and other places.

When he came back to Hindūstān Nawāb Ṣafdar Jang urged him to take service and dealt with him honorably. In this space of time the Saiyid was a noted man of the age, honoured and valued by mighty sovereigns, famed *wazīrs*, and high nobles. After Ṣafdar Jang came Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and he, too, omitted no detail of honour and respect.

Then in the year 1173 H. (1759-60) for the second [? third] time the Abdālī king came from Wilāyat to Hindūstān, and rooted out the Infidel, that is to say, Rājah Bhāo and others of the Mahrattah armies. At this period the deceased Saiyid was in the service of Nawāb Ghazaufar Jang, Aḥmad Khān Bangash, ruler of Farrukhābād. At the invitation of the Abdālī king, Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, sent the deceased (Sher Andāz Khān) to see Rājah Bhāo, leader of the Mahrattahs to conduct certain negotiations.

The Saiyid, having to some extent settled the business with the Mahrattah leaders, was returning to the Abdālī king's camp. On his way he was passing through the *parganahs* of the Jāṭ. There the control on behalf of Najīb Khān was in the hands of Sa'ādat Khān, Afrīdī Afghān. On hearing [of the Saiyid's arrival] this man sent a message. "In God's name come and stay, even for an hour or so, with me. I have something of importance to tell you."

The Saiyid turned off his road and with a limited retinue went to visit the said Khān (Sa'ādat Khān, Afrīdī). The Khān then asked the Saiyid to tell the Abdālī Shāh that the army of the accursed Jāṭ was very numerous, while he (Sa'ādat Khān) had a very small force. He hoped that troops would be sent by His Majesty to reinforce him. The conversation was still going on, when a spy came to say that a force of Jāṭs, nearly 7,000 horsemen, was within a distance of two *kos*, and would be soon close to them. The Khān (Sa'ādat Khān) ordered his troops, one thousand horse and foot all told, to prepare for a fight. To the Mīr Ṣāḥib he said: "Let the gentleman withdraw "to his own camp." The Mīr Ṣāḥib replied: "I am a Saiyid, I do not turn my face from a battle-"field. Above all, when it is for a Musulmān, as you are. For God's cause you had called me "here; and, by God, to yield up my breath for you will be accounted martyrdom."

So saying he urged his horse on to the field, and began a stout contest with the infidels and defeated them. The infidels, who were advancing boldly, were beaten back. At this point another body came out of the same force and discharged their arrows and fired their matchlocks; the Saiyid was wounded in the right thigh. To this he paid no heed, but pressed like another Rustam on the accursed foe, broke their ranks, and cut off four men's heads. He also sustained three or four sword wounds himself on his right arm and shoulder. He continued the contest and cut down several other men. Accordingly, the accursed ones could not resist and took to flight, and he was the winner of a great victory. The Saiyid, followed by two of his horsemen, started in pursuit of the infidels. Then about one hundred horsemen of the infidel's force appeared on his right flank, surrounding him and his two men. The Saiyid was wounded several times with lance and arrow

[2] The Safipur of the "Oudh Gazetteer," III. 281; it is in the Unao district.

and sabre. At length a sword-cut took him on the right side and cut through him to the opposite side; he fell from his horse to the ground. Immediately after this the enemy's force disappeared. God also willed that the two troopers, too, should become martyrs. At that time heavy rain came on and both sides retreated to their own quarters.

When the news reached the other followers of that Saiyid received into Mercy, who were encamped at a distance of three *kos*, they returned the next morning and carried the Saiyid back from the place where he fell to the previous camping ground. They say his body had on it fourteen sword and lance wounds between his waist and head, besides two matchlock wounds, one on the right thigh, and the other on the left foot. *Anā,llāh wa anā 'ilaihī rāj'ūn.*

In that year [1173 H. 1759-60] the writer was in the service of Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, son of 'Alī Muhammad Khān, Rohelah. At that period Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, on the advice of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and others, had, at the request of the Abdālī Shāh, left the town of Sambhal in his dominions, and was encamped five *kos* off at the town of Hasanpur. On hearing of the martyrdom of the Saiyid, the writer composed a chronogram, of which the line containing the date is as follows (*Misra'*) :—

Ba rāh-i-haqq shahīd-i-akbar shudah, āh! (Year 1173 H.).

THE NARRATIVE RETURNS TO THE EVENTS IN 1169 H. (1755-56).

I return to my narrative. When the said deceased Saiyid in the year 1169 (1755-6) left Shujā'-ud-daulah, and had to search for a livelihood, he was summoned to Farrukhābād by Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang. The Saiyid took the writer with him.

In that same year the Abdālī Shāh came from Wilāyat *viâ* Kābul and entered Shāhjahānābād, causing throughout Hindūstān a great convulsion. In all directions the *zamīndārs* raised their heads in rebellion and blocked the traffic on all the roads. At that time the rescripts of the Abdālī Shāh, which in their official language are called *raqam*, arrived one after another, calling for the attendance of Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang with the greatest insistence. Quick-riding horsemen of the Shāh's, they are called *chapar*, brought these despatches to Farrukhābād. Their tenour was as follows. As soon as the Shāh's order (*raqam*) had been perused, he (Ghazanfar Jang) must start for the Shāh's Presence, where he would be the recipient of kingly favours. In case of any delay, he might rely on the arrival of an avenging army, "which will seize thee in whatever condition thou mayest be found, and drag "thee to the Exalted Camp, and deliver thee there: and I shall issue an order for thy territory "to be ravaged and plundered. It is necessary that in person thou come hastily and at once "with thy army and thy treasure to Our Presence."

As is usual in Hindūstān, Ghazanfar Jang erected a *farmān-bārī* tent of scarlet cloth outside Farrukhābād at the distance of one *kos*, while he himself advanced two *kos* beyond the tent to receive the *farmān*. He conducted the despatch-riders with all due ceremony to the reception tent. There he first placed the Shāh's letter (*raqam*) upon his head, and then read it and ascertained the contents. In this manner for four days in succession, and without any interval, did letters from the Shāh arrive at Farrukhābād. Every day Ghazanfar Jang mounted and went out to receive them and bring them to the Tent of Honour, where he inspected them and read them.

From this cause the Nawāb fell into somewhat of a perturbation and perplexity, forcing him to reflect on many things. He had "neither legs to run away nor strength to go forward" (*Nah pāe gurekhtan wa nah yārāe raftan*). He therefore called together all the heads of his army and demanded their advice. He asked what their opinion was, what plan should be resorted to, and what should be devised. For he had no treasure, nor was his army such that he could lift his head in opposition to any one, nor had he any strong fortress in the vicinity of Farrukhābād where he could place his family in security. In addition, the Mahrattah armies

were present in great numbers, moving to and fro in his territories. Over and above all this, Shujā'-ud-daulah's heart was turned against him, because he had procured the betrothal of 'Alī Qulī Khān's daughter to 'Imād-ul-mulk. "While I myself [*i. e.*, Ghazan ar Jang] am lame "and thus useless. If perchance the Shāh's army arrives here and carries me off to his "head-quarters, my country will be devastated and destroyed. After that calamity, what "possibility is there of again restoring it to prosperity. For on every side are powerful enemies, "lords of treasure and of armies, who dwell on the confines of my territories. In this state of "things, what remedy is there?"

Previously, during the invasion of Nādir Shāh, the inhabitants of Hindūstān had seen and heard of the general slaughter and the plundering and destruction of Shāhjahānābād. Moreover, these Afghāns round about Farrukhābād had, subsequent to Nādir Shāh's time, been badly handled by Nawāb Safdar Jang, being ruined and reduced to poverty, and forced to flee to the hill regions. Thus they were at a loss what answer to give, each one of them lost hand and foot [became helpless] and brought to their lips silly words. But some of them who were famed for judgment and wise planning, represented as follows.

The advisable thing is that Your Excellency march two or three stages in the direction of Shāhjahānābād, and fix on some place for several halts. When these days of halting have passed, you should again march two or three *kos* and once more halt. In this manner the Shāh [Abdālī] will become aware that you are coming to join him and will send no army. Should a force arrive, it will come to join itself to yours. You should leave troops in Farrukhābād to protect your women and family; then, if anything happens, these men can carry off your family to the hills.

To sum up: nothing was decided on, which could allay Ghazanfar Jang's anxieties: fear and dread fell upon every one's heart, both gentle and simple. Great and little men, they all engaged in making plans for flight. Ghazanfar Jang neither ate nor slept.

In the end Mīr Sher Andāz Khān, who has already been spoken of, represented that to his imperfect understanding the following scheme had presented itself. Let a trusty person from the Nawab's entourage be sent to interview the Shāh; let him be provided with letters and petitions to the Shāh and the chief Wazīr, setting forth in detail his (Ahmad Khān's) position, the power of the Mahrattahs, his enemies, and their occupation of his lands. If this faithful one [Sher Andāz Khān] were thought worthy of this task, Please God Most High! he would return having arranged all these points favourably, or obtain even a little more.

After much discussion and considerable reflection, the above proposal was accepted as wise and prudent. The Mīr Sāhib was to be despatched with some presents and rarities. Accordingly, they collected 101 gold coins, one thousand rupees struck at Farrukhābād, twenty lengths of gold brocade (*kamkhwāb*), seven pairs of shawls, twenty lengths of figured cloth (*mashrū*), and forty silk, scarves with drawn-thread work (*kashidah*) designs on them. These last are in length and breadth the size of a shawl: they are the product of Mhu town.[3] All these things were sent as an offering to the Shāh. There were also five lengths of *kamkhwāb* brocade, two pairs of shawls, ten lengths of figured cloth (*mashrū*), forty yards (*dirā'*) of green and scarlet broad-cloth and ten Mau scarves; all for the chief minister, namely, Shāh Walī Khān. Four lengths of *kamkhwāb*, two pairs of shawls, seven scarves from Mau; these were to be given to Jangbāz Khān, Bangash, one of the famed nobles and a commander over 5,000 horsemen. This man was of Ghazanfar Jang's own tribe; and, owing to his excessive valour, the Shāh had been pleased to proclaim him as his own son.

When all these things had been collected, the Mīr Sāhib was sent off with bags containing the petitions and papers, stating the objects sought. One Ahmad Khān, a petty officer, was sent with him, because he knew the Afghān and Turkī languages. The said Khān joined singly

[3] Mau is 16 miles W. of Farrukhābād.

and marched with the Mīr, leaving his regiment at Farrukhābād. The first day's halt was made in the *Sarāe* at Atāīpur.[4] Through fear of the villagers and of thieves, every one had run away and our whole night was passed in watching.

Next day we were at Qādirganj,[5] which is situated on the edge of the Ganges and was founded by Shujā'at Khān. We rested there. Next morning we crossed the river (Ganges) and reached the town of Bisaulī, founded by Donde Khān Rohelah. The Mīr Sāhib went to interview Donde Khān.[6] As it happened, on that day Mullā Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, was present. He said that Ahmad Khān (Bangash) was their sovereign, but when he had taken opium he invented silly ideas. "Your prey is not caught every time. He does not render thanks to God "sufficiently, the Most High having protected him from the hands of the Īrānīs[7] and brought "him back from the hills and set him up again at Farrukhābād."

The Mīr Sāhib said: "It is for that reason that I have appeared here, so that what you "advise can be put into execution." Sardār Khān replied: "There is no harm in your going, "for Najib Khān has written to me that the Shāh has mentioned repeatedly that he had come "to uphold Islām, above all, to support the Afghān clans, whose territories have been occupied "by the unbelieving Mahrattahs. Since Ahmad Khān, too, is an Afghān, he (the Shāh) will "undoubtedly bestow attention on his circumstances. But where has Ahmad Khān the troops "and the treasure, that he can cope successfully with the difficult undertakings that are ahead "of him. Without a large and powerful force it will be impossible to expel the Mahrattahs. "The Shāh has come to Hindūstān on this occasion, but he will not remain here."

Donde Khān entertained the Mīr Sāhib as his guest for one day, and gave him an attendant (*jilwadār*) by way of escort, to accompany him to his boundary and then return.

Thus after three days we reached *parganah* Baran, which is known as Ūnchah-ganw.[8] There one Karam Khān was *faujdar* on behalf of Donde Khān. He, too, kept us as his guests for one day. He gave us ten Rohelahs to go with us as escort to Sikandrah, and thence to return. From Baran in three days we reached Sikandrah, which was full everywhere of fugitives from round about Shāhjahānābād.

The Mīr Sāhib left his retinue behind at Sikandrah, and taking only the limited number of thirty servants, six cavalry men and three baggage camels, decided to push on farther. On the fourth day we were at the town of Anūpshahr, which lies on the river (Ganges) bank. On these marches, in every village we passed not a sign of an inhabitant was to be seen, and along the route unnumbered dead bodies were lying. Anūpshahr, too, was crowded with fugitives from Shāhjahānābād, to such an extent that it was difficult to force a way through its lanes. The Rājah of Anūpshahr came to visit the Mīr Sāhib, and made known to us that from of old time *parganah* Anūpshahr had continued in the *jagīr* of the *Bakhshī ul-mamalik*, and at that time was in the *jāgīr* of Amīr-ul-umarā, Nawāb Najib-ud-daulah, that is, Najib Khān.[9] Under the oppressive hand of his Rohelahs its lands had fallen out of cultivation, and every year the amount of waste land was increasing. If the gentleman (*i. e.*, the Mīr Sāhib, Sher Andāz Khān, would exert himself to get it (parganah Anūpshahr) transferred to the *jagīr* of Ghazanfar Jang and if the said Sāhib were sent there in charge of it on behalf of that noble, they would reach the summit of their desires and their prosperity would return. The Mīr Sāhib agreed to try.

As it chanced, the author had gone to water his horse at the river (Ganges). I saw two horsemen, residents of Bilgrām, giving water to their horses. I recognized them and enquired

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[4] Now spelt 'Atāipur: it is close to Mau-Qāimganj.

[6] In the Etah district.

[5] He died 8th Muharram, 1185 H., 19th April 1771, he was the father-in-law of Najib Khān, Najib-ud-daulah (*Tārīkh-i-Muhammad*.) Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, died on the 22nd Shawwal, 1185 H., 30th January 1772 (*Chahār Gulshan-i-Shujā'ī* of Har Charan Dās, B. M. Or., 1732, fol. 187*b*.)

[7] An allusion to Safdar Jang's attacks in 1750, 1751.

[8] "High Village," now known as *Buland-Shahr*, "High Town", it is in the Dūābah.

[9] In other words, Najib Khan held at the time the office of Bakhshī-ul-Mamālik.

from them what they were doing. They told me that for three years past they had been living in the service of Rāe Bahādur Singh, master of Dāsnah. At the moment, the Shāh having come to Shāhjahānābād and ordered a general slaughter in *parganah* Dāsnah, Rājah Mushtāq Rāe, brother's son of Rāe Bahādur Singh, had fled from that place with his family, and had come to Anūpshahr, bringing a few of his armed men with him. The writer had a former friendship with Mushtāq Rāe, when the said Rāe in the time of Mahārājah Naval Rāe[10] had come from Dāsnah in search of employment, and for about a month stayed in my humble home; from that time I had a great intimacy with him.

In the afternoon I went to pay the Rāe a visit. Owing to the general slaughter at Dāsnah and the plundering of his goods, he was in low spirits. I said: "As your House (*i. e.*, harem) "has escaped, lots more property can be acquired. Praise be to God! Your family and "connections have been protected from slaughter and dishonour." Owing to these words he assumed to a certain extent a more cheerful exterior, and occupied his mind with other talk. After three quarters of an hour, I asked for leave and returned to my tent. From among those armed men of Bilgrām, I selected four men who were of tested valour; the Mīr Ṣāḥib took them into his service, and they accompanied us.

The Mīr Ṣāḥib made one day's halt in Anūpshahr. Thence in three days' marching we reached the camp of Nawāb Najīb Khān, whose tents were near a town called Dankaur[11] on the bank of the Jamnah river. We paid a visit to the Nawāb and he gave us the information that he was sending back some *nasaqchīs* (armed messengers) of the Shāh, and that on the following day he would send off the Mīr Ṣāḥib in charge of some of these *nasaqchīs*, who would not only be a protection, but could act as guides until our arrival at the Shāh's camp. This plan was put into execution, and the Mīr Ṣāḥib made a present to the two horsemen of twenty rupees. Then, crossing the Jamnah we made our way to the Shāh's camp.

As it turned out, the Shāh had on this very day begun his march from Shāhjahānābd[12] and pitched his tents at Farīdābād, a distance of ten *kos* from the camp of Najīb Khān. When we had travelled two *kos* of the distance, we saw eight *kos* away the dust raised by the Shāh's army, the cloud appearing as if it were a mountain stretching its head to heaven. When five *kos* only intervened, we struck on a body of five thousand horsemen, forming the *qarāwal* or skirmishers, who had pitched their tents. They were galloping about in all directions, and whomsoever they caught was slain and plundered. Accordingly, a body of one hundred horsemen turned their faces in our direction, with the intention of laying hands upon us. The *nasaqchīs* advanced to our front and spoke in the Turkish language some words to them, by which they forbore their attack.

You must understand that twenty thousand horsemen are attached to the Shāh's train as skirmishers, five thousand men being sent from the army in four different directions to a distance of five *kos*, where they encamp. There they remain on duty as skirmishers.

To return to my narrative. At one watch before sunset the Mīr Ṣāḥib said to the *nasaqchīs*: "Will you take us to the place where are the tents of Jangbāz Khān, Bangash?" The *nasaqchīs* pointed out that the force of Jangbāz Khān was camped in the rear of the Shāh's army, he being on duty as rear-guard. The distance from where we were might be seven *kos*. Therefore, we must put our horses to the gallop in order to be able to reach that spot before nightfall. Thus, following the *nasaqchīs*, we reached the place by dark. There

10 The Deputy Governor of Audh on behalf of Ṣafdar Jang; he was killed at Khudāganj (Farrukhābād District) on the 1st August 1750.

11 In the Bulandshahr district on the left bank of the Jamnah, 28 m. S.-E. of Delhi.

12 This passage shows that the author's date for his narrative. 1169 H., is not quite exact. Aḥmad Shāh, Abdali, left the Dihli fort-palace for Khizrābād on the 2nd Jamadā II., 1170 H., 22nd Feb. 1757; see B. Museum, Oriental MS., No. 1749, fol. 102ᵃ.

we learnt that two days before Jangbāz Khān had been sent off by the Shāh to slay and plunder in *parganah* Mīrath.

The *nasaqchis* said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "Your best plan now is to go to the division of the "chief minister, and put up there. Outside his camp you will find a place where you will be "safe. We have now to present ourselves for duty at the *Darīkhānah*,[13] and the *Khargah*[13] "of the Shāh, and this duty is imperative." The Mīr Ṣāḥib gave them a second present of twenty rupees. For the time the *nasaqchis* were satisfied and agreed to continue as our guides. When one and a half hours of the night had passed, we came to the standard of the chief minister. This standard stood all by itself in the open plain, while the tents were scattered round it at a distance of two musket-shot. We made the camels sit down close to the flag-staff, and were about to unload them, when, all of a sudden, two *nasaqchi*-troopers came out of a tent, rushed their horses at us, and began to beat the camel-men, saying in the Turkī tongue: "Get "away from here, this is no place for camping upon."

Aḥmad Khan, Afghān, who had come with the Mīr Ṣāḥib from Farrukhābād, and knew Turkī, began to argue with them. Then one of the two drew his sword and came at him, saying: "Thou dost not listen to my orders, I will decapitate thee." While this talk was going on, a horseman rode up from the left hand, and said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "My commander, "one 'Usmān Khān of Qasūr[14] *parganah*, is serving with the Shāh; he saw you from his tents "and noticed that you were Hindūstānīs and he has kindly sent for you to come and pitch "your tents close to his. You should not argue with *nasaqchis*, for a lot more will swarm "round, and, without any hesitation, will have recourse to their swords."

Thus the Mīr Ṣāḥib went to 'Usmān Khān. The said Khān was most hospitable, and forthwith had another tent put up for himself, and gave his own up to the Mīr Ṣāḥib. He also treated us as his guests and had a quantity of food sent to the Mīr Ṣāḥib, such as Peshāwar rice, the mutton of a fat-tailed sheep (*dumbah*), and thin bread (*nān-i-tanak*), prepared in the Hindūstānī mode by the slave-girls who accompaned that Khān Ṣāḥib. We passed the night there in great comfort.

'Usmān Khān was in command of 7,000 horsemen, and was a noble of position, with the rank of a *Haft Hazārī*, and the Shāh had given him a jewelled aigrette with a plume of feathers. The Shāh's practice is that, except famed commanders, no one is allowed to place on his cap (*tāj*) any jewelled aigrette or a plume. This is the sign by which the nobles can be distinguished.

* * *

To resume. There was one Maulvī Maḥmūd, a Kashmīrī, who formerly acted as *wakīl* (agent) for 'Alī Qulī Khān, the Six-Fingered, in the camp of Nawāb Ṣafdar Jang. At this time, 'Alī Qulī Khān being dead,[15] this man was in attendance on the Mīr Ṣāḥib. When three-quarters of an hour remained of the night, he was sent to visit 'Imād-ul-mulk and lay our case before him.

'Imād-ul-mulk said: "Let the Mīr Ṣāḥib come to me, I am quite anxious to see him. "Arise and in all haste bring him, saying, that after I have seen him I will attend to the "carrying out of whatever it is wisest to do." That very moment the Maulvī came back and said: "I have been to 'Imād-ul-mulk, and he sits waiting for a visit from the Mīr Ṣāḥib, and has "said thus and thus." The Mīr Ṣāḥib replied: "On no account shall I go first to visit "the Indian *Wazīr*, seeing that Ghazanfar Jang will imagine that his affairs have been arranged "through his intervention. First of all I shall visit the chief minister [of the Abdālī], and do

[13] These are kinds of tents, but, as we are told further on, the first name was applied to the office-tents and the second to the Shāh's own quarters.

[14] Qasūr is to the S.-E. of Lāhor, and the head-quarters of a colony of Khweshgī Afghāns.

[15] He had died on the 1st Rajab 1169 H., 31st March 1756, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, year 1169.

"whatever he directs." Upon this the Maulvi returned to 'Imād-ul-mulk and communicated to him the Mīr Ṣāḥib's intentions.

'Imād-ul-mulk said: "I, too, am coming to the chief minister, let the Mīr Ṣāḥib make "haste, for this is the very hour for seeing that noble." Near sunset the Mīr Ṣāḥib mounted, and, taking the sealed bag with the petition and the statements and letters about the present and the requests to be made, arrived at the tent of the chief minister. It was a small tent and the *Wazīr* sat in it with a small and light wrapper (*pirāhan*) thrown over his body, brocade drawers, and a white fillet (*ṭāqīyah*) round his head. At the door was no door-keeper (*ḥājib*) or other hindrance. Before him lay a large white bolster (*gāo-takiyah*) in the fashion of Hindūstān. 'Imād-ul-mulk was sitting there too, on one side of the *Wazīr*, and had on a full-skirted coat (*jāmah*) of blue-coloured brocade, and a parti-coloured turbān (*chīrah*) of figured cloth of the same colour; he sat crouched on his two knees, on the left side of, but even with, the *Wazīr*.

Before the Mīr Ṣāḥib had arrived, 'Imād-ul-mulk had made a representation to the chief minister. When the Mīr Ṣāḥib entered the tent, he said at once, "Peace be upon thee" and then brought out an offering of four gold coins and five rupees of Farrukhābād mintage. This gift was accepted. Following this, the Mīr, in imitation of the Abdālī nobles, placed his head on the knees of the chief minister, and the minister placed his hand upon the Mīr Ṣāḥib's back, raised up his head, and said: "Let your heart be at rest. In the matters for which you "have come you will obtain all you desire and be given leave to depart." Then the Mīr was told to sit down alongside of 'Imād-ul-mulk. The author was then presented, and I sat down at the side of the Mīr Ṣāḥib.

The chief minister asked about the state of Ghazanfar Jang, the Mahrattah armies, and the fort of Farrukhābād. The talk finished, he sent for one Mirzā Muṣṭafā the Shāh's Secretary, (*munshī*) and read aloud the letter which was addressed to himself. When he had mastered the contents, he said: "I am now going to an audience with the Shāh; you sit where you are and "I will state your case. If you should be sent for, you must come: or, if the petition of "Ghazanfar Jang only is asked for, you must send it."

At this moment a runner (*shāṭire*) arrived in haste from the Shāh's tent, which had been set up a quarter of a *kos* away, with an open plain between. The messenger shouted out "*Sardārā! Sardārā!*" that is, "O Chief." On the sound reaching the ear of the chief minister he at once put on his attire as a Kizzilbāsh, on his head a hat (*kulah*), and on it a jewelled aigrette, with a plume of feathers. He mounted his 'Irāqī horse and hastened to the audience, followed by one man only, who is called a *yatīm* (servant?) The Mīr Ṣāḥib and 'Imād-ul-mulk were left sitting at the chief minister's tent.

'Imād-ul-mulk said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "There is a question that I have long been desirous "of putting to you, give me an answer to it. It is a matter of astonishment to me that a man "like you, a man of purpose and valour, should be on the spot, and yet allow Nawāb Aḥmad "Khān, in opposition to your advice, to betroth the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān, the Six-"Fingered, to me and make her over to me."

The Mīr Ṣāḥib replied: "I had gone away to Lakhnau and I had told the Nawāb "Shujā'-ud-daulah to place five hundred horsemen under my orders, and I would bring away the "whole family of 'Alī Qulī Khān from Farrukhābād to Lakhnau. But the Nawāb was inspired "by his mother with fright at Ghazanfar Jang, and he was also in dread of Your Excellency "(*i. e.*, 'Imād-ul-mulk). Thus, he put off a decision from one day to another. Since I "had no special interest in the subject I, too, withdrew from the project."

(To be continued.)

THE CHUHRAS.

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(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 356.)

V. — SUPERSTITIONS.

Omens and Names.

IF a Chuhra goes on a journey and meets a *mirâsi*, he goes back. If some one calls after him he goes back. The braying of a donkey meeting him is a good omen. If a washerman meets a man beginning a journey, it is sufficient to send him back, certain of failure if he goes on. Some men are known to carry good fortune, and are sent out to meet travellers.

A Chuhra never steps over a broom. The broom that is used to sweep corn is hung up on a nail in the house. That for ordinary use is placed on a grave, but never upright.

Children are frequently given **names arising out of superstitious**: thus **Kâkâ** is used as a first name. **Ghasîṭâ** means dragged, that is, dragged over a dust heap, *rûṛî*. **Rûṛâ** has the same meaning. As the name is one of dishonour, the evil-eye will not fall on the children that bear it. **Likaṛ** means having half of the head shaved, and the other not; this is to keep the child alive. **Nathû** means having a ring in the nose, to hold him and keep him from going away, *i.e.*, dying.

Oaths, magic and witchcraft.

The oath by Bâlâ Shâh is used.

The practice of **magic arts** is confined to *faqîrs* and *pîrs*. It is the *sauhrîê*[27] that bring evil spirits. **A person possessed is** cured in the following manner: — The *faqîr* takes a drum, a *thâlî* or platter and a *gharâ* or earthen jar. The platter is placed over the jar, and the whole is called *ghaṛiâl*.[28] The *faqîr* beats the drum, another person beats the *ghaṛiâl*, and others sing. The sick person shakes his head, and when the music (?) ceases they ask him questions: "Who are you?" "I am so and so," he replies. "How did you come into this state?" "Such and such a one put me into this state." "Who bewitched you?" "So and so." "What did he get for doing it?" "So many rupees." "For how long are you sick?" "I have to be sick so many days, and then die." They play and sing again. After a time the sick man perspires and recovers. The evil spirit goes with the perspiration.

A curious and repulsive **cure** is used among Hindus and probably others. It is called *jarî* or *masân*. An unmarried person dies, and his or her body is burnt at the burning *ghât*. A *faqîr* takes some of the ashes from the burning pile, goes to the hills for a certain plant, and makes bread of these two ingredients on a grave. The bread is made into pills, one of which is given to a naked childless woman. She gives the pill in a drink to her enemies, and herself has a child. Her barren condition was caused by an evil spirit. *Masân* means demon, and burning-place among Hindus.

Jhundâ is an iron whip which a *faqîr* beats himself with for the sake of another, so that the evil spirit in him may be troubled and flee. They also burn oil in a *tavâ*, iron dish. The *faqîr* puts his hand in the hot oil and pours it on his person. The evil spirit feels it, but the *faqîr* does not. The *faqîr* also beats his body with a millstone. After the sick man recovers, the *faqîr* takes a fowl, kills it, dips a string in its blood, knots the string, blows on it, and finally binds it round the sick man's neck, assuring him that the evil spirit will not come again. If the man goes where there is impurity, *sûtak*, the virtue in the string disappears.

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[27] *Sauhrâ*, — *î*, lit. (1) parents-in-law; (2) simpleton, wretch.

[28] *Ghaṛiâl*, lit. a gong.

Dreams are from evil spirits, and the Chuhras fear them. To dream that a person who is dead is cutting flesh, is an intimation that there will be a death in the house. Muhammadan *saiyids* give the *ta'wîz*, a charm, to keep away dreams.

The evil eye is universally believed in. Some men are very injurious in this way. If a man with the evil eye looks at any one taking food, sickness follows. To cure this, the sick person asks a bit from the evil-eyed man when *he* is at a meal. The morsel given acts as a cure. When a cow is sick, and gives no milk, they give her a bit of the evil-eyed (*bad nazr*) man's food.

Sorcerers and witches act on their victim by making a figure of him and torturing the figure by inserting a needle into it. The torture reaches the person who is personated. Nails and hairs are carried away to be subjected to pain that the original owners may be tormented. They are carefully thrown away when cut off, lest any enemy should get possession of them. Women are especially careful in this particular.

Sickness is caused by evil spirits.

Ceremonial prohibition or taboo.

The Chuhras never touch a Gagra, or a Sânsî, gipsy. Women and children do not go near graves. The daughter-in-law never mentions the father-in-law's name. Chuhras do not eat monkeys, or snakes, or jackals, or rats.

Agricultural superstitions.

Crops are cut on a Sunday, Monday, or Friday, and sown on a Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday.

If the Chuhras burn a *sûp*, winnowing sieve or fan, in a village, the farmer is injured. It is a curse — the curse of the poor.

Social customs.

The whole household eat together, but the women eat after the men. If men eat after women they are injured, because women are weak of intellect.

'*Yâ jûṭh yâ jhûṭh, dônôn nuqsân pahuchândê.*' 'Food touched by others and falsehood are both injurious.' They use *sharâb* (strong drink), opium (*afîm, post, bhang*) and *charas*. Drunkards are despised.

Customs of social intercourse.

In salutation, they say *pairîê pan* to the great, the answer being *têrâ bhalâ kare Khudâ*. Also *mathâ ṭêknâ, salâm*.

Customs bearing on social status.

They eat *pakki* among themselves, and *kachchi* with Gagre and Sansis. They smoke only among themselves. No caste above them eats with them.

VI. — OCCUPATION.

The original work of the Chuhras.

They were the tanners of the village communities, and used to live in huts at a distance from the village, the walls of which were made of bones, and the roof of skins. When an animal died, the Hindus beat a drum to let them know that they must come and carry off the dead body. Five rupees was the fee given and also a shroud. The Chuhras took off the animal's hide and ate its flesh. Sweeping was also their work.

Formerly, when a Hindu died, the Chuhras received a sheet or *kafan* (shroud), and they still receive clothes. In the old days they got five rupees at the Hindu burning-place, and

exacted it with clubs. If a cow dies on a Hindu's land they call it *dûshnâ*, and the Hindu who takes the cow's tail to the Ganges to be purified is beaten there by a Chuhṛa with a shoe.

VII. — RELATIONS TO LAND.

Nowadays their work is farm service. They are landless day-labourers on the farm. They are divided into —

(1) The *âthṛî*, who gets a maund of wheat for every *mâṇî* at the harvest; also odds and ends. He has *ghunḍîâṇ, pîr dé dâṇé*, the barley that is sown in a strip round the wheat field; wheat sown by the water course; bread twice a day; clothes and shoes twice a year; tobacco; vegetables and wood.

(2) The *sêp khulli*, who receives three-quarters of a maund for every *mâṇî*, and bread daily if he goes to a distance to work.

(3) The wife, who takes away dung from the farmyard, receives half a maund of corn.

It was cow-burying that led to their isolation. They say the Mâchhî, the Jhîwar, the Chuhṛa, the Changaṛ, and the Mirâsi are all of the same caste, but have different occupations.

There is a story told of the Chuhṛas by Muhammadans and others that does not reflect to their credit. They are believed to be inclined to be uppish and to forget past favours, being ungrateful, and are supposed to work best when they are well beaten, otherwise they take advantage of the kindness of their masters. I give this only as the opinion of their neighbours.

The story is that once on a time the king of the Chuhṛas met Moses, who was on his way to talk with God.[29] The king of the Chuhṛas asked Moses to carry a petition to God from him, that he might be enabled to take the usual tax from people passing through his territory. Moses accordingly presented the king's petition, but God said, "Moses you do not know what you are doing, you do not know this people. They will turn on you, and dishonour you in the end." But Moses persevered, and obtained for the Chuhṛa king what he desired, *viz.*, that he should levy taxes on travellers. The next time Moses passed that way he was accosted in a most humiliating manner. "Oh Mûsrî, are you the man that carried a petition for me? You must pay the dues." "Did I not tell you, Moses," said God, "that you would bring dishonour on your head. They have no gratitude."

VIII. — LEGENDARY LORE.

1. Legend of Râmsar.

Râm larâyâ Râmsar.	Râm built Râmsar.
Panj Pâṇḍô laththê â.	The five Pâṇḍavs came there and rested,
Chamba, marvâ, kêôṛâ,	Jasmine, *marvâ* and *kêôṛâ*
Ras chô chô bharê talâ.	Filled that tank with their essence.
Chugdî chagdî gôkhaṛî	A cow grazing
Sar uttê khalôtî â.	Came to that pond.
Bân vaguttê Pâṇḍvâṅ	The Pâṇḍavs killed with arrows
Phaṭkâî kaiḷî gâṅ.	The spotted cow.
Chug chag lâṅdê ḍhâṅḍariâṅ,	They gathered sticks,
Tê bhundê sikhdâṅ lâ.	And began to roast it.
Ândrâṅ miliyâṅ Bhîm nûṅ.	Bhîm got the intestines,
Lêhndâ janjû banâ.	And made a sacred thread of them for himself.
Dil miḷiyâ Judishtrê	Judishtar got the heart,
Un lêyâ sankh banâ.	He made a trumpet with it.

[29] They and others call Moses Mihtar Mûsâ; *mihtar* being a title of distinction, although used mostly for the Chuhṛas.

Push miḷiya sî Nukaḷiyê
Us lêyâ chaur banâ.
Tê kharâôrê lêyâ Sukhdêv nê,
Un lêyê paue banâ.
Tê sir lêyâ Arjun nê,
Un lêyâ mukaṭ banâ.
Tê pôsht lêyâ Maî Kunti nê,
Un lêyâ pichhaôṛâ banâ
Tê kimia karkê mas dâ,
Darôptî chullê dittâ chaṛhâ.
Hath khunḍi tê mondhê kambli,
Krishn gayâ tad â,
'Ôh bhâi santô, baiṭhêô,
Mêrî diṭṭhî jê kaiḷi gân.'
'Asîn nahîn mâlôn jâadê
Têrê kaisî sî ôh gân.'
'Aggâ hirê hirn dâ,
Ohdâ pichhâ kapḷi gân.'
Chijân sârîân Krishn nê,
Tad lêyân khud uṭhâ,
Tê sarâp dittâ sû Pânḍrân.
'Tusîn Chûhrê hôrô jâ.
Kal jug vich miḷângâ.
Jad bôlô sach sunâ.'

Nukal got the tail,
He made a fan with it.
Sukhdev got the hoofs,
He made sandals of them.
Arjan took the head
And made a crown for his head.
Mother Kuntî got the hide,
And made herself a shawl.
And hashing the beef,
Daropti began to cook it on the fire.
In hand a stick, and on shoulder a blanket,
Krishn came up suddenly.
'O faithful brethren, sitting there,
Have you seen my spotted cow?'
'We do not at all know
What your cow was like.'
'Its head was like a deer's,
The hinder part like a red cow.'
All the things Krishn seized
And took away,
And he cursed the Pâṇḍavs.
'Go, become Chuhras.
In the Kaljug I will associate with you
When you speak the truth.'

Another Version.

Râm lâyâ Râmsar.
Panj Pânḍô laththê â.
Pânḍô baiṭhê mihr kar
Utthê â gayi kaiḷi gân.
Jazba kîtâ Pânḍrân,
Unhân phaṛ lêiyê kaili gân.
Jabah karâkê gân nûn,
Unhân chhânḍê leê banâ
Ândrân lêiyân Bhîm nê,
Un lêyâ janêu banâ.
Tê kharauṛê lêyê Shâhdev nê,
Un pauṛê lêyê banâ.
Tê sir lêyâ Arjun nê,
Un lêyâ mukaṭ banâ
Tê pôsht lêyâ Mâî Kuntî nê
Un pichhauṛâ lêyâ rangâ.
Pânḍô ûthê baiṭh gayê.
Srî Kishan gaye nê â
'Ô bhâî baiṭhê hô, ô sâdhô,
Mêrî diṭṭhi jê kaiḷî gân'
Asîn nahîn mâlôn jândê
Têrî kaisî sî ôh gân.'
Us munhôn bôliyâ:
'Jis diṭṭhâ sâf sunâ.
Aggâ hirê hirn dâ,

Râm built Râmsar.
The five Pâṇḍavs came there and rested.
The Pâṇḍavs were enjoying their rest,
When a spotted cow came thither.
High handed were the Pâṇḍavs,
And they seized the spotted cow.
When they had sacrificed the cow,
They divided her.
Bhîm got the intestines,
And wore them like the Hindus' sacred thread.
Shahdev got the hoofs,
And wore them as sandals.
Arjan got the head,
And put it on his head for a crown.
Mother Kunti got the hide,
And had it dyed for a shawl.
While the Pâṇḍavs were sitting there,
Srî Krishn came up,
'O brothers sitting there, O holy men,
Have you seen my spotted cow?'
'We do not know at all
What your cow was like.'
He spake with his mouth:
'Let him who saw her speak plainly.
Her foreparts were those of a deer,

Ôhdâ pichhâ kapḷi gâṅ.
Aisî aisî hai sî,
Mêrî kapḷi kailî gâṅ.'
Khauf jê kîtâ Pâṇḍvâṅ,
Kyûṅ aśiyê jhûṭh suṅâ.
Chuṅkê pôsh karô haḍḍiâṅ,
Asîṅ dêiyê râs karâ.
Uttê pôsh ṭakâkê
Tê laggê mangn dûâ :
'Hê Bhagwân, tû rahm kar.
Is gâṅ nûṅ tû uṭhâ.'
Gâṅ bhî hâjir hô gâî.
Unhan dittî turt vikhâ.
Us jagah Brâhman Chûhṛâ hô gayâ
Aur dittî ôh sazâ.

And her hinder parts were those of a red cow.
She was like this,
My spotted red cow.
The Pâṇḍavs were frightened,
Because they had lied.
They covered the bones with the hide,
Placing the bones in their order.
They spread the hide on them,
And began to pray :
'Oh God, have mercy.
Raise this cow.'
The cow became alive.
They showed her to him at once.
In this place the Brâhman became a Chuhṛâ
By way of punishment.

2. Legend of the Marriage of Bâlmîk's Daughter.

Chal, sakhî, ham nahâôn nikâtê.
Ghar abyâgat sâdh âe.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Brahme dî dêhî nûṅ kushṭh dhâyâ.
Jêhṛâ Kumbâṅ nahaun jâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Aggê Jastrî kênâṅ chârdî.
Jitthôṅ Brahmâ râh puchhâê.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Kiker âyâ Brahmanâ ?
Têrê kikar aunê hôê ?'
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Dêh mêrî nû kusht hai dhâyâ,
Ham Kumbâṅ nahâôṅ âê.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Tîsrî ghaṛî nahâûn têrâ.
Têthôṅ kikar pahunchêâ jâê ?'
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Tîsrî ghaṛî nahâûn mêrâ.
Maiṅ nûṅ kêhṛâ mard pahunchâê ?'
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Êk jê tainû maiṅ chappaṛî dassâṅ,
Têrâ jî karê tê nahâê jâ.'
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Kênâṅ dî bhaunî hôî chappaṛî
Uhnûṅ Jastrî châ vikhâê.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Pahili ṭubbî gayâ Brahmâ.
Rêtâ dî muṭh lê âê.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Dujjî ṭubbî gayâ Brahmâ.
Bhar ghuggâṅ dî muṭh lê âê.
  Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.

Come, friend, let us go bathe,
The man of God has come to our house.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
A Brâhman's body became leprous.
He had to go to bathe at the Kumb festival.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
On his way Jastrî fed a herd of swine.
The Brâhman asked the way.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Why have you come, Brahman ?
What brought you ?'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'My body is leprous,
I have come for a bath at the Kumb festival.'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'The right hour for bathing is the third.
How will you reach the Ganges in time ?'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'The third hour was the time.
Can any man take me there in time ?
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'I will show you a pond,
You can bathe there if you like.'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The pond where the swine wallowed
Was shown him by Jastrî.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman dived once.
He brought up a handful of sand.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman dived twice.
He brought up a handful of shells.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

Tîsrî ṭubbî gayâ Brahmâ,
Lâlâṅ dî muṭh lê âê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Lâlâṅ dî muṭh jab lêî Brahmâ,
Har jî kâ darshan pâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Har jî kâ darshan pâyâ,
Ôh dî kâyâ dê pâp jhâṛê âê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
'Bannê â jâ, Brahmanâ,
Têrê nahâûn hô vartâê.'
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Isê chappaṛî Pâṇḍô nahâ gaê,
Jihṛê nau khanḍ prithvî dhôê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Isê chappaṛî Gurû Nânak nihâtâ,
Jihṛâ Sikhâṅ dâ gurû saddâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Isê chappaṛî Gôrakh nihâtâ,
Jihṛâ Ṭillê tê âsan pâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Kihṛê bhagat dî tû bêṭî hai?
Têrâ kî ôh nâm dharâê?'
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
'Bâlâ Bâlmîk dî maiṅ bêṭî hâṅ,
Mêrâ Jastrî nâm dharâê.'
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Bâbâ Bâlmîk diyê bêṭiyê,
Maiṅ nû ôhdê kôl pahunchâêṅ.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Aggê Jastrî tê pichhê Brahma.
Dôêṅ Bâlmîk kôl âê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Aggê Bâlmîk dî kakkhâṅ dî kullî,
Baiṭhâ âsan lâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Baiṭhâ âsan uttê jâkê,
Har kâ nâm japâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.

Har jî kâ hazâr nâm,
Lâkh nâm Kishan kâ.
Kêshô kâ karôṛ nâm.
Padam nâm Bishan kâ.

Aggê Bâlmîk bhagat baiṭhâ
Jâkê Brahmâ sir nawâê.
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.
'Tûṅ kîkar âyâ, Brahmanâ?
Têrâ kîkar aunâ hôê?'
  Jhab mil, Râm jî.

The Brâhman dived thrice.
He brought a handful of precious stones.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
When the Brâhman found the stones,
He saw God face to face.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
He saw God face to face,
And his sins forgiven, he was clean.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Come out, Brahman,
Your bath is finished.'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond the Pâṇḍavs will bathe,
Who will subdue nine parts of the earth.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond Gurû Nanak will bathe,
Who will become leader of the Sikhs.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
In this pond Gorakh will bathe,
Who will make his temple on Tillah.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'What holy person is your father?
What name has he given you?'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'I am daughter of Bâlâ Bâlmîk.
He calls me Jastrî.'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'O daughter of Bâlâ Bâlmîk,
Take me to him.'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
Jastrî went on, and the Brâhman followed;
They both came to Bâlmîk.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
They came to Bâlmîk's hut.
He was seated in contemplation.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
When he sat down
He took the name of God.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

Chorus.

  Har has a thousand names.
  Kishan has a *lâkh*.
  Kêshô has a crore.
  Bishan has a *padam*.

Where the Saint Bâlmîk sat
There the Brâhman went and bowed to him.
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Why have you come, O Brâhman?
What is your business?'
  Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

'Nâm Rabb dê ih bêṭî dê chhaḍ.
Têrâ sufl dân hô jâê.'
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Kahnûṅ bhulnâ, Brahmanâ?'
Tû kahnâ janam gawâê?
Jhab mil, Râm jî.
'Tusîṅ Brahmê chauṅkê bahôgê,
Mêrî bêṭî nûṅ pichhê haṭâê.'
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Têrî bêṭî rasô pakâêgî;
Sânnû sufl karkê khuwâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Kangnî, chînâ, tê sôânk âwlâ.
Bâlmîk jag rachâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Tê chavâṅ kûṭâṅ dê dêvtê â gâê.
Ôthê parîâṅ mangaḷ gâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Hûrâṅ, parîâṅ, mangaḷ gâean,
Ôthê târêâṅ mandal chhâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Jad târêâṅ mandar chhâ kar ditti,
Tab chârê Bêd mangâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Pahilî lâṅ jab lêî Brahmê,
Dujjê qadam ṭakâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Trîjî lâṅ jad lêî Brahmê,
Chauthî phêrâ pâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Panjwîṅ lâṅ jad lêî Brahmê,
Chêvîṅ phêrâ pâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Satvîṅ lâṅ jad lêî Brahmê.

Har kâ nâm dhêâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Saṭêṅ lavâṅ pûrîâṅ.
Ôh bêṭî dân kardê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
'Sab jîâṅ dâ maiṅ dân khândâ.
Aggôṅ tû mêrâ lê jâê.
Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.
Jastrî ḍôlê jab pâê Brahmê,
Utthôṅ Pôndêr ghar lêjâê.
Jhab mil, Râm jî.
Ôtthôṅ Vêdvê, Purabâ, Bhartâ,
Siddrâ, Dharastâ nâm dharâê.

Jhab miḷ, Râm jî.

'In the name of God give me your daughter.
She will be a great gift.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Why do you take a wrong step, Brahmana?
Why do you lose your caste?'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'You will eat your food in sacred places.
You will set my daughter aside.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'Your daughter will cook our food,
We will not object to eat it.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
They brought *kangnî* and *chînâ* and *sôânk*.
Bâlmîk made a feast.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The gods of the four quarters came.
Fairies sang songs of joy there.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
Hûrs and fairies sang.
The stars made a canopy there.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
When the stars made a canopy,
Then they brought the four *Vedas*.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman went round the bride once.
And a second time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman went round a third time.
And a fourth time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman went round a fifth time.
And a sixth time.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
The Brâhman went round the bride the seventh time.
Praise the name of God.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
He finished the seven rounds.
Bâlmîk gave his daughter.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
'I take alms from all.
In future I give this right to you.'
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
When the Brâhman put her in a palanquin,
He took her to home among the Paundrâs.
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.
From her the Vedvâ, the Pûrabâ, the Bhartâ,
The Siddrâ, and the Dharasta took their name;
Meet me quickly, O my Lord.

IX. — THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHUHṚAS.

The Chuhṛâs have oral traditions which they recite at their gatherings. If a Chuhṛâ wishes to learn them, he becomes the disciple of some one who is in possession of them, *i. e.* who can repeat them from memory. I heard, however, that there was a book of the Chuhṛâs in Gujrânwâlâ District, but I was unable to obtain it, as the owners had the idea that I would use it to their disadvantage. In the village of Kharôḷîâñ, in Siâlkot, I found a man with a book, which runs as follows:—

1. Bala, the Priest of God.

Bâlâ pîr âyâ, duniyâ tê pahilâ autâr
Putr sâu Brahmê dê pûrê châr.
Mâthê ṭikê dharm dê wâ janêû nâḷ
Chugdî chugdi gokhaṛî hô pêî murdâr.
Kôḷ gâû dê ânkê kardê nê aṛîân
Asiñ Brahman janam dê gaḷ janêu tanîâñ
Uttê châ rakhnîân ḍôrê tê luṛiâñ
Rabbâ, sâḍḍê bhâdîâñ ih kihâñ banîâñ
Rabb chiṭṭhî likhkê ghallîâ sab khôl bayân
Itthôñ gayâ sâêñ mankê hun karnâ hubnâu
Taddê ihnâ suṭnâ tainû parwân.
Maiñ sharâ challâî apni is nûñ harâm arkawâ-
jâñ.
Jhaumpṛê aggê Rabb dê kîtî arjôî
Sanûñ ghalnâ entôṛ dê hô khâñ muñh darûi
Rabbâ ghar Brahmanâñ mêrâ janm ditâ
Maiñ pîṭiyâ sâñ khâkê iksê thâḷ rasôî
Kôḷ gâû dê âkê Allah Ta'ala masland lagâ
Chiṭṭhî likhî Bâlâ pîr dê phar hath pharâî
Taddê ihnû suṭnâ tusû ih âî
Ihnû kaun harâm âkhdâ maiñ takkar challâû.

The first to come incarnate to the world[30]
Was priestly Bâlâ. Brahmâ's sons were four.
With painted mark upon their brows and twined
About their breasts the sacrificial thread.
The cow while grazing in the meadow green
Fell dead: thereafter round about the cow
They stood and wrangled. 'Brâhmans born are we,
We wear the sacred thread, the Hindu garb.
With cords and fringes. Lord, unhappy we,
Bewail this mishap.' The Lord despatched
A writing bearing full and accurate
Directions. 'You a compact made when hence
You went, but now grown proud you seek
To shun your duty. You it is that must
Prepare to cast the cow away. 'Twas I
That killed the cow by lawful rite, it is
Not therefore now unclean.' Then Jhaumpra prayed.
'Oh thou that sendst thy word reveal thyself,
That I may see thee face to face. 'Twas thou
That causedst me to be by birth
A Brâhman. From the self same dish with them
I ate and drank.' Then God Almighty called
Beside the cow a great assembly. Then
Within the hand of Bâlâ, Priest of God,
Was placed a writing. 'Thou must cast away
The cow — the work is thine. Who dares to call
That thing unclean which I have duly cleansed?

Bheḍ khânî paikambarâñ jis chugnâ khâi
Rôz qiyâmat nûñ is dî tainû miḷêgî vaḍiyâî
Main nûñ Hindû nêṛê na âun dêngê, Musalmân
na paṛhêngê janâza
Mê â kitâb nisturî karêngê mêrê Rabba râza
Ummat mêrî bakhshai zâmun dê Pîr Khwâja
Allah âkhâ Balêâ, têrî pâk kamâi

The prophets feed on sheep, that feed on filth,
But on the day of resurrection thou
Shalt sure have praise.' Said Bâlâ, 'Hindus then
Will shun me, Mussalmans refuse to read
The burial service over me. How then

[30] The translation is not literal, but in verse.

Apâ kalm pakar lê, tê kâgat tê siâhî.
Allah âkhêâ Bâlêâ, tu hô siyâna
Rôz qiyâmat nû jâkê inhân pachhôtânâ,
Hindû Mussalmân dê nêm dâ main daryâ banânâ
Pâr bihisht banâkê sâmnê dikhlânâ
Savâ nêzê tê sûraj âwêgâ magrôn hâô dôzakh dê dahnâ
Râm tê Rahîm kêân utthê chhap chhap kê bahnâ
Ummat têri langhkê var bihishti jânâ
Âkhê mêrê lag jâ, mêra man farmânâ
Jhaumprê aggê Rabb dê êk gal sunâî
Rôz qiyâmat âkhnâ jihrî bhaizal pur sulât (pul sirât) banâî
Ôs vêlê ummat mêrî bakhshwîn gâô sutnâ tâîn
Chêlê siftân jôriân, parh nâm sunâîn.
Rabb Khwâja Khizr saddâ phir apni zabânî.

Tad Maulâ pakar lêî hath kâgaz tê kânî,
Kâgaz siâhî likhn di us vêlê di nishânî,
Jhaumprê ummat bakhshâ lêî kam hoyâ âsânî
Khwâja Khizr âkhê' Jhaumprêâ, mêra man farmân,
Têrê Shâhî dân dêngê main nûn pâs bahân,
Jhalak laggêgâ chandôê dâ munh pânî lân.
Shâhiân de bihishti jân dâ ih pakkâ nishân
Na roza na ashtamî na tur Makkê jân
Chêlê dassên khôlkê sârê bayân.
Pîr gâô dê val turkê Chuhra bankê jâhirâ,
Pîr gâô dê kôl jâ kharâ janêu tikkêwâlâ,
Us têrôn dhôta lâ lêî asbâb bhî sârâ.
Utthôn baniyâ Chuhrêân dâ asli râh niyârâ
Jhaumprâ puchchê bhâiân nûn mêrê nâl karô takrâr,
Kadôn mainû ralânâ jê sachchâ dêô iqrâr
Bhâiân phir Jhaumprê nâl kîtâ takrâr
Môhlat lammî kâi nahîn dihârê nê châr

Wilt thou me purify, my Lord? Forgive
My people — give me Khwâja Pîr as pledge
Of certain covenant.' God said, 'Thy works,
O Bâlâ, righteous are and pure. Thyself
Must write with paper, ink and pen.' God said,
'O Bâlâ, understand: be wise and know
That on the resurrection day their deeds
Will bring to those despairing grief. I'll make
Of Hindu and of Muslim faiths a sea,
Beyond it I will make a heaven that they
Shall see but enter not. The burning sun
Will come within a spear and quarter's length,
The dread alarms of hell will compass them.
The worshippers of Râm, and of Rahîm.
Will hide themselves in fear and dark despair.
But thine will cross secure, in safety they
Will enter heaven at last. Believe, obey
My plain command.' Then Jhaumpra quickly said,
'All in the audience of Almighty God,
A covenant sure make now with me, that in
The day of resurrection, when my people cross
The narrow bridge that spans the mouth of hell,
Thou wilt have mercy on them: only thus
Will I consent to cast away the cow.'
Disciples write his prayers and his fame,
Sing forth his glory, loud proclaim his name.
The Lord called Khwâja Khizr to appear,
He summoned him Himself, and then the Lord
Took paper, ink and pen to write, and these
Are of that time distinct memorials.
Great Jhaumpra had his people saved, a work
For him both quick and easy. Khwâja cried,
'Oh Jhaumpra mine, give ear to me. With me
Beside them seated all your Shâhîs must
Give alms. And as they drink the sparkling water
On every face from out the cup there gleams
The light from immersed silver, this a sign
Shall constant be that Shâhîs enter heaven.
For them there is no fasting; not for them
Are eighth day moons, or pilgrimages long
To Mecca. Let disciples clearly tell
The great prerogatives and freedom they
Enjoy. The priest approached the cow; before
The universal world he stood confessed
A Chuhra; yes, a priest beside the cow,
Adorned with sacred cord, and on his brow

Tân ôs gâô suṭ lêî chaunkôôn bâhir bâhir
Jhaumpṛê gâô suṭṭêân dihârê hôê chár
Baddhî rasôî jêundê chaunkê andar vâr.

The consecrating mark, he stood and doffed
His waist cloth, and his caste marks all.
Hence rose the Chuhṛa sect and worship, one
And separate. For Jhaumpṛâ thus addressed
His brethren, 'When will you, now tell me true,
Restore me to my place and dignity?
Now promise me.' They promised him that they
Would in four days, and only four, restore
Him to his place among them. So he threw
The cow beyond the sacred precincts far.
The cow was cast away, four days had flown,
When Jhaumpra's brethren dined within the bound
That marked the sacred hearth. 'Your promise now.'

Bhâiân nû puchhdâ main nûn kudôn raḷânâ je nâḷ,
Jug chauthê nû ralâvânge sâḍḍâ sachchâ gaul qarâr
Us gôshâ ghat kamândâ paggân lêiân utâr.
Phir Jhaumpṛê gâô suṭkê hô baiṭhâ puchhṛâr
Aggôn rât guzrî jhagaṛdêân sakkê bhatîjê Kâlak Das
Akhê na us gâô khâ lêî na kitâ gâê grâs
Kikar tussân nakher chaḍḍî phir ihdî jât
Jô na lâyâ hath bî gôshê ghat kamân dê suṭṭi âfât.
Ôh bôlê tû jâkê khâ, têrâ nahin paindâ sânnû san vasâ
Gussa Kâḷak Das nûn charhiyâ azgâb
Kâḷak Das gâô dê kôḷ pahutâê jâ
Kôḷ gâô dê jâkê kardâ tadbîr
Ôs vâr chalâyâ gâô dê phir vich sarîr
Jitthê takbîr Chuhṛêân dî pahilu dendê nê chîr
Lakhî rêkhô Rabb dî varti taqdîr.
Puchhê Kâḷak Das dî Silavantî nâr,
Ôhdê mâhê punnê âkê gharôn ammêdrâr
Jôun jôun dan âtê langhdî kardî gubâr
Karê bichârâ dil nâl duniyâ ajab sî bahâr
Dûiân aggê jâkê nit karê bichârâ

Cried Jhaumprâ, 'true fulfil. Admit me!' 'No'
Said they, 'Four ages must elapse before
We can admit thee. Then, our sacred word
We pledge, thou mayest return.' In sudden wrath
With stroke of bow he knocked their turbans off.
Then Jhaumprá, all because he threw the cow
Away, sat excommunicate, the house
Debarred. Night passed in wrangling. Kálak Dâs,
His nephew, said, 'He did not eat the cow,
Not even a morsel: why thus have ye cast
Your brother out? He did not touch the cow,
'Twas with his bow he threw the cow away.'
They said, 'Go thou and eat the cow thyself,
We trust not thee nor him—we scorn you both.'
Then Kâlak Dâs grew angry: in his rage
He stalked towards the cow, and stood to pierce
The carcase of the brute, and so since then
The Chuhras keep the appointed way, to make
A certain cut upon the dead, and use
The formula by God appointed. Then
Went Kâlak Das and found his gentle wife,
His Silavantî wondering. Her time
Was near with child. She wondered why the days
Went by and still no nearer came to her
Deliverance. In wondering thought she said,
'The world is strange as spring time.' So she went

Mêrê mâhê kullê langh gaê mahînê hôê nê bâraṅ
Tuhannû sârî khabar hai kull pêṭ bhanḍârâṅ
Mainû dassô khôlkê sarîâṅ anwârûṅ
Dâîâṅ ralkê us nû galliṅ sî lâyâ
Kihṛâ chand nihâtiôṅ tainû patâ nahîṅ âyâ?
Pêṭ têrê vich dard nahîṅ tainû dukh nahîṅ âyâ?
Râzî hôkê bahêṅgî jad bâlâk jâyâ,
Jâṅ oh bahindî palang tê jad raiṅ vihâṅî
Rabb, mêrê pêṭ vich kî khêl rabbânî.
Mainû kâî khabar nahîṅ maiṅ âql aniyâṅî
Tainû khabarâṅ, Qâdirâ, phir tûêṅ jâṅîṅ
Karê vakhôîâṅ dil nâl, duniyâ âbaj sî mêlâ,
Tad bhanḍârôṅ kû pêyâ phir Alif Chêla.
Din mannê mâtâ mêrê gurû dâ tâṅ hath nahîṅ âûṅâ vêlâ.
Tâṅ mâṅ putr dâ hôwêgâ phir jald hî mêlâ.
Kêhṛâ têrâ gurû hai, bachchâ mainûṅ âkh suṅâîṅ
Maiṅ pallê kharch pâkê ṭur parâṅ sabhâîṅ
Kitthê ôhdâ pinḍ hai, raiṅdâ kêhṛî thâîṅ
Maiṅ bhalkê tur pavâṅgî paikê lamṛî râhîṅ
Âkhê Jhaumpṛâ mêrâ gurû hai, mâtâ kôî nâl îmân

Das autâr us âûṅâ duniyâ tê shân,
Dassê autâr ussê dê aggê, maiṅ japnâṅ nâm
Chuhṛê Kâlak Das dâ majab hai tamâm.
Jihṛâ Shâhî kalma paṛhêgâ Môhammad dâ oh bêîmân.
Jihṛê paṛhngê Bâbâ Nânak dâ ôh bhî nahîṅ paruâṅ.
Jihrê paṛhengê Bâlê pîr dâ dargâhê pawâṅ.
Chêlê siftâṅ joṛîâṅ sab khôl bayâṅ.
Mâṅ chêlê nâl jhagaṛdî, Bachcha kêhṛâ gurû hai sangi.
Kikar duniyâ tê uss âûṅâ ôs kêhṛî rangî?
Sach hôvê tâṅ man lêvâṅ qaul karâr karâṅgî.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ bah rang ba rangî.
Chêlâ dassê mâṅ nûṅ, phir das autâr

To seek the midwives. Thus she used to say.
'My time is fully come, the twelfth month now[31]
Is past. These things you understand: the womb
With all its states you know: come tell me then
The truth.' The midwives just to please her told
Her stories. 'Tell us now,' they said, 'what month
You bathed. You have forgotten quite. Well then
Have you no pains: no pangs have you? No? Then
Be comforted, you will be happy when
You bear a son.' She sat in thought all night
Upon her cot. She said, 'O Lord, within my womb
What wonder is? All ignorant am I,
A woman knowing nothing. Only Thou
Almighty God knowest all. I trust in Thee
All in her heart she said, 'The world is strange.'
Then Alif Chela spake within the womb.
'Oh mother mine, be follower of my guide.
Disciple of my teacher be, lose not
This happy time, for if 'tis lost to you,
In vain is consequent repentance. See,
On your belief depends our meeting.' 'Son,'
She said, 'who is your teacher? I'll prepare
And haste me at the dawn to seek him.
His village name. Where dwells he? At the dawn
I'll go, and find him though the way be long.'
'My guide and teacher Jhaumprâ is,' said he,
'Believe this, mother. Ten times told he will
Become incarnate, bringing glory to the world
In all the ten. His name I will proclaim.
The faith of Kâlak Dâs, the Chuhṛa, is
A perfect faith. If any Shâhî read
Muhammad's creed, an unbeliever he
Is branded; and if Bâbâ Nânak's, he
Shall be rejected; all that do profess
The creed of Bâlâ straight to heaven shall go.
Disciples have compiled his praises.' Still
The mother reasons with the Chela, 'Child,
What guide will be our helper, how will he
Become incarnate? In what form appear?
If this be true, I will believe, and make
A firm profession.' So disciples wrote
His divers praises. Chela now recounts

[31] *Cf.* the note at p. 352, Vol. XXXV., 1906, *supra*.

Kam vékhîn Rabb dê, mâtâ, Allah dê bê shumâr
Pahilâ autâr âvêgâ phir nâḷ rî nâḷ
Rabb Bâbâ Âdam sajjiyâ Amma Havva bî nâḷ
Na zamîn âsmân sî, hai sî jal pâṅî
Nâ ôs vêḷê firishtê sân na dargâh rabbânî
Na tadôṅ Bâbâ Âdam sî, na Hawwâ sôânî.
Tê sifat hai Awwalîn, dî chêlê suṅâṅî
Ih traô dêvtê Rabb ê âp baṅâê.

The incarnations ten. 'O mother mine,
Behold God's works innumerable are.
The first incarnate comes, and with him God
Makes father Adam, and our mother Eve.
There was no earth, no sky, but only then
A pool of water. Angels were there none,
Nor heaven's court, nor father Adam, nor
A lady Eve.' This is the story true
Of the Original. Disciple read.

2. The One True God.

Trêâṅ dêvtêâṅ nûṅ Rabb shabd sikhâê
Âpô apṅê dîn dê kalmê paṛhâê.
Faktû paṛhê Allah ilá, Ishar wah gurû Panâhê,
Kalma ôhî êk dâ Bâlâ pîr suṅâê,
Siftâṅ chêlê jôriâṅ paṛh nâm sunâê.
Dêôtêâṅ kalma paṛhdêâṅ jug gujrê chhattî.
Na tadôṅ sân majlisâṅ Khudâ dî sathîṅ
Na ôs vêlê lô sî, na divâ battî.
Tê sahâsan baṅâyâ baiṭhkê Rabb ê apṅê hathîṅ
Ishar Faqtû dêvtê nû Allah Ta'ala gal ih âkhê
Ik triyâ dêvtâ baṅâyâ tuhaḍḍâ sâthî
Dhartî dêô baṅâkê gal ihô jê bâqî
Ôthê howê shôala vêkhâṅ chalâkî
Faqtû tê Ishar hôê Allah dê âṅî
Ôh kêhṛâ triyâ dêvtâ hî baṅâyâ saḍḍâ hânî.
Chhattî jug kîtî sû bhagatî têrê nâmdî paṛhkê bâṅî
Tainûṅ khabarâṅ, Qâdirâ, tuêṅ haiṅ jâṅî
Allah lêkê dêvtêâṅ nûṅ Bâlâ pîr kôḷ jâîṅ
Bâlâ pîr uṭhkê chhai sdda bulâî
Allah mîâṅ dî ; Khair Bâlê pîr suṅâî

Repeat. The Lord Himself these three saints made.
He taught them songs, He gave thus each a creed.
So Faktû said, 'Allah Ila,' and Ishwar said,
'Wah Gurû save'! only Bâlâ priest believed
In one true God, and worshipped him. These songs
Disciples have compiled. They sing his name.
For six and thirty ages long the creeds
These three divinities repeated. Then
There were no great assemblages with God.
There was no light, no lamp, no wick ; God sat
And made with His own hands His throne. He said
To Fagta, Ishwa, holy ones, 'I've made
A third divinity, associate
With you. The earth a god I make ; that done
My work is done. Let there be light in it.'
He said, 'The wonder I would see.' But up
Spake Fagta, Ishwar, 'Who is this whom thou
A third divinity associate
With us hast made? Has he, repeating hymns
For ages six and thirty worshipped thee?
All things are known to thee, Almighty One.'
God brought the gods, the three, to Bâlâ priest,
Who rose, and six times worshipped. 'Peace to thee,
O man of God.' This said the Lord. 'Peace be'
Said Bâlâ priest, 'to all the world.' So brought

Traê dêvtê Rabb nê kîtê ikaṭṭhê,
Dhartî dês baṅâkê kull âlam vassê.
Ambar khûb ṭikâuṅâ na sangaḷ rassê
Târê nag vich lauṅê nûr ilâhî vassê.
Chuṭkî chuṭkî khâk dî Rabb hath phaṛâî
Môhammad tê Bâbâ Nâṅak dôâṅ hêṭhâṅ vagâ
Pâṅî gahrâ hô gayâ nishânî na âî,
Na ôs vêḷê Granth sî na Qurân kitâb baṅâî.
Kam dêkhô Rabb dê, vârî Bâlê pîr dî âi
Gallâṅ kardâ jal dê nâḷ Bâlê pîr dâ nûr.
Chhattî jug kîtî bhagatî, tû gâvah hai jarûr.
Ôhô mainûṅ das dê khâṅ jô bhagatî vich pêyâ qusûr.

The Lord these three together. So a god
The earth He made, a habitation fit
For all His creatures. Lo, the sky He hung
Without ropes and chains ; the stars were placed
Like jewels in the sky, that God's bright light
Might dwell within them. Then a pinch of dust
The Lord put in Muhammad's hand, and then
In Bâbâ Nânak's, but they threw it down,
And muddy made the water : thus no sign
Appeared. There was no *Granth* nor yet *Qorân*,

Madad mêrî âunâ Khwâja hajûr.
Tad pâṇî tê jam gayâ phir sôhnâ bûr
Bâlê pîr khâk chhiṇkiyâ dhartî bharpûr
Tad Bâlâ pîr gayâ dargâhê qabûr.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ nahîṅ kôî qusûr.
Kâḷak Das gâô khâkê, hô baiṭhâ dilgîr
Iksê mâṅ dâ chungiyâ sî bah gôḍî nîr.
Duniyâ tê hôê ne baṛê baṛê amîr tê faqîr.

Kisî nahîṅ rel randiyâ karmâṅ dâ shir
Allah Kâḷak Dâs nûṅ phir dê dilêrî,
Duniyâ âvâ gauṅ hai, râvaḷ dî phêrî.
Aggê paiṇḍâ kaṭhin hai chalṇâ rât hanêrî,
Ummat têrî bakhshâṅgâ gal man lêiṅ tû mêrî.
Kâḷak Dâs akhê Rabb nûṅ, mêrâ kî sarbanḍ.
Vasdêâṅ gharâṅ vichôṅ nikaḷdî phêr khair tê khirand.
Mêrâ kauṇ dâṇ lêgâ, maiṅ hô baiṭhâ arband.
Kâḷak Dâs gallâṅ kîtîâṅ Rabb nâḷ lâkê maslaud,
Tû karîṅ Allah dâ nâm, têra sir mukh laggê.
Aivêṅ vêkh na bhulṇâ kôî rauzê baggê
Têrâ buk miṭṭî dâ maniyê, dargâh de aggê.
Jêhrâ mannê sidq nâḷ, har shâkhê phaḷ laggê.
Kâḷak Dâs râjî hôkê, laggâ jag richâṅ,
Savâ maṅ sôênâ kals dâ dâṇ.
Hîrâ, lâl, jawâhir bhî kôî na ant bayâṅ.
Chabbê laggê chanḍôê nû kinârî tê shân
Kâḷak Dâs kîtâ dâṇ tê laggâ sôhṇâ thâṅ
Alifê Chêlê nûṅ phir imâm banâṅ
Alifê du'â âkhî jô Rabb dâ farmân.

Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ sab khôl bayâṅ
Alifê kîtî dil nâḷ du'â ô kahâṇî.

But, see, comes Bâlâ's turn. 'Twas Bâla's soul
Addressed the water. 'Ages thirty-six
I worshipped God. You are my witness. Speak,
Was there a time when I lacked faithfulness?
Come help me now, O Khwâja.' Sudden then
The pinch of dust all in the water clear
Took shape — the water surface clothed itself
in green.
Yes, Bâlâ, priest, cast forth the pinch of dust.
And lo! the earth appeared. So Bâlâ, priest,
Was high exalted in the court of heaven.
Disciples wrote these stories true. Now turn
To Kâlak Dâs, who ate the cow. He sat
Apart in sadness. 'I have sucked the breast
Of her who was their mother dear and mine.
Her bosom was my rest as theirs. Many rich
And many poor have been, but never one
Has borne the consequences of the deeds
That others wrought.' But God thus comforts
him,
'The world is fleeting: like a fortune told
It comes and goes. The way to heaven
rough,
And in the darkling night you travel. Still
Thy followers I will save — my word is sure.'
Then Kâlak Dâs addressed the Lord, 'Alas!
Provision now for me there's none. A man
Cast out am I. From me none alms will take,
For only they give alms who houses own.'
Such speech had Kâlak Dâs with God. 'Confess
The Lord, e'en to the sacrifice of life.
Be not deceived — the white-washed tomb is
vain
While thy hands full of dust adored will be
Within the court of heaven. The righteous
man
Is like a tree whose every branch bears fruit.'
So Kâlak Dâs in gladness offered gifts,
Of gold he gave a maund and one-fourth more
To top the flag, and diamonds rare so bright
With rubies red, and jewels rich in tale
Innumerable. Tassels hung in state
Adown the flag, embroidered rich with gold.
So rich a gift gave Kâlak Dâs, wherewith
He beautified the place of prayer. The priest
Was Alif Chela. Alif prayed the prayer
Appointed thus by God. Disciples sang
These songs, compiling them in full. The
prayer,
The story, Alif heartily recites.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

LACHCHHAN RÂJÂOṄ KE : OR, THE SIGNS OF ROYALTY IN RAJÂS.

I.

Hukm agiyâoṅ ko khat mêṅ likhê; Jamâbandî sûjh farq sê rakkhê. Nigah-dost daurah karê, bâr bâr, Siffât sê bolê, nâ ho gul ba khâr.	A Râjâ should issue his instructions in writing, and must exercise full control over his finances. He should carefully inspect his kingdom throughout, never treat his subordinates harshly, and try to live on amicable terms with them.

II.

Hans, sarûp, bugh, mîn, môr attî gidh bhanîji. Jugal kâg. Guṇ dharô teṅ guṇ bâne lijê.	A king should learn from the swan, heron, paddy-bird, fish, peacock and vulture. He should also learn love and unity from pairs of crows.
Girê paṛê ho pêḍwâkê, ṭêk dijê boh bistâr sinchari.	Those who have fallen into misfortune must be comforted, while the oppressors should be punished.
Itnê lachchhan râj kô, tab pag gaddî pah dharê.	Only when these qualities are attained by the king, should he ascend the throne.

H. A. ROSE.

IS THE CULT OF MIAN BIBI PHALLIC?

THE article (*ante*, Vol. XXXIV. p. 125) on the cult of Miâṅ Bibi, which flourishes in the Hoshiârpur District of the Pañjâb, is not easily explained. In his Settlement Report on the District Mr. Coldstream says that the image of the Miâṅ is nude,[1] but in the only two charms which I have been able to secure from Hoshiârpur the Miâṅ and his two wives are all represented as fully clothed. In charm No. 1 the Miâṅ certainly wears a turban and appears to be fully clothed. He is squatting on a couch and smoking his *huqqa*. The wife on the right seems to be holding a fan. This charm is rudely stamped on a thin piece of silver and is considerably worn, so that it is difficult to conjecture what the objects above and near the heads of the figures are intended to be. Below and on the left is conventional ornamentation.

Charm No. 2 is of a more recent type — or is at least newer and stamped from a better die. The Mian is standing up, smoking a *huqqa*, and wearing apparently a cap. *Both* his wives are fanning him.

That the cult is in its origin a phallic one I have myself no doubt, but a perusal of the songs published in the article above referred to may not leave that impression on every reader's mind, and it is impossible to be certain as the songs cannot be said to really prove anything. I have failed to trace any precise parallel to the cult in d'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*, in Mr. Rendell Harris' *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, or in Dulaure's *Des Divinités Génératrices*.

H. A. ROSE.

15th August, 1906.

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[1] "Among the lower class of Musalmâns, such as Gûjars, and perhaps *among the women* of the villagers generally, the worship or propitiation of Miâṅ Bîbî is common. The Miâṅ Bîbî, the old man and his [two] wives, is represented on silver charms worn on the person, as a *nude* male figure attended by two females, one waving a fan (*chaurî*) over him, the other filling his tobacco pipe (*huqqa*)." See extract in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, § 3 of Vol. IV.

CULT OF MIAN BIBI.





Charms showing Mian Bibi with attendants, worn by devotees.

H. A. ROSE, C S. W. GRIGGS

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 252.)

III. — The Twenty-two Tîkâs of Jungâ (Keônṭhal), near Simla.

THE **State of Keônṭhal** is one of the Simla Hill States in the Pañjâb, and its capital, Jungâ, so called after the god of that name, lies only a few miles from Simla itself. Besides the main territory of the State, Keônṭhal is over-lord of five feudatory States, *viz.*, **Kôṭî, Theôg, Madhân, Gûnd** and **Ratêsh.** Excluding these States, it comprises six detached tracts, which are divided into eighteen *parganâs*, thus:—

I. — Southern tract, comprising ten *parganâs*:— (1) Fâgû, (2) Khâlâshî, (3) Tir.Mahâsû, (4) Dharêch, in Fâgû *tahsîl*; (5) Ratêsh, (6) Karôlî, (7) Jâî, (8) Parâlî, (9) Jhajoṭ, (10) Kalâñj in Jungâ *tahsîl.*

II. — Northern tract, which includes four *parganâs* :— (11) Shilî, (12) Matiâna, (13) Rajâna, (14) ? Matiâna, in Fâgû *tahsîl.*

III. — *Parganâ* Râwin, and IV. — *Parganâ* Pûnnar, forming Râwin *tahsîl.*

V. — *Parganâ* Râmpur, and VI. — *Parganâ* Wâknâ, in Jungâ *tahsîl.*

The three *tahsîls* are modern Revenue divisions, but **the 22 parganâs** are ancient and correspond in number to **the 22 ṭîkâs,** which are described below. **It** does not appear, however, that each *parganâ* has its *ṭîkâ* and the number may be a mere coincidence. The fondness for the Nos. *12*, 22, 32, 42, *52*, &c., in the Pañjâb, and, indeed, throughout India is well-known, and goes back at least to Buddhist times.

The **Simla Hill States** form a network of feudal states with dependent feudatories subordinate to them and the jurisdictions of the local godlings afford a striking reflection of the political conditions, forming a complex **network of cults**, some superior, some subordinate. To complete the political analogy, the godlings often have their *wazîrs* or chief ministers and other officials. Perhaps the best illustration of this *quasi*-political organisation of the hill cults is afforded by the following account of **the 22 ṭîkâs of Jungâ.** At its head stands Jungâ's new cult. Jungâ, it should be observed, is *not* the family god of the Râjâ of Keônṭhal. That function is fulfilled by **the Dêvî Târâ.**[24]

The Cult of Jungâ.[25]

Legend. — The Râjâ of Koṭlêhr had two sons, who dwelt in Nâdaun. On the accession of the elder to the throne, they quarrelled, and the younger was expelled the State. With a few companions he set out for the hills and soon reached Jakho, near Simla. Thence they sought a suitable site for a residence, and found a level place at Ṭhagwâ in the Kôṭî State. Next morning the Miân, or 'prince,' set out in a palanquin, but when they reached Sanjaulî, his companions found he had disappeared, and conjecturing that he had become a *dêotâ*, returned to Ṭhagwâ, where they sought him in vain. They then took service with the people of that part. One night a man went out to watch his crop and, resting beneath a *kêmû* tree, heard a terrible voice from it say, "lest I fall down!" Panic-stricken he fled home, but another man volunteered to investigate the business and next night placed a piece of silk on the platform under the tree and took up his position in a corner. When he heard the voice, he rejoined "come down," whereupon the tree split in half and out of it a beautiful image fell on to the silk cloth. This the man took to his home and placed it in the upper

[24] An account of this will be found in Appendix I., attached to this paper.

[25] [The family likeness of the legends connected with these hill deities of the extreme North of India to those connected with the "devils" of the Tuluvas on the West Coast, very far to the South, is worthy of comparison by the student. See *Devil Worship of the Tuluvas, ante,* Vols. XXIII.—XXVI., 1894—1897.— ED.]

storey, but it always came down to the lower one, so he sent for the astrologers, who told him the image was that of a *dêotâ* who required a temple to live in. Then the people began to worship the image and appointed a *chêlâ*, through whom the god said he would select a place for his temple. So he was taken round the country, and when the news reached the companions of the Nâḍaun prince they joined the party. The god ordered temples to be built at Nain, Bojârî, Ṭhonḍ, and Kôṭî in succession, and indeed in every village he visited, until he reached Nâdaun, where the Râjâ, his brother, refused to allow any temple to be built, as he already had a family god of his own named Jîpûr. Jungâ, the new god, said he would settle matters with Jîpûr, and while the discussion was going on, he destroyed Jîpûr's temple and all its images by lightning, whereupon the Râjâ made Jungâ his own deity and placed him in a house in his *darbâr*.

Jîpûr is not now worshipped in Keônṭhal, all his old temples being used as temples of Jungâ who is worshipped in them. Nothing is known of Jîpûr, except that he came in with the ruling family of Keônṭhal.[26] He appears to have been only a *jaṭhêrâ* or ancestor. Jungâ has another temple at Pojarli, near Jungâ, to which he is taken when a *jâg* is to be celebrated; or when an heir-apparent, '*ṭikâ*,' is born to the Râjâ, on which occasion a *jâgrâ* is performed. On other occasions the images made subsequently are alone worshipped in this temple. The ritual is that observed in a Shiwâlâ and no sacrifice is offered. There are 22 ṭikâs or "sons" of Jungâ. None of these can celebrate a *jâg* or observe a festival without permission from the Jungâ temple, and such permission is not given unless all the dues of Jungâ's temple are paid. Thus Jungâ is regarded as the real god and the others are his children.

The following are the 22 ṭikâs of Jungâ :—

1. Kalaur.
2. Manûnî.
3. Kanêtî.
4. Dêo Chand.
5. Shanêṭî.
6. Mahânphâ.
7. Tîrû.
8. Khaṭêshwar.
9. Chaḍêi.
10. Shanêî and Jâû
11. Dhûrû.
12. Kulthî.
13. Dhânâṅ.
14. Dûm.
15. Râîṭâ.
16. Chânanâ.
17. Gaun.
18. Bîjâ.
19. Kusheli Deo.
20. Bâl Deo.
21. Rawâl Deo.
22. Kawâli Deo.

1. The Cult of Kalaur.

Legend. — A Brâhman once fled from Kullû and settled in Dawân, a village in *parganâ* Ratêsh. There he incurred the enmity of a Kanêt woman, who put poison in his food. The Brâhman detected the poison, but went to a spot called Bangâ Pânî, where there is water, in Dôṛau *jangal*, and there ate the food, arguing that if the woman meant to kill him she would do it sooner or later, and so died, invoking curses on the murderess. His body disappeared. In the Gaṛhal-kî-Dhâr plain was a *bakhal* plant. One day a Brâhman of Gaṛâwag observed that all the cows used to go to the plant and water it with their milk, so he got a spade and dug up the bush. He found under it a beautiful image (which still bears the mark of his spade) and took it home. When he told the people what had happened, they built a temple for the idol, and made the Brâhman its *pujârî*. But the image, which bore a strong resemblance to the Brâhman, who had died of the poisoned food, began to inflict disease upon the Kanêts of the place, so that several families perished. Thereupon, the people determined to bring in a stronger god or goddess to protect them from the image. Two Kanêts of the *parganâ*, Ḍhêlî and Chandî, were famed for their courage and strength, and so they were sent to Lâwî and Pâlwî, two villages in Sirmûr State, disguised as *faqîrs*, and thence they

[26] Nevertheless Jungâ is not the family god of the Râjâs of Keônṭhal. A somewhat similar legend will be found in Appendix II. of this paper.

stole an *âṭh-bhôjâwâlî*, 'eight-handed,' image of Dêvî, which they brought to Ḍhawar in Ratêsh. The people met them with music and made offerings to the stolen image, which they took to Walân, and there built a temple for it, ceasing to worship Kalaur. The plague also ceased. The people of one village, Gharêj, however, still affect Kalaur.

2. The Cult of Manûnî.

Manûnî is Mahâdêo, and is so called because his first temple was on the hill of Manûn.

Legend. — A Brâhman of Parâlî, in the Jamrôt *parganâ* of the Patiâla hill territory, a *pujarî* of Dêvî Dhâr, and others, went to buy salt in Mandî, and on their way back, halted for the night in Mâhûn Nâg's temple at Mâhûn in the Sukêt State. The Brâhman and the *pujârî*, with some of the company who were of good caste, slept in the temple, the rest sleeping outside. The *pûjârî* was a *chêla* of the god **Dharto,** at that time a famous *dêotâ*, revered throughout the northern part of the Keônthal State. On starting in the morning, a swarm of bees settled on the baggage of the Brâhman and the *pujârî*, and could not be driven off. When the party reached Munḍâ, where the temple of Hanûmân now stands, the swarm left the baggage and settled on a *bân* tree. Here, too, the *pujârî* fainted and was with difficulty taken home. The astrologers of the *parganâ* decided that a god had come from Sukêt and wished to settle in that part, and that unless he were accommodated with a residence the *pujârî* would not recover. Meanwhile the *pujârî* became possessed by the god and began to nod his head and declare that those present must revere him (the god), or he would cause trouble. They replied that if he could overcome the god Dharto, they would not hesitate to abandon that god, though they had revered him for generations. Upon this 'a bolt from the blue' fell upon Dharto's temple and destroyed it, breaking all the idols, except one which was cast into a tank in a cave. The *pujârî* then led the people to Munḍâ, where the bees had settled and directed them to build a temple at the place where they found ants. Ants were duly found in a square place on Manûn hill, and a temple built in due course; but when only the roof remained to be built, a plank flew off and settled in Parâlî. Upon this the *pujârî* said the temple must be built there, as the god had come with a Brâhman of that place, and so a second temple was built and the image placed in it. That at Manûn was also subsequently completed, and a third was erected at Kôṭî Dhâr. The cult also spread to Nala, in Patiâla territory, and to Bhajjî State, and temples were erected there. The Brâhmans of Parâlî were appointed Bhôjkîs and the *pujârîs* of Kôṭî Dhâr *pujârîs* of the god. Meanwhile the image of Dharto remained in the tank into which it had fallen. It is said that a man used to cook a *rôṭ* (a large loaf) and throw it into the water as an offering, requesting the god to lend him utensils, which he needed to entertain his guests. This Dharto used to do, on the condition that the utensils were restored to the pool when done with. But one day the man borrowed 40 and only returned 35 plates, and since then the god has ceased to lend his crockery. Beside the god's image is another, that of a *bîr* or spirit, called **Tonda.** Tonda used to live at Parâlî in a cave which was a water-mill, and if anyone visited the mill alone at night he used to become possessed by the *bîr*, and, unless promptly attended to, lose his life. But once the *pujârî* of Manûnî went to the mill, and by the help of his god resisted the attempts of the *bîr* to possess him. In fact, he captured the *bîr*, and having laid him flat on the grind-stone sat on him. Upon this, the *bîr* promised to obey him in all matters if he spared his life, and so the *pujârî* asked him to come to the temple, promising to worship him there if he ceased to molest people. The *bîr* agreed and has now a separate place in the temple of Manûnî, whose *wazîr* he has become.

3. The Cult of Kanêṭî.

Legend. — After the war of the *Mâhabhârata*, when the Pâṇḍavas had retired to the Badrî Nâth hills to worship, they erected several temples and placed images in them. Amongst others they established Kanêṭî in a temple at Kwâra, on the borders of Garhwâl and Bashahr, and there are around this temple five villages, which are still known after the Pâṇḍavas. Ḍôḍra and Kwâra are two of these. The people of the former wanted to have a temple of their own, but those of Kwâra objected

and so enmity arose between them. The Ḍôḍra people then stole an image from the Kwâra temple, but it disappeared and was found again in a pool in a cave. It then spoke by the mouth of its *chêla* and declared that it would not live at Ḍôḍra and that the people must quit that place and accompany it elsewhere. So a body of men, Kanêts, Kôlîs and Tûrîs, left Ḍôḍra and reached Ḍagôn, in Keônṭhal State, where was the temple of Jîpûr, the god of the Râjâ's family. This temple the new god destroyed by lightning, and took possession of his residence. The men who had accompanied the god settled in this region and the cult of Kanêṭî prospered. Âichâ, a Brâhman, was then *wazîr* of Keônṭhal, and he made a vow that if his progeny increased, he would cease to worship Jîpûr and affect Kanêṭî. His descendants soon numbered 1,500 houses. Similarly, the Bhalêr tribe made a vow to Kanêṭî, that if their repute for courage increased, they would desert Jîpûr.

4. The Cult of Dêo Chand.

Legend. — Dêo Chand, the ancestor of the Khanôgô sept of the Kanêts, was *wazîr* of Keônṭhal and once wished to celebrate a *jag*, so he fixed on an auspicious day and asked for the loan of Jungâ's image. This the *pujârîs* refused him, although they accepted his first invitation, and asked him to fix another day. Dêo Chand could not do this or induce the *pujârîs* to lend him the image, so he got a blacksmith to make a new one, and celebrated the *jag*, placing the image, which he named Dêo Chand after himself, in a new temple. He proclaimed Dêo Chand subordinate to Jungâ, but in all other respects the temple is under separate management.

5. The Cult of Shanêṭî.

There are two groups of Kanêts, the Painôî or Painûî and the Shaintî. Owing to some dispute with the *pujârîs*, the Shaintîs made a separate god for themselves and called him Shanêṭî.

6. The Cult of Mahânphâ.

The Chibhar Kanêts of Jâtil *parganâ* borrowed an image of Jungâ and established a separate temple.

7. The Cult of Tîrû.

Legend. — Tîrû is the god of the Jatik people, who are a sept of the Brâhmans. A Tîrû Brâhman went to petition the Râjâ and was harshly treated, so he cut off his own head, whereupon his headless body danced for a time. The Brahmans then made an image of Tîrû and he is now worshipped as the *jathêra* of the Jâtiks.

8. The Cult of Khatêshwar.

The Brâhmans of Bhakar borrowed an image of Jungâ and built a seperate temple for it at a place called Kôṭî, whence the god's name.

9. The Cult of Chaḍeî.

The Nawâwan sept of the Kanêts brought this god from *parganâ* Ratêsh and built his temple at Charôl, whence the god's name.

10. The Cult of Shanêî and Jâû.

Jungâ on his birth made a tour through the Keônṭhal territory, and, having visited Shaint and Jâû villages, ordered temples to be built in each of them. Shanêî is subordinate to Jungâ, and Jâû to Shanêî. Both these temples are in the village of Kôṭî.

11. The Cult of Dhûrû.

A very ancient god of the Jai *parganâ* of Keônṭhal. All the *zamîndârs*, who affected Dhûrû, died childless. The temple is financed by the Râjâs and the god is subordinate to Jungâ.

12. The Cult of Kûlthî.

The Chibhar sept of the Kanêts affect this god. His temple is at a place called Kawâlath.

13. The Cult of Dhânûn.

Legend.— The image of this god came, borne on the wind, from Nâdaun after Jungâ's arrival in the country. It first alighted on Jhako and thence flew to Nêôg, where it hid under a rice-plant in a paddy-field. When the people cut the crop they spared this plant, and then turned their cattle into the fields. But all the cattle collected round the plant, from under which a serpent emerged and sucked all their milk. When the people found their cows had run dry, they suspected the cowherdess of having milked them, and set a man to watch her. He saw what occurred, and the woman then, enraged with the plant, endeavoured to dig it up, but found two beautiful images, (they both still bear the marks of her sickle). The larger of these two is considered the Râjâ and is called Dhânûṅ (? from Dhând, rice), and the smaller is deemed the *wazîr* and is called **Wano** (meaning "tyrant" in the Pahârî dialect). This was the image which assumed a serpent's shape and drained the cows. Two temples were erected to these images, but they began to oppress the people and compelled them to sacrifice a man every day, so the people of the *parganâ* arranged for each family to supply its victim in turn. At last, weary of this tyranny, they called in a learned Brâhman of the Bharobo sept, who induced the god to content himself with a human sacrifice once a month, then twice and then once a year, then with a he-goat sacrificed monthly, and finally once every six months, on the *ikâdshîs* of Hâr and Khâtik *sudi*. The Brâhman's descendants are still *pujârîs* of the temple and *parôhits* of the village, and they held Bhiyâr free of revenue until Râjâ Chandr Sain resumed the grant. They now hold Sigar in lieu of service to the god.

14. The Cult of Dûm.

Dûm has a temple in Katian, a village of Phâgu *tahsîl*, and goes on tour every five or ten years through Keônṭhal, Kuthâr, Mahlôg, Bashâhir, Kôṭ Khâî, Jubbal, Khanâr, Bâghal, Kôtî and other States. In Sambat 1150 he visited Delhi, then under the rule of the Tuṅwars, many of whom, after their defeat by the Chauhâns, fled to these hills, where they still affect the cult of Ḍûm. He is believed to possess miraculous powers and owns much gold and silver. He became subordinate to Jungâ, as the god of the State.

15. Râihâ.

This god has a temple in *pargana* Parâlî.

16. Chânanna.

He is the deity of the Doli Brâhmans.

17. Gâun.

The image is that of Jungâ, who was established by the Rawal people.

18. Bîjû.

Bîjû was originally subordinate to the god **Bijat**, but as he was in the Keônṭhal State, he became subordinate to Jungâ. His real name is **Bijlêshwar Mahâdêo, or Mahâdeo the Lightning God,** and his temple stands below Jori Chandni in the Jubbal State.

Nos. 19, 20, 21 and 22.

Regarding No. 19, Kûsheti Dêo; 20, Bâl Dêo; 21, Rawâl Dêo; and 22, Kawâlî Dêo, no particulars have been discovered.

The Fairs.

It must be understood that the above are not the only cults which prevail in the Keônṭhal State. For instance, fairs called *jât* or *zât* are observed at Garên and Bhalâwag in this State, and, as will appear from the following accounts, other godlings are popular within its borders.

I. — The Zât Fair at Gaṛên in Parganâ Ratêsh.

This fair is held on the 29th of Jêṭh. The images of the Dêvî Ratêsh and Kalwâ *déotâ* are brought in procession from the temple, where they are kept, to Gaṛên, 400 or 500 persons accompanying them; and of these some 50 remain at Gaṛên for the night, the rest returning home. By mid-day next day a great crowd of people collects, the men coming in bodies from opposite directions, each man armed with a bow and arrow and flourishing a *ḍângrâ* (axe), with a band of musicians preceding them. A man in one of those bodies shouts :. — *Ṭhaḍairi râ bhûkhâ, awau ji jhamak lâgi thî.*[27] *hô hô*, I hunger for a shooting-match : come, the fair has started; *hô, hô.* The others call out *hô hô* in reply. The tune called a *ṭhaḍairî* is then sung, and matches are arranged between pairs of players. One champion advances with his arrow on the string of his bow, while the other places himself in front of him, keeping his legs moving, so as to avoid being hit. The archer's object is to hit his opponent below the knee, and if he succeeds in doing so he takes a *ḍângrâ* in his hand and dances, declaring that a lion's whelp was born in the house of his father at his home. The man who has been hit is allowed to sit down for a time to recover from the pain of the wound, and then he in turn takes a bow, and placing his hand on his opponent's shoulder says 'bravo, now it is my turn, beware of my arrow.' If he hit his opponent he, too, dances in the same way, but if he fail his victor dances again crying, 'how could the arrow of such a jackal hit a tiger's cub?' This goes on until one or the other is beaten. The matches are usually arranged between men who are at enmity with one another. The play lasts for two days. Sometimes disturbances break out. These used to be serious; even resulting in men being killed on either side, but nowadays a stop is put to the play, if a disturbance is feared, by pulling down the *déotâ's* flag, when the players desist of their own accord.

On the third day a goat and two buffaloes, all males, are sacrificed to Dêvî. The latter are killed in the same way as those at the Târab Fair,[28] but the shambles are at a distance from the temple, and two picked men take their stand, one on the road to Fâgû, the other on that to Ratêsh, to prevent the wounded animals going towards their respective villages, as it is believed that it is unlucky for one of them to reach either village, and bloodshed often results from the attempts of the different parties to keep the animals away from their village. Efforts have been made to induce the people to allow the buffaloes to be killed by a single blow, but the *pujâris* will not allow this, as being the offsprings of Dêvî's enemies, they must be slaughtered with as much cruelty as possible. After this rite the people make offerings to Dêvî, the money going to the temple fund, while the other things, such as grain, goats, &c., are divided among the *pujâris*. The *chêlâ* of the Dêvî then begins to nod his head (*khêlnâ, lit.* to play), and taking some grains of rice in his hand, distributes them among the people, saying, 'you have celebrated my fair without disturbances, and I will protect you against all misfortunes throughout the year.' If, however, any disturbance has occurred during the fair, the offenders are made to pay a fine on the spot to obtain the Dêvî's pardon, otherwise it is believed that some dire catastrophe will befall them, necessitating the payment of a still heavier fine. The Dêvî passes the night at the fair, returning to her temple on the morning of the fourth day.

II. — The Jât Fair, Bhalâwag.

This fair is held at Bhalâwag on the first Sunday in Hâṛ. There is a legend that a *sâdhû* once lived on the Châbal hill. He was famous for his miraculous feats, and was said to be a *sidh*. He built a small temple to Mahâdêo on the hill, and established a fair, which was held continuously for some years. The offerings made at the temple were utilized to meet the expenses of the institution. After the Gurkhâ conquest this tract was ceded to the Mahârâja of Patiâla in the time of Râjâ Raghûnâth Sain. Once Rânâ Sansâr Sain visited the fair, but a dispute arose, and the Patiâlâ officials having used unbecoming words against the Rânâ, he removed the *ling* of Mahâdêo to his

[27] *Lit.*, 'you hunger after archery, come on, since you itch for it.' *Ṭhaḍairi*, fr. *ṭhoḍa*, an arrow, means archery, and one of the tunes or modes of the hill music is so called, because it is played at archery meetings.

[28] [See Appendix I., below.]

own territory and established it at Bhalâwag, and since then the fair has been held there. It only lasts one day. The Râjâ, with his Rânîs, &c., sets out with great pomp to the scene of the fair, the procession being headed by a band, and reaches the place about mid-day. People pour in from all parts, and by two in the afternoon the fair is in full swing. The Râjâ takes his seat on the side of a tank, into which people dive and swim. A wild *leo* is also thrown into it as a scapegoat (*bhêṭ*) and some people throw money into it as an offering. In the temple of Mahâdêo, *ghî*, grain, and money are offered by the people according to their means. The *pujârîs* of the temple, who are Brâhmans, divide the offerings among themselves. Worship is performed there daily, and on the *śankrânt* days Brâhmans of other villages come there to worship. On the fair day worship is performed all day long. People also give the offerings they have vowed.

There is a legend about this tank, which is as follows: — Once a Brâhman committed suicide in a Râjâ's *darbâr*. In consequence of this *hatîyâ* (a profane act, especially the killing of a Brâhman), the Râjâ became accursed. He tried by all the means in his power to remove the curse, but in vain, for if he had a child born to him, it soon died, and though he performed worship and tried many charms and amulets, it was all of no avail. An astrologer then told him that as a *Brâhman-hatîyâ* had been committed in his *darbâr*, he would never be blessed with a son, unless he sank eighty-four tanks at different places in his realm for watering of kine. The Râjâ accordingly constructed eighty-four tanks at different places in the hills from Tajaur to Mattiâna. Of these tanks some were very fine, and one of them is the tank in question. After making all the tanks, the Râjâ sent for the builder, and, being much pleased with his work, gave him as a reward al that he asked for. But people then became envious of the kindness shown to him by the Râjâ, fearing that he would be elevated to the rank of *musâhib* (courtier), and so they told the Râjâ that if the builder did the same kind of work anywhere else, the Râjâ's memory would not be perpetuated and that steps should be taken to prevent this. The Râjâ said that this was good advice, and that, of course, he had already thought of it, so the builder was sent for, and although he tried to satisfy the Râjâ that he would never make the same kind of tank at any other place, the Râja paid no heed to his entreaties and had his right hand amputated. Thus disabled, the man remained helpless for some time, but having recovered, it struck him that with his skill he could do some work with his left hand, and he, accordingly, built two temples, one at Jâṭhîâ Dêvî and the other at Sâdû, both now places in Patiâla territory. When the Râjâ heard of this, he at once went to see the temples, and was so delighted with their work that he gave a reward to the builder, but at the same time had his other hand cut off, and the man died a few days after. It is said that after the making of the tanks, the Râjâ celebrated a *jag* on a very large scale, and four years after was blessed with a *ṭikâ* (son).

APPENDIX I.

Dêvî Târâ of Târab.

This Dêvî is the family deity of the Râjâ of Keônṭhal, and her arrival dates from the advent of the Râjâ's family in this part of the hills. Her legend is as follows :— Târâ Nâth, a *jogî*, who had renounced the world and was possessed of miraculous power, came to Târab to practise austerities. He kindled his fire, *dhûnâ*, in the jungle. When rain come, not a drop fell on his sitting place (*âsan*), and it remained dry. Hearing of the supernatural deeds of the *faqîr*, the Râjâ went to visit him. The *jôgî* told the Râjâ to erect a temple to his goddess, **Târâ Mâî**, on the hill, and to place her idol in it, predicting that this act would bring him much good, and that it was only with this object that he had taken up his abode on the hill. In compliance with these directions, the Râjâ ordered a temple to be built, in which the *jôgî* Târâ Nâth placed the Dêvî's idol according to the rules set forth in the Hindu *Shâstras* for *asthâpan*, 'establishing an idol.' The Paṭo Brâhmans, who attended the *jôgî*, were appointed *pujârîs* of the temple. This Dêvî has eighteen hands, in each of which she holds a weapon, such as a sword, spear, &c., and she is mounted on a tiger. The hill on which the *jôgî* resided had, before his arrival, another name, but it was re-named **Târab** after him.

As the Dêvî is the family deity of the Râjâ, she is revered by all his subjects, and it is well known that whosoever worships the Dêvî will prosper in this world in all respects. It is also believed that she protects people against epidemics, such as cholera and small-pox. It is likewise believed that if the Dêvi be angry with anybody, she causes his cattle to be devoured by hyenas. The *zamîndârs* of *parganâs* Kalânj and Khushâlâ have the sincerest belief in the Dêvî. Whenever sickness breaks out, the people celebrate *jags* in her honour, and it is believed that pestilence is thus stayed. Some nine or ten years ago, when cholera appeared in the Simla District, some members of the Jungâ *Darbâr* fell victims to the disease, but the Râjâ made a vow to the Dêvî, and all the people also prayed for health, whereupon the cholera disappeared. The people ascribe the death of those who died of it to the Dêvî's displeasure. Some four years ago, and again last year, small-pox visited *parganâ* Kalânj, but there was no loss of life. Some two or three years ago hyenas killed numbers of goats and sheep grazing in the jungles round Târab, and the Dêvî revealed the cause of her displeasure to the people, who promised to celebrate a *jag* in her honour. Since then no loss has occurred.

Close to the temple of Dêvî is another, dedicated to Siva, which was erected at the instance of the *jôgî* **Tara Nâth.** The first temple of the Dêvî was at Ganpari village in *parganâ* Khushâlâ. This still exists, and the usual worship is performed in it. The Dêvî's original seat is considered to be Târab. Her oldest image is a small one.

There is a **legend** that Râjâ Balbîr Sain placed in the temple at Târab an idol made by a blacksmith named Gosâûn, under the following circumstances: — One Bhawâni Dat, a *paṇḍit*, told Râjâ Balchr Sain that as Târab was a sacred place he ought to present an idol to it, which he (the *paṇḍit*) would place in the temple according to the Hindu ritual, and he added that the idol would display miracles. Accordingly the Râja ordered Gosâwan to make the idol required. The blacksmith made an earthen image of the shape suggested to him by the *paṇḍit*, who told the Râjâ that while the idol was being moulded, he must offer five sacrifices. This the Râjâ did not do, and moreover he had a brazen image prepared. Immediately after the blacksmith had completed his idol, he was attacked by a band of dacoits, who killed him with two of his companions, as well as a dog and a cat. Thus the five necessary sacrifices were fulfilled. The Râjâ was then convinced of the veracity of the *paṇḍit's* statement and acted thenceforward according to his directions. He performed all the requisite charities and sacrifices, and, having seated the idol, took it to Târab. He performed several *havans* in the temple and placed (*asthâpan*) the idol in it. This Dêvî is the one who is mentioned in the *Chanḍiki-Pôthî* by Mârkanḍâ Rishi, who killed Mahî Kahâshor.[29]

The Fair of Dêvî Târâ is held at Târab in October on the Durgâ *ashtamî*, and lasts for a day. On the first *naurâtrâ*, the Brâhmans worship Durgâ in the temple, and a he-goat is sacrificed daily, the Râjâ bearing all expenses. On the morning of the *ashtami*, the Râjâ, with his Rani and all his family, sets out from his court so as to reach the plain below the temple at ten in the morning, and there takes a meal; after which the whole Court goes in procession, preceded by a band of musicians, to the temple, which the Râjâ, with the Rânî, enters at about one in the afternoon. The Râjâ first offers a gold *mohar* and sacrifices a he-goat, and each member of his family does the same. Everyone presents from one to eight annas to the *bhôjki* and the *pujârî*. After the ruling family has made its offerings, other people may make theirs, and money, fruit, flowers, *ghî* and grain are given by everyone according to his means. The *bhôjkî* and the *pujârî* divide the heads of the slaughtered goats, returning the rest of the flesh to the persons who offered them. This worship lasts till four, and then the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes begins. These are presented by the Râjâ as *sankalp* or alms, and taken to a place not far from the temple, where a crowd of people surround them with sticks and hatchets in their hands. The *pujârî* first worships the animals, making a *tilak* with rice and saffron on their foreheads. Boiling water is then poured on them to make them shiver, and if that fails, cinders are placed on their backs. This is done to each animal in turn, and unless each one trembles from head to foot it is not sacrificed. The people

[29] [This reference [illegible] clearly meant to be classical, and for Mahi Kahâshor read Mahisâsûra. — Ed.]

stand round entreating the Dêvî with clasped hands to accept the offerings, and when a buffalo shivers it is believed that the Dêvî has accepted his sacrifice. The people then shout '*Dêvî-jî kî jai, jai*,' 'victory to the Dêvî.' When all the buffaloes have been accepted by the Dêvî, the first is taken to the shambles and a man there wounds him with a sword. Then all the low-caste people, such as the Chamârs, Kôlîs, Bharos, and Ahîrs, pursue the animal, striking him with their clubs and hatchets and making a great outcry. Each buffalo is brutally and cruelly killed in this way, and it is considered a meritorious act to kill them as mercilessly as possible, and if the head of any buffalo is severed at the first stroke of the sword, it is regarded as an omen that some evil is impending, and that both the person who inflicts the blow and the one who makes the sacrifice will come to harm in the course of the ensuing year, the belief being, that as the buffaloes are the children of the Dêvî's enemies, it is fitting to kill them in this way.[30] After this sacrifice, food is offered to the Dêvî, and *ârtî* is performed at six in the evening.

The fair is the occasion of much merriment and even debauchery. Women of all classes attend, unless they are secluded (*pardâ nishîn*), and those of loose character openly exact sweetmeats and money for the expenses of the fair, from their paramours, and put them publicly to shame if they do not pay. The plain is a sanctuary, and no one can be arrested on it for any offence, even by the Râjâ, but offenders may be arrested as soon as they quit its boundaries and fined, the fines being credited to the temple funds. Offences are, however, mostly connived at. There is much drinking and a good deal of immorality, with a great many petty thefts. The Râjâ, with his family, spends the night on the site of the fair. The *bhôjkî* and the *pujârî*, who, with the *bhandârî*, receive the offerings received at the fair, are Sarsût Brâhmans of the Rai-Bhât group, while the *bhandârî* is a Kanêt. Brâhman girls are also brought to this temple, where they worship and are fed, and also receive money and *dachhnâ* (*dakhnâ*).[31]

On the third day of the Dasahrâ, the goddess is worshipped at 2 P.M., in the *darbâr*, all the weapons being first taken out of the arsenal and worshipped, and then all the musical instruments. The essential worship is that of the sword and flag. After this the Râjâ holds a *darbâr* with full ceremonial and then visits the temple of **Thâkurjî Lachhmî Nârâyan,** whence the image is brought in a palanquin, while the Râjâ walks just behind it, attended by all his officials, in order of precedence, to the plain set apart for this festival. On this plain a heap of fuel[32] is piled at a short distance from a green tree, which is adorned with small flags and round which is tied a wreath containing a rupee. The Râjâ with unsheathed sword goes round the heap, followed by the rest of the people, and the heap is then worshipped and set fire to. It is essential that the *wazîr* of the State should be present at this ceremony, and if he is unavoidably absent, a representative, who wears an iron *sanjuâ*, is appointed, and the heap is then fired. The man who cuts the wreath on the tree in the midst of the burning fire and takes the rupee is considered a hero, and his prosperity during the ensuing year is assured. Before the heap is fired, a pitcher of water with a mark on it is placed close by, and whoever hits the mark is deemed lucky, besides receiving a prize from the Râjâ. If no one is able to hit it, the man who represents Hanûmân, and who accompanied the idol, smashes the pitcher with his mace. The image is then carried back to its temple with the same pomp as before, and a turban is given to the Râjâ on behalf of the Ṭhâkurdwâra, while his attendants are given *bhôg* and *charnamrît*.[33] Wreaths of flowers are then distributed. The festival is believed to commemorate the conquest of Ceylon by Râm Chandar, the ancestor of the Râjputs, which was accomplished after worshipping Dêvî.

A somewhat similar festival is **the Sâêr Fair held at Khaḍ Ashnî**: — On the morning of the first of Asauj, a barber, having lighted a lamp in a *thâl* (plate) and made an idol of Ganêsh in cow-dung, comes to the Râjâ and his officials and makes them worship the idol. The Râjâ and

[30] Mahî Khashwa, Mahisâsûra, who tormented the Dêvî, was a bull-buffalo, and, when he was killed, his descendants were metamorphosed into bull-buffaloes.

[31] A fee for spiritual service.

[32] The stack is called *lankâ*.

[33] The water with which the feet of the idol have been washed.

officials then give him presents according to their means. In the afternoon, the Râjâ gives alms, and, accompanied by a procession with a band and his Rânîs, sets out for Khaḍ Ashnî. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages assemble there in thousands to enjoy the sight. Some fighting bull-buffaloes, which have been reared for the purpose, are brought to the fair the day before and fed up with *ghî*, &c. The Râjâ himself rears six or eight buffaloes for this fair, and they are similarly prepared for the fight. The fair begins at one in the afternoon, when the he-buffaloes are set to fight in pairs, and the person whose buffalo wins is given a rupee as a reward by the Râjâ. So long as the fight lasts, music is played.

The people at the fair distribute sweetmeats, &c., among their friends and relatives. Swings too are set up and the people revel in drink. They can commit disturbances with impunity, as no offenders are arrested on this occasion. Many people from Simla bring haberdashery for sale, and the articles are largely purchased by women. At five the people begin to disperse, and the Râjâ returns to his *darbâr*. About 6,000 or 7,000 persons assemble at this fair, and the Râjâ distributes rewards among his servants on its termination. Its introduction is due to the Râjâ and it is not held in honour of any particular god. The place where the fight takes place is dedicated to the god Baḍmûn. Formerly rams were also made to fight, but now only bull-buffaloes are used. Before the commencement of the fight, a *rôt* is given to the god. This *rôt* is made of 5¼ *sêrs* of flour, 5¼ of *guṛ*, and 5¼ of *ghî*. The flour is first kneaded in *sharbat* of *guṛ* and then made into a thick loaf, which is then fried in *ghî*. When it is cooked, it is taken with *dhûp*, *tilak*, flowers and rice to the place of the god, and after worship has been performed, it is divided in two, one piece being left at the temple and the other distributed among the people.

According to one legend, this fair was instituted by the forefathers of the Râjâ, who originally came from Gauṛ in Bengal and were an offshoot of the Sain dynasty. This festival is also observed in that country. It is said that the Râjâs of the Sain dynasty were the devotees (*upâsak*) of the Dêvî, who rejoices in fighting and the sacrifice of bull-buffaloes. Although this fiction is not generally accepted, the story is told by men of advanced age, and the late Râjâ Malêr Sain also ascribed the fair to this origin. It is said that that Biru dêotâ is the *wazîr* of the Dêvî, and therefore the fair is held at the place where there is a temple of the Dêvî or Biru. It is also said that the day of the fair is the anniversary of that on which Râjâ Râm Chandar constructed the bridge to Ceylon, and that the fair is held in commemoration of that event. In the everyday speech of the hill people Bîrû dêotâ is called Baḍmûn dêotâ.

APPENDIX II.

The Goddess Ath-bhôjâ of Dharêch.

Legend.— A Râjâ of Kôṭlêhr in the Kângra District, named Jaspâl, had two sons The elder succeeded to the throne, and the younger, in consequence of some dispute, quitted the dominions of his brother, went to the hills, and took the name of Gajindar Pâl. On leaving Kôṭlêhr, he brought with him an eight-handed image from the fort of Kângra, and came to Bhajjî, where he begot four sons, Chîrû, Chând, Lôgû, and Bhôgû. On his death, these four partitioned his dominions thus: Chîrû took the *ilâqa* of Bhajjî, and Chând that of Kôṭî, while Lôgû and Bhôgû received *parganâ* Phâgû in *jâgîr*. The descendants of Chîrû and Chând are to this day the Rânâs of Bhajjî and Kôṭî respectively. Bhôgû married, and three families of his descendants, Marchîṭak, Phaṭîk, and Haliṭak, still exist in *parganâ* Phâgû. Lôgû did not marry, but became a dacoit. In those days the country round Phâgû was under the Rânâ of Ratêsh. Harassed by Lôgû's raids, the people complained to the Rânâ, but Lôgû was strong and brave and the Rânâ could not capture him. At last he commissioned a Chanâl[34] to kill Lôgû, promising him a reward if he succeeded, but though the Chanâl pursued Lôgû for some time, he failed to seize him. Lôgû had a *liaison* with a Brâhman girl, and one day she was sitting with him under a tree, when the Chanâl chanced to pass by, and, taking Lôgû off his

[34] Chanâl is a low caste in the hills.

guard, smote off his head and carried it to the Rânâ, leaving his body at Hohân village, but the corpse of its own accord went to Dhar, a village surrounded by a rampart and with only one entrance, which was closed at the time. The headless body pushed open the gate, and entered the village. When the people saw it all besmeared with blood, they were terrified and gathered together, but the body disappeared, and though they searched for it, they could not find it. At last they discovered a stone *pindlî* (an idol having no special shape). On consulting the astrologers, they were told, that Logû had been transformed into a *dêotâ* and that they should place (*asthâpan*) the *pindlî* in a temple and worship it as a god. Then Bhôgû and other *zamîndârs* established the eight-handed Dêvî, which Lôgû's father had brought from Kôṭlêhr, at Kîliyâ in Dhîraj village and placed Lôgû's *pindlî* in the jungle of Ḍawân. The Brâhmans who had come with the Râjâ of Kôtlêhr's sons were appointed *pujârîs* of both deities, and it was then decided that Dêvî was the superior and that Lôgû was her subordinate. Shortly afterwards several brazen images of Lôgû were made and a handsome temple built to him in Bakhôg village, where he is daily worshipped. In Ḍawân hamlet he is worshipped once every three years.

A fair is held at Dêvî's temple on the Durgâ *ashtami* day and at that of Lôgû on the Salônô, *i. e.*, the *pûranmâshî* of Sâwan *sudî*, and at the Diwâlî in the month of Kâtak.

(To be continued.)

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

(Continued from p. 18.)

Next 'Imād-ul-mulk began to talk about the invasion of the Shāh and his own calamities at the coming of the Shāh to Shāhjahānābād, telling the story with all its details. His account was as follows: —

'IMĀD-UL-MULK'S STORY.

The daughter of Mīr Manūṇ, son of Nawāb Qamar-ud-dīn Khān, Muḥammad Shāh's *Wazir*, was betrothed to me. Then Mīr Manūṇ met his death at Lāhor.[16] His widow, by the medium of a woman in the Shāh's (the Abdālī's) family, with whom she had some sort of relationship or connection, wrote a letter to the Shāh, setting forth her unprotected condition. The Shāh was touched and said he would adopt Mīr Manūṇ's widow as his daughter. He ordered certain *jāgīrs* to be left in her possession and added some tracts of land as a gift from himself.

As Mīr Manūṇ's daughter had already been betrothed to me ('Imād-ul-mulk), her mother wrote to me: "The feast for the marriage of my daughter remains to be performed. You "can either come here [Lāhor], or send for us [to Dihlī], so that this business may be carried "through." But the Begam added that she could not come to Dihlī without the permission of the Shāh. In reply I wrote to her: "Get permission from the Shāh and come yourself to Shāhjahānābād." The Begam submitted this proposal to the Shāh, and permission to leave Lāhor having been granted, she reached Shāhjahānābād two years ago.

In the interval mention began to be made [to me, 'Imād-ul-mulk] of the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān; and the other matter [of the marriage to Mu'īn-ul-mulk's daughter] was

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[16] Mu'īn-ul-mulk (Mannū) met his death at Lāhor by a fall or by poison on the 9th or 10th Muḥarram, 1167 H., 3rd or 6th Nov. 1753. 'Imād-ul-mulk is telling the story in 1169 H., according to our author. The real date of this interview must have been, however, Jamādā II., 1170, end of February, or first week in March 1757; see B. M. Oriental MS. No 1749, ff., 102a-105b.

postponed for one year, and I was married to the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān.[17] After a year the Begam Ṣāḥibah was sent for by the Shāh; and repeatedly his letters arrived summoning her. The answer she wrote was: "I came to Shāhjahānābād to see about the marriage of my "daughter. Two years have elapsed while I have been sitting and waiting here and Ghiyāz-ud-"dīn Khān [*i. e.*, the person speaking, *viz.*, 'Imād-ul-mulk] has never carried out the ceremony. "Nay, he is on the point of making his first marriage with the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān, "the Six-fingered, the Dāghistānī; and her mother was a singing woman."

In reply to this letter the Shāh sent me an angry letter, and over and over again forwarded preremptory orders for the Begam to return to his Court. While this was going on, I had married 'Alī Qulī Khān's daughter, and on this account the Begam Ṣāḥibah was to some extent ill-disposed towards me. More than once she wrote to the Shāh that she had been involved in all these complications, yet up to that date her daughter had never been married, "but was still "seated solitary at home."

The Shāh, upon the representations of the Begam Ṣāḥibah, was greatly incensed against me in his heart. When the Shāh drew near to Dihlī and was encamped at Shāhdarrah,[18] I sent for Nawāb Najīb Khān, and said: "We must deliver one battle against the Shāh." His answer was: "Pay me this day two *krors* of rupees, cash down, and I will fight." I replied: "Nothing is due to you by the State for your arrears and pay, seeing that in liquidation of your "claims I have handed over to you more than one half of the territories. At a day's notice "whence can I produce such a sum of money? This claim that you have announced is "inconsistent with your loyalty as a subject."

Najīb Khān and his followers raised a tumult and for a whole day barred exit from and ingress to my house, and pressed for payment of the above sum. Then, keeping the fact a secret from me, Najīb Khān appointed one Rasūl Khan, Afghān, as his agent, and sent him to the Shāh's camp, where he was to act under the auspices of Jahān Khan, the Shāh's general-in-chief. That very same day a letter in the most cordial terms came from the Shāh, inviting Najīb Khān to his camp.

At midnight Najīb Khan came out of Dihlī and marched off with his troops to the Shāh's camp, where he was presented through Jahān Khān and obtained a regal *khila't* (set of robes). I saw that in the realm of Hind there was no defender, I was left alone, "driven off from "that side, and on this side, left forlorn,"[19] exposed to dishonour and to death. Thus it seemed best to let come what come might, and go off in person to the Shāh. When it was one watch (three hours) before dawn, without informing any of my people, but taking my life in my hand, I got on to my horse, and, followed by four attendants, an hour and a half after sunrise I reached the tent of the chief minister, where I dismounted. The chief minister was most kind and took me to his arms. Then he called for breakfast for me. In every way he tried to comfort and reassure me. One of the family of the chief minister was related to my mother, and this lady, who was then travelling with him, heard of my arrival, and, following custom, sent out some one to ask how I was.

This conversation ended, the chief minister went away to see the Shāh and reported that 'Imād-ul-mulk Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān, the *Wazīr* of Hindūstān, had left the capital and had reached his (the chief minister's) tent all alone, and was stopping there. He was waiting for permission to kiss the threshold of the Heaven-exalted Court.

[17] Her name was Gannā Begam and her mother was a dancing-girl. A translation of one of her poems is to be found in Vol. I. of Sir William Jones' works. Her tomb is at Nūrābād, sixty-three miles south of Āgrah, and it bears the short inscription, '*āh, gham-i-Gannā Begam*' (1189 H., 1775-6). "Alas! weep for Gannā Begam."

[18] On the left bank of the Jamnah, just opposite to Dihlī.

[19] *Az ān sū rāndah, wa az īn sū māndah.*

An order issued: "Let him be brought." I went, and I saw that Najīb Khān, and Jahān Khān, and five other commanders were standing there with folded hands. As my offering I produced five gold coins, and a jewelled amulet, having mounted on it a diamond of great price.

The Shāh said: "Art thou Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān?" I replied: "I am he; a sinner and "a transgressor." He said: "Thou wert *Wazīr* of Hindūstān, wherefore foughtest thou not with "me?" I replied: "The Amīr-ul-umarā of Hindūstān was Najīb Khān. Behold, here he "is present before the Shāh's throne. I said to him: 'We ought to fight one battle.' He paid "no heed and, without reporting to me, left Dihlī and was honoured by admission to this Exalted "Court. Except this noble there was within the realm no other renowned commander having an "army. Thus, where was the army I could lead into battle?"

The Shāh said: "It is two years since I sent to you the daughter of Mīr Manūn, under "her mother's charge, so that she might be married to you. Up to this day you have not been "married to her. Repeatedly have I sent for the Begam of Mīr Manūn, she being my adopted "daughter, and yet you never sent her to me. Over and above this neglect, you made your first "marriage with the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān, whose mother was a dancing-woman, and yet "you failed to carry out my orders."

I replied: "The Begam of Mīr Manūn caused me to record a written oath, sworn to upon "the back of the Qurān, and took it away with her. It was to the effect that after I had "married her daughter I would never marry another wife. Now, the daughter of 'Alī Qulī "Khān had equally become betrothed to me, but when 'Alī Qulī Khān died, Shujā'-ud-daulah "had endeavoured to get the girl for himself. Thus I was forced to consider my reputation "and dignity and name, which were at stake; so I entered into my first marriage with her and "thus avoided the breaking of the oath that the Begam Ṣāhibah had forced me to write out."

Upon this the Shāh said: "Intizām-ud-daulah (son of Qamar-ud-dīn Khān) has filed before "me, through my *'arzbegī*, Barkhūrdār Khān, an agreement under his own seal, offering two "*krors* of rupees on condition that charge of the office of *Wazīr* in Hindūstān is made over to "him. The rescript conferring the office of *Wazīr* in India has been written out, and only "awaits the seal of my *Wazīr*. If thou agreest to one *kror* of rupees, thou shalt be maintained "as before in that office."

I said: "This slave could not lay his hands even upon one *lakh* of rupees. Whence "can I produce a *kror*?" He (the Shāh) answered: "Thou canst bring it from Shāhjahānābād." I represented: "I could not collect a *kror* of broken pebble-stones there. What chance, "then, of getting rupees?" He replied: "How much treasure hast thou stored in thy house?" I said: "Fourteen thousand rupees in cash, two thousand seven hundred gold coins, and "four *lakhs* worth of jewels, silver vessels, and so forth. If it be so directed, I will send for "them this day, and deliver them over to His Majesty's officials."

On this occasion a slight smile passed over the Shāh's face, and he said to Shāh Walī Khān, his chief minister: "This is the *Wazīr* of Hindūstān and you, too, are a *Wazīr*. Take him to "your quarters and persuade him. If he agrees to a *kror* of rupees, then make out the rescript "for the *Wazīr's* office in his name, and maintain him in his old position." He presented me with robes of honour of the Qizzilbāsh style, six pieces in number, and a jewelled aigrette-holder, with a plume of feathers; then dismissing me, sent me away with his *Wazīr*.

Upon this we came back to the chief minister's tent. He pressed me to the utmost, and said the rescript appointing Intizām-ud-daulah to be *Wazīr* of Hind was already made out; only his (the chief minister's) signature and seal remained to be attached. Any sum that

I chose to promise he would get agreed to, and then would have the order made out in my name. "As the Shāh and I too" (he added), "on account of Mīr Manūṇ, are inclined in "heart towards you, we have made some delay in impressing the seal on the rescript for "Intiẓām-ud-daulah."

I replied that absolutely I could not think of taking or attempting the *Wazīr*-ship in a State where there was no army and no treasure. Nor had I any power of laying hands upon a *lakh* of rupees. True kindness and condescension would, in my case, consist at this juncture in excusing me from such an undertaking. Under no conditions could I accept the office.

The chief minister once more went to the Shāh and made a representation of the case. Then and there the rescript for the office of *Wazīr* was completed in the name of Intiẓām-ud-daulah; and it was sent off to him at Shāhjahānābād by the hands of a *nasaqchi*. Intiẓām-ud-daulah reeled with excitement, and ordered the kettle-drums to be beaten in honour of his appointment as *Wazīr*.

Two days afterwards the Shāh entered Shāhjahānābād. Five hundred horsemen were set apart to look after me and bring me with them. That same day, that on which the Shāh entered Dihlī, he gave an order that the daughter of 'Alī Qulī Khān should be marched away from Shāhjahānābād and taken to Balkh. Accordingly, that very day their march began and their camp was pitched at the town of Bādlī.

At the time of afternoon prayer the Shāh said to me: "This night the marriage ceremonies of Mīr Manūṇ's daughter will be celebrated in my presence. Go away now, and when "one watch of the night has passed, be ready for this business in accordance with your own "customs, and appear then in my audience-hall." At the same moment he sent notice to the widow of Mīr Manūṇ.

When one watch of the night had gone by, I appeared at the appointed place. Then, with his own auspicious hand, the Shāh applied *henna* to my palms, and caused the ritual of marriage to be carried out in his own presence. He said: "From this time I have taken you as "my son; in every way let your heart be at rest." He conferred on me a gift of 5,000 rupees and two shawls he had worn himself. For this I made him my acknowledgments. Then I sent to the Begam 5,000 rupees on account of the Unveiling of the Bride. The Shāh said: "To-night remain where you are, you are a bridegroom." Then he was pleased to honour his own sleeping apartment.

The same day there came to the Shāh a petition from Rājah Sūraj Mall Jāṭ, to this effect. "This faithful one is a slave and a servant of your government. I entertain no ideas but those "of submission and obedience. My hope from your mercy and grace is, that should an order "of the Shāh secure the honour of issuing, I will place grass in my mouth and an axe upon my "neck, and attend to kiss the Threshold, whereby my head will be raised from among my peers "as high as the Seventh Heaven."

The order of the Shāh was: "Let it be written — 'Why delay for the issue of an order, if "he is a true subject of the Empire, let him appear and attend our audience.'" Considering the offer of Sūraj Mall to be *bonâ fide*, the Shāh went off to his sleeping quarters and retired to rest.

When one watch of the night was left before daybreak, the Shāh arose and entered his oratory, and until the time came to say the morning prayers busied himself in reading portions of the Scripture (*waẓāif*) and recitation (*aurād*), and perusal of the Qurān. After

completion of the morning prayers, he entered the Hall of Public Audience and took his seat upon the throne. At one and a half hours after sunrise the emperor of India appeared, and they gave formal audience together, seated upon one throne.

The Shāh ordered Intiẓām-ud-daulah to be sent for, so that they might that day collect from him the first instalment of one *kror* of rupees. A general order was given to the *nasaqchīs* (a sort of military police) to visit the houses of the other nobles, — above all, that of Mīr Jumlah, Ṣadr-us-ṣudūr, who had a treasure-house containing trays upon trays full of gold, — and bring in them and their gold.

In fine, from that moment a strange uproar arose within the city, and cries reached the ear everywhere of "Bring gold! Bring gold!" An exceeding fear fell upon the dwellers in Shāhjahānābād.

The widow of Mīr Manūn sent a message to me: "At this time the *nasaqchīs* have not "given one moment's grace to Intiẓām-ud-daulah but have carried him off to the audience. "A wooden triangle (*chobhāe qaiñchī*) has been erected with a view to punishment; and the "Shāh has said that this day one *kror* of rupees, according to agreement, being one instalment, "must be collected. If this is not done, he will issue an order for a beating with sticks."

On hearing these words I hastened off to the Hall of Public Audience, and, making my obeisance to the Shāh and to my own Sovereign, I remained standing in my due place. I saw that what the Begam Ṣāḥibah had said was quite true. Intiẓām-ud-daulah, his face white as a sheet, was standing close to the triangle. In a short time the Shāh would have lost his temper and flown into a rage.

Going close up to Intiẓām-ud-daulah, I said softly: "What is the source whence you "thought of getting the money?" He said: "By asking for time and forming plans; at "this moment, beyond this one ring that I have on my finger, I have not control over even one "rupee." Hearing this appalling reply, my heart sank within me; and I concluded that "of a truth, this man has not the power of paying in even a few thousands of rupees. This "day sees the end of the honour of the house of us Turānīs! Whatever force and torture may "be used to this man, will, all of it, in the judgment of the common people, be attributed to "me Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān, because he has claimed the *Wazīr*-ship and displaced me. They "will say I had planned that he should be either disgraced or slain."

Therefore, in the most abject manner, I laid my head at the foot of the Shāh's throne, and said: "May I be thy sacrifice! May I be the averter of thy misfortunes! This dignity and "honour of the Turānīs, of so many years' standing, — alas! that in the days of a Shāh equal in "dignity to Sulaimān, they should be reduced to entire nothingness! and should become "a laughing-stock to the Īrānīs! I rely upon the graciousness of the Shāhan Shāh, that as an "alms-offering upon his blessed head, they may be preserved from dishonour and granted "pardon."

The Shāh said: "This day will I have the money; I have heard that in the house of "Qamar-ud-dīn Khān there lie stored twenty *krors* of rupees; and out of this accumulation this "son of his has covenanted to pay two *krors*. I relinquished part, but this day I mean to "realize one *kror*, be it by gentle means or by torture. Let the position of the treasure-store "be pointed out; or, if not, I will order a bastonading."

Intizām-ud-daulah spoke : "Whatever treasure there was, my father caused to be buried "within his mansion. The widow, Shu'lahpūrī Begam knows about it." Forthwith the Shāh ordered the Begam to be produced. Unable to resist, the poor Begam came to the Hall of Public Audience in a woman's litter with a dirty cloth thrown over it. There the Shāh screened off an enclosed space, and called the Begam to his own presence. He said to her : "Thou art as a sister to me; nor do I wish to shew any disrespect to the family of the "sovereigns of Taimūr's line, or to that of their chief minister; you should give up their treasure."

The Begam was shaking and trembling all over, and quite unable to return any answer. An order was given that if the woman did not tell where the money was, iron nails were to be driven in underneath the nails of her hand. On hearing these words the poor creature lost her senses and fell down in a fit. Then Intizām-ud-daulah and I were called to the presence. The Shāh said : "Carry this woman away and place her on one side. Find out exactly where the "store of money is."

To make a long story short. After a short time the Begam recovered her senses and said "I am not able to specify the place where the treasure is. Only this much I know, that what-"ever there is of it is buried within a certain mansion." This statement I reported to the Shāh. He directed that the Begam be carried to that spot. One hundred axe-men and twenty *nasaqchis* were placed on the duty of seeing the ground explored and recovering the treasures from it.

Thus, for six hours the earth was excavated, and at the end of that time the treasure was hit upon. When it had been counted, it was found to amount to sixteen *lakhs* in coin. A report was made to the Shāh that this amount of buried treasure had been disinterred. Since, according to Persian reckoning, one *lakh* is 30,000 rupees, while by Indian rules 100,000 rupees are called one *lakh*, the Shāh, following mentally the Persian mode of account, understood that something about one *kror* of rupees, more or less, had been seized.[20]

After the recovery of this money, the Shāh pardoned all the transgressions of Intizām-ud-daulah and conferred on him robes of honour as *Wazir*, and uttered many apologies in connection with Shu'lahpūrī (Begam). Out of the money found he presented ten thousand rupees to the Begam. A general order was given that not a soul should slay, plunder, or oppress within the city of Shāhjahānābād. The Shāh rose and retired to his sleeping apartments.

On that day the slaves and camp-followers of the Shāh had gone out, by way of foraging, towards Farīdābād to bring in water and grass. It so chanced that Kunwar Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāṭ, and Shamsher Bahādur,[21] Marhaṭṭah, and Antā Mānkhor, Marhaṭṭah, were about that time at fort Ballamgaḍh with five to six thousand men. They issued from the Ballamgaḍh fort and, coming upon the foragers, took them unawares, attacked them, and drove away one hundred and fifty horses, while some fifty to sixty of the men were killed. This event was reported to the Shāh the same evening.

That very moment the Shāh sent for 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān, who was the commander of thirty thousand horsemen, and whispered to him : "Without delay take out your men and "go against the infidels. During the coming night select a hiding-place and go into ambush

[20] The sum was really 53¼ (Persian) *lakhs*, and thus not much more than half a *kror*.

[21] Shamsher Bahādur, son of Bājī Rāo, Peshwā, by a Muhammadan dancing-girl.

"Send on one hundred of your men in advance into the open country and induce the infidels to "fall upon them. Your horsemen must engage them and, by alternately fighting and "retreating, bring them gradually close to you. At that point come out of your ambush and "offer them up as food to the relentless sword."

'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān did as he was told. Juwāhir Singh and the two Marhaṭṭah chiefs already mentioned, escaped alive with nine other men, and sought shelter within the fort of Ballamgaḍh, among the nine being one Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, *faujdār* of *chaklah* Shukohābād Manipurī, Bhongām *et cetera*.[22] When half a watch had passed after sunrise 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān presented himself before the Shāh to make his obeisance, accompanied by about five hundred infidel heads carried on spears, and captured horses, with other goods and chattels. A jewelled aigrette and robes of honour were conferred on him.

The Shāh ordered his advance tents to be sent out and put up in the direction of Farīdābād, stating that on the following day he would enter that place. To the emperor of India he said: "You should march along with me, so that wherever there are any rebellious or turbulent men, "or any of your enemies, you may issue your credentials, and they shall receive thorough "repression and be forced to give proper tribute. My purpose is this — that in order to reduce "your kingdom to order, so far as by my hands it can be done, ample exertion of the most "effective sort be brought into play."

The emperor brought forward unworthy objections, and declared then to the Shāh: "We desire "that between us the ties of brotherhood should be set up, by the marriage of one of the royal "ladies to His Majesty the Shāh." The Shāh replied: "I desire no disrespect to the House of "Amīr Taimūr." The emperor of Hindūstān became still more pressing in his request — nay, he said to the Shāh: "The longing of the whole body of Begams in the royal family is in secret that this "should be done. What harm is there if the daughters of sovereigns are delivered to sovereigns. "My pleasure will be consulted by this being carried out."

Therefore, that very night one of the daughters of Zīnat Maḥal was married to him. The Shāh treated this spouse with such honour and respect that he made her the head over all his other wives. After this ceremony the Shāh said to me: "Thou hast only lately been married. Stay where thou art." I answered: "This faithful one will remain in attendance on the felicitous Stirrup. If "you allow, I will bring my family with me. Then, the connections of 'Alī Qulī Khān, who form "part of the good fame of this slave, have, by the Royal orders, marched off to the town of Bādlī, "which lies five *kos* from Shāhjahānābād, on their journey to Balkh. On this subject I await, for "the present, whatever you may be pleased to order."

The Shāh said: "Let them be brought back to Dihlī. Let them be under the control of "'Umdah Begam. When I return to Wilāyat, whatever the widow of Mīr Mannū desires shall "be done with them." I made my obeisance of thanks, and, in spite of the Shāh declining to take me with him, I managed somehow or other to march along with him, wanting to see what would happen.

['Imād-ul-mulk's narrative to Sher Andāz Khān ends.]

After this narrative was done, Ghiyāz-ud-dīn Khān asked the Mīr Ṣāḥib, saying: "I should "like to inspect the memoranda and requests of the Nawāb, my brother (that is to say, Aḥmad

[22] This Hidāyat 'Alī Khān may possibly have been the father of Ghulām Ḥusain Khān, author of the *Siyar-ul-muta akhkhirīn*.

"Khān), to find out what matters he has prayed the Shāh to grant him." The writer at a sign from the Mīr Ṣāḥib fetched the memoranda, which were with a servant in a bag, and handed them to him ('Imād-ul-mulk). After he had gone through them, he made alterations in several places. Thus, for "*Ṣūbah* Bangālah six *krors* is offered" he wrote "four *krors*"; and for the Marhaṭṭah country he altered "fifty *lakhs*" of rupees into "twenty *lakhs*," and in regard to the Audh *Ṣūbah* he replaced "two *krors*" by "seventy *lakhs*." Other memoranda were prepared and made over to the Mīr Ṣāḥib.

Let us return to our narrative. 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mīr Ṣāḥib were engaged in this conversation, when a messenger from the Shāh's audience ran up and said: "The chief minister "has stated the business of Aḥmad Bangash to the Shāh and his petition has been sent for, you "must give it to me." Thus he carried off the petition in its bag. The Shāh himself read it, and reassured the chief minister; and two mounted *nasaqchīs* were sent off at once to fetch Jangbāz Khān, who had gone to the town of Mīrath. Their orders were to bring him back at once with all haste.

When the chief minister returned to his tent, he said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "The Shah has "interested himself in the highest degree in the affairs of Aḥmad Khān, and has announced that "whatever Aḥmad Bangash has asked for should be granted." He would send Jangbāz Khān back with his (Aḥmad Khān's) envoy. Accordingly, *nasaqchīs* had been despatched at once to Jangbāz Khān. In four days' time Jangbāz Khān will arrive. With regard to you (the Mīr Ṣāḥib) he said that the next day being a halt, you are to be presented to him. The chief minister having thus reassured the Mīr Ṣāḥib in the most perfect manner, sent him away. At noon he forwarded to the Mīr Ṣāḥib one tray of fruit and four trays of food, when the Mīr Ṣāḥib presented a gift of ten rupees to the minister's servants.

The next morning we attended at the quarters of the chief minister. The chief minister conducted the Mīr Ṣāḥib to the Shāh's presence. The Shāh enquired: "You are a Sayyid?" He replied: "They call me so." The Shāh went on: "Sayyid, let your mind be easy; I have "sent for Jangbāz Khān. In four days he will be here, and I will depute him to Farrukhābād in "your company. Write to Aḥmad Khān to begin making his plans, and he should be in every way "without anxiety. I have entered these realms as an upholder of the Faith and a succourer of the "Afghān tribes. My purpose is that the accursed group, the Marhaṭṭahs, who have occupied the "territories of that tribe (the Afghāns), shall, through the fear and power of the Lord, be uprooted "and expelled by me."

The Mīr Ṣāḥib made an obeisance of thanks and produced the list of presents and rarities. The things were all in the author's charge, he having attended in the Mīr Ṣāḥib's train and being seated in the Shāh's audience-hall. An order was given to lay the things out for inspection. Mirzā Muṣṭafā, the Shāh's Secretary, came up to the author and placed the gold coins, *et cetera*, and the rest of the things in large and small trays, then laid them before the Shāh. The whole gift was accepted. He remarked: "The rupee of Farrukhābād is better looking and better made than "that from any other place in India. I have heard that Aḥmad, Bangash, is a man of valour, "though, nowadays, the Marhaṭṭahs have got hold of his territories. He ought to eject them, and "please the Lord! it shall so come to pass, and I will make over the country as far as the borders "of Bangal to Aḥmad Khān."

After this speech, he conferred on the Mīr Ṣāḥib a robe of honour of seven pieces, together with a jewelled aigrette, a turban of a flowered pattern, a tight-fitting coat of shawl stuff, in addition to

a pleated over-gown and a *yabāe* (?), with a flowered edging, a waistband of shawl-stuff, and a pair of shawls from Ṭūs.

At this point four *nasaqchīs* appeared and made some statement in the Turkī language. The Shāh's face flushed red, and he said in Persian: "Send for Jahān Khān." To Jahān Khān he said: "Take Najīb Khān with you and march this very instant. Move into the boundaries of the "accursed Jāṭ, and in every town and district held by him slay and plunder. The city of Mathurā is "a holy place of the Hindūs, and I have heard that Sūraj Mall is there; let it be put entirely to the "edge of the sword. To the best of your power leave nothing in that kingdom and country. Up "to Akbarābād leave not a single place standing."

Jahān Khān made his obeisance and marched off the same day. Then he (the Shāh) directed the *nasaqchīs* to convey a general order to the army to plunder and slay at every place they reached. Any booty they acquired was made a free grant to them. Any person cutting off and bringing in heads of infidels should throw them down before the tent of the chief minister, wherewith to build a high tower. An account would be drawn up and five rupees per head would be paid them from the government funds. The next day the march for the territories of the Jāṭ began.

To the Mīr Ṣāḥib the Shāh said: "Sayyid, I have come as an upholder of Islām. The "accursed generation of Marhaṭṭahs, how can they withstand me? I will sweep their very "name out of this country. In my heart is a firm resolve to pursue them into the Dakhin regions. "So long as you are with the army, come daily to make your bow without fail." Out of those gold coins he picked up ten and presented them to the Mīr Ṣāḥib, saying: "I present you with these by way of *ulash* (table money ?)," and then in the kindliest way gave him leave to go.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

FURTHER TRACES OF TOTEMISM IN THE PANJAB.

THE following instances of clans or sections, both among Hindus and Muhammadans, which bear totemistic names supplement those already published *ante*, Vol. XXXII. p. 201, 312 ff. Personally I am by no means convinced that totemism can be said to exist in the Pañjâb or North-West Frontier Province, since there is clearly no organised tribal system based on totemism, and most of the instances collected are explicable as *tabus* based on verbal resemblances, or as nicknames.

Khaggâ. — From *khaggâ*, a kind of fish, so called because their ancestor Jalâlu'd-Din Khaggâ saved a boat-load of people from drowning. Like the Bodlâs, the Khaggâs can cure hydrophobia by blowing.

Kahal. — From *kahî* or *kahil*, a weed. This tribe is found in Bahâwalpur, and is an offshoot of the religious tribe of the Chishtîs, with whom they still intermarry. They are fervent in religious observances. Their origin is said to be that a child was born near the Indus, close to a *kahî* weed. They are quite distinct from the polygamous Kahals, who live on crocodiles, &c.

Labânâ or Lobânâ. — It is tempting to derive this name from *lûn* (salt), and I think it means 'trader in grain,' but *labâna* is also 'an earth cricket, with formidable jaws,' and, in the South-West of the Pañjâb, people whose children have pimples, *pânî-watrâ*, tied a *labâna* (or *pânî-watrâ*, as the insect also seems to be called) round their necks, believing that a cure will result. It is said of the Labânâs that a son was born to a Râthor Râjput with moustaches, and so he was nicknamed Labânâ, after the insect.

Sunârs. — Among the **Mair Sunârs**, four sections merit notice:—

Baggâ. — The Baggâ section claims descent from Râô Chhabîṭâ of Delhi, whose complexion was *baggâ*, which means 'white' in Pañjâbî, and hence their name.

The **Plaud** section claims descent from the saint Pallava, whose name is derived from *psallava*, or leaf, because he used to worship under the leaves of a banyan tree.

The **Masûn** claims descent from a child born when his mother became *satî*, at the *chhatâ* or *masân*, "burning-place."

The **Jaurâ** section derives its origin from the simultaneous birth of a boy and a serpent called a *jaurâ*.[1] The serpent died, but the boy survived, and his descendants, who are of this *gôt*, still reverence the serpent.

Brâhmans. — Among the Nagarkotiâ Brâhmans of the Kângra District certain snake sections have already been noted. In addition to these, the **Batehṛu (Pakkâ and Kachchhâ)** have the following sections:—

(i) **Chappal,**[2] an insect; no explanation is forthcoming.

(ii) **Sugga,**[2] a parrot; no explanation is forthcoming.

(iii) **Bhângwaria**, fr. *bhângâr*,[2] a kind of tree.

(iv) **Khajûre Dogṛe**: Date-palm Dogaṛ, a section founded by a man who planted a garden of date-palms, and which originated in the Dogra country on the borders of Jammû.

(v) **Ghâbrû,**[2] a rascal; one who earns his living by fair means or foul.

Mahâjans. — Among the **Mahâjans** of Kângra the following sections have been noted:—

(i) **Bheṛû,** said to be derived from *bedhi*, 'ewe'.

(ii) **Makkerṛu**, said to be from *makki*, a bee.

(iii) **Kohâru**, an axe or chopper.

Ghirths. — Among the **Ghirths** of Kângra the following may also be noted:—

(i) **Pathrâlâ**, founded by a leaf-seller (*pattâ*, leaf).

(ii) **Khêṛa**, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *khêr* tree.

(iii) **Banyânû**, founded by a woman whose child was born under a *ban* or oak.

(iv) **Daddâ**, founded by a woman whose child was born near a bamboo, and laid on the tree.

(v) **Khunlâ**, an animal of some kind. The name was given to a child as a token of affection. Hence his descendants are still called by the name.

(vi) **Ladhariâ, from *ladhâr*, a kind of tree.**

(vii) **Ghurl**, a wild goat; so-called because its progenitor cried like one.

(viii) **Khajûrâ,** date-palm (*cf.* the **Brâhman** section of this name); so-called because its founder was born under a date-palm.

(ix) **Khattâ**, from *khattâ*, a kind of tree: for a similar reason.

Brâhmans. — In Ambâlâ the **Brâhmans** have two almost certainly totemistic sections:—

(i) **Pile Bheddi**, or yellow wolves; so-called because one of the ancestors was saved by a she-wolf, and so they now worship a wolf at weddings.

(ii) **Sarinhe.** — They are said to have once taken refuge under a *sarîn* tree, and they now show reverence to it.

Râjputs. — The **Râjpûts** in this District have a *gôt* whose names (*sic*) end in *palâs* (now corrupted into Prakâsh), because their ancestors once in time of trouble took refuge under a *dhâk* tree. Their women still veil their faces before a *dhâk*, and it is also worshipped at marriages, &c., by them.

Jaṭs. — In Miânwali, a district on the Indus, the **Jaṭs** have a sept, which is thus described:—

> The **Thinds**, who are owners in several villages near Leiah, say they were originally Chughattas, but a boy of that family was found by the Pir, greased or buttered all over, with insects clinging to him. The Pir said: "They have buttered you well," and he was called Thind thereafter.[3]

Chhîmbâs. — The **Chhîmbâs** of Mâler Kotla have the four following *gôts*, regarding which no traditions are forthcoming:—

Daddû, frog or toad.	**Khurpâ**, trowel.
Thuâñ, scorpion.	**Laurâ**, penis.

Wazirs. — In Kohât the custom among the **Wazirs** is that after the birth of the *first-born* child, the mother walks out of the house, and names the child after the object, such as a tree, animal, insect, &c., that first catches her sight. For instance, one tribe, the Gîdar Khêl, is so called after the jackal.

H. A. ROSE.

May 31st, 1906.

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[1] *Lit.*, 'twin.'

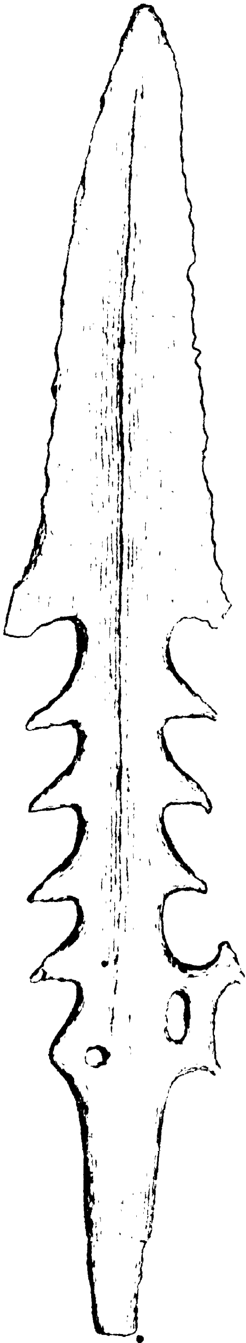
[2] Not in the *Punjabi Dictionary* of Bhai Maya Singh.

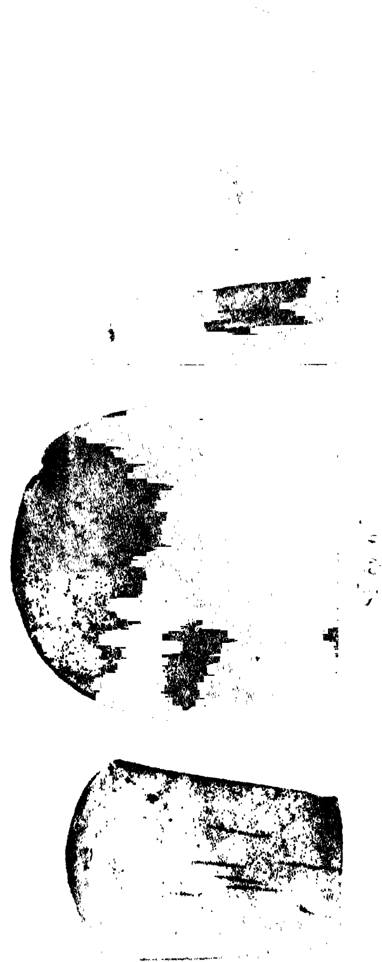
[3] *Thindâ* = greasy or buttered: *cf.* p. 66 of O'Brien's *Multânî Glossary*.

PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA.

Plate VII.

Bronze, (?) copper harpoon-head, from India, presented in 1880 by Sir A. Cunningham to the National Museum, Dublin.





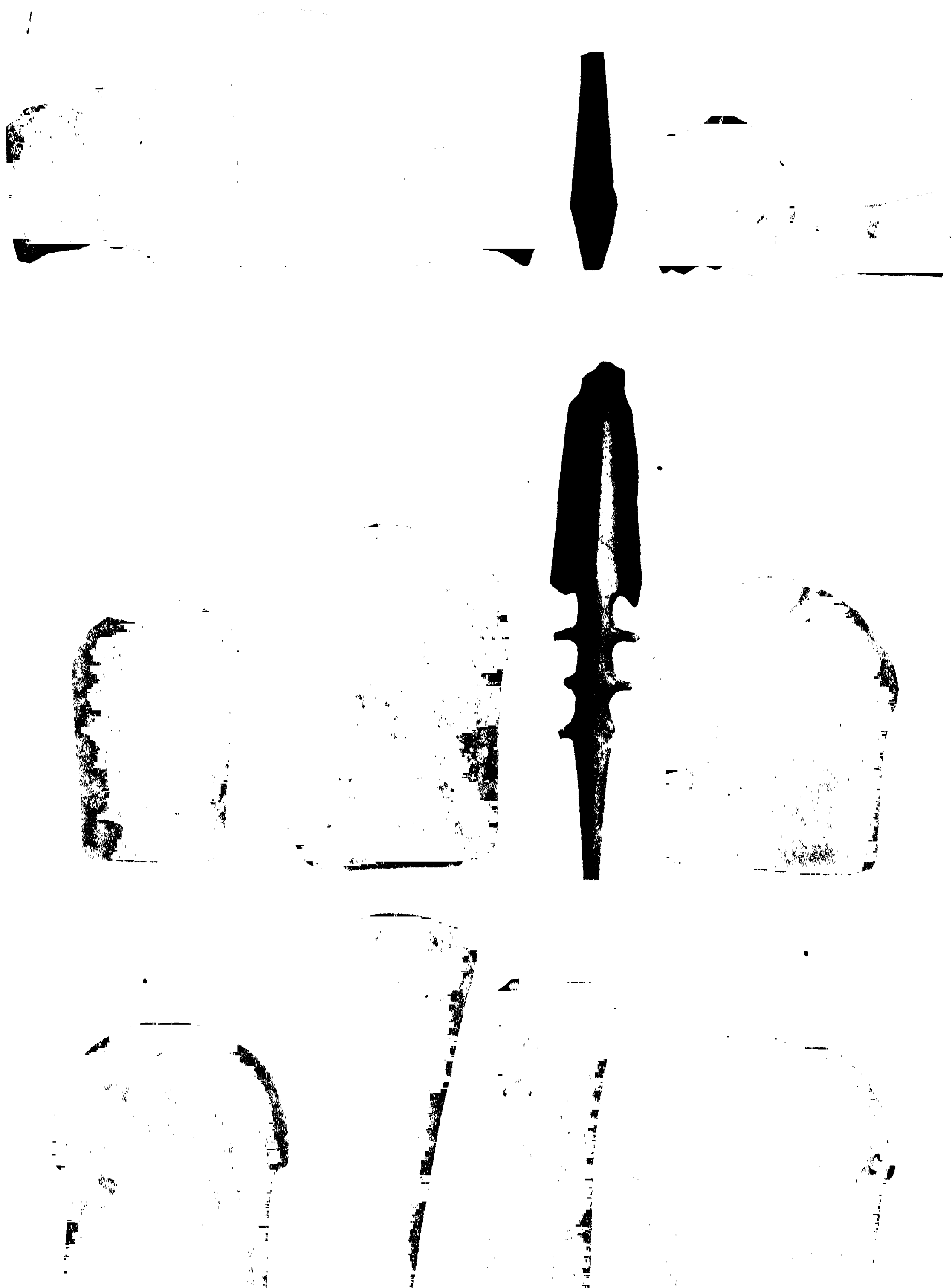
Bronze, copper implements from Pariár in Unáo District.

SCALE ABOUT ONE-QUARTER

PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS FROM INDIA.

Plate VI.

Bronze, (?) copper implements from Bithūr or Brahmâvarta in Cawnpore District.



THE COPPER AGE AND PREHISTORIC BRONZE IMPLEMENTS OF INDIA — SUPPLEMENT.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

(*Continued from Vol. XXXIV., p. 244.)*

I PROPOSE in this short article to complete my review of the present state of knowledge concerning the copper age and prehistoric bronze implements of India by utilizing some materials which were not at my command last year.

In December 1904 Dr. Vogel, acting under instructions from the Director-General of Archæology, deputed his Assistant, Paṇḍit Hirananda, to examine the site at Râjpur in the Bijnaur District, U. P., and to obtain photographs of copper or bronze implements reputed to exist at **Bithûr or Brahmâvartta** in the Cawnpore District, and at **Pariâr** on the opposite bank of the Ganges in the Unâo District of Oudh. The Râjpur implements are fully illustrated in Plate I. of my former article. The photographs of the site, which Dr. Vogel has kindly sent me, show that it is a piece of waste ground adjoining a grove, and marked by a mound or tumulus, apparently of earth, a few feet in height. There is nothing sufficiently characteristic in the appearance of the spot to justify the expense of reproducing the photographs.

The town of **Bithûr** is situated on the Ganges, twelve miles to the north-west of Cawnpore. Local legend affirms that the god Brahmâ celebrated his completion of the work of creation by a horse-sacrifice at the Brahmâvartta Ghât. Dr. Führer states that 'numbers of ancient metal arrow-points are found in the soil around Bithûr, said to be relics of the time of Râmachandra' (*Monum. Antiq., N.-W. P. and Oudh*, p. 168). By 'arrow-points' Dr. Führer meant the large objects which are more properly described as 'harpoon-heads.' Two specimens of this class and two 'flat celts' of primitive lithic type in the Lucknow Museum have been illustrated in Plate IV. of my former paper. The photographs supplied by Dr. Vogel (Plate VI.) now illustrate fourteen more objects from the same site. One of these is a harpoon or spear-head, with three points on each side below the blade, and the rest may be called varying forms of 'celts.' Four of these with broad rounded edges are slightly shouldered, and nearly related to the Midnâpur specimen previously figured in my Plate II., fig. 6. The narrow celts are obviously copies of common forms of stone implements. The bent implement, figured at the end of the top row of Plate VI., is a new form, but a duplicate of it occurs at Pariâr (Plate VII.). Presumably all these Bithûr specimens are made of copper, not bronze, but without analysis it is impossible to be certain what their composition is. Dr. Vogel's Assistant has failed to report where the fourteen objects now photographed are preserved, but probably they are kept in a temple or temples.

Pariâr is a village in the Unâo District of Oudh, on the Ganges, opposite Bithûr, fourteen miles to the north-west of Unâo, as indicated in the Map to my former article. Like Bithûr, it is sanctified by Brahmanical legends of the usual kind, and is frequented as a bathing-place. The great *jhîl* or swamp, which almost surrounds the village, is called Mahnâ, and probably represents an old river-bed. 'In the temple of Sōmêśvara Mahâdêva on the banks of the *jhîl* are collected a large number of metal arrow-heads said to have been used by the contending armies [of Lava and Kuśa, sons of Râmachandra]; they are also occasionally picked up in the bed of the *jhîl* and of the Ganges' (Führer, *op. cit.* p. 272, erroneously printed as 172 in my former paper, p. 237). The photographs now published evidently are those of implements preserved in the Pariâr temple (Plate VII.). One implement, as already observed, is a shouldered celt like four specimens from Bithûr and one from Midnâpur, and another is a peculiar bent tool resembling a Bithûr specimen, and, I think, new to science. The paṇḍit unluckily omitted

to note the scale of his photographs, but in the *Progress Report of Panjâb and U. P. Circle for 1903-4*, p. 21, the dimensions of a Pariâr implement in photograph No. 114, now reproduced, are stated to be 6½ by 8⅓ inches. This object must be the round-headed shouldered celt shown in the Plate, and the scale of the photograph, consequently, is approximately one-fourth of the originals.

In my previous paper (p. 243 ; 15 of reprint) I described 'a fine harpoon-head, presented by Sir Alexander Cunningham to the collections now in the National Museum, Dublin, and said to have been found somewhere in India. This weapon has four teeth, not recurved barbs, on each side below the blade, and the loop on one side of the tang, through which the thong attaching the head to the shaft was passed, is formed by the legs and body of a rudely-executed standing animal. The general appearance of this object, which is apparently made of bronze, not copper, is more modern than that of the copper implements from Northern India.' By the kindness of Mr. George Coffey, Curator of Antiquities in the Dublin Museum, I am now able to present a drawing of this unique implement, prepared by a member of his staff (Plate VII.). The implement may be, as I supposed in my previous paper, less ancient than the copper articles from Northern India and Gungeria, but, even if that be the case, it certainly dates from a period of very remote antiquity, and is characteristically Indian in form.

I conclude by quoting miscellaneous observations with which I have been favoured by correspondents interested in my previous paper. Canon Greenwell, the veteran archæologist, writes: —'I did not know that so many [copper implements] had been found in India. It is evident that there never was a bronze cultivation there. Indeed it cannot be said that there was ever any real development of a bronze cultivation, except in Western Europe. Assyria and Egypt certainly did not possess one : nor can Greece, the Islands, or Asia Minor be said to have brought it to any high pitch, though there are splendid specimens, such as the Mykenae blades. Still there is nothing like the fine swords, spear-heads, etc., so abundant in the United Kingdom, Denmark, France, Switzerland, and Italy. Hungary developed it certainly ; but further east and south it never reached to any height, nor have many bronze weapons, etc., been found in those countries. Spain, too, is very poorly represented, which, as it had much traffic with the Eastern Mediterranean, seems to point to the bronze culture not having come through that channel. The Eastern origin of bronze and its development must be given up ; and, so far as we have evidence at present, somewhere about the head waters of the Danube seems to be the most probable place of birth. But we want many more facts before any safe conclusion can be come to.' These weighty observations raise a big question which I am not prepared to discuss at present, but I may be permitted to feel some satisfaction at having had the opportunity of communicating to the scientific world a considerable body of facts to help in the final solution of the problems of the origin and extent of the so-called Bronze Age. Canon Greenwell is of opinion that the Dowie dagger or sword[1] is certainly prehistoric, and observes that 'the handle has something in common with the ordinary bronze sword.' He also thinks, and rightly, that the Norham harpoon was brought to England in modern times, probably by some sailor. He knows of 'several similar finds; Carib stone-axes and North American arrow-points have occurred in England,' and the way in which they came has been traced.

Professor Ridgeway of Cambridge alludes to Major Sikes' 'copper (for they can hardly be called bronze) axes, vessels, and curious rods with a curved end' from Southern Persia, which have been described by Canon Greenwell in the *Archæologia*, and were discussed at the York meeting of the British Association. Professor Ridgeway is inclined to think that these objects are of comparatively late date, the first century B. C., or even the first century A. D.

[1] *Ante*, Vol XXXIV., p. 243, and reprint of the paper, p. 15, with figure.

This opinion is based on 'the very advanced character of the grooved work on the bottom of one of the vessels, and a similarly late description of the bottom, as well as shape, of the other'; supported by the fact that the owners of Major Sikes' objects buried their dead. I have not followed up these references. The Professor is anxious to get 'more data from Persia itself.' Perhaps some reader of the *Indian Antiquary* may be able to supply them. Professor Ridgeway possesses a copper arrow-head found in a grave near Koban in the Caucasus, associated with a bracelet and beads of glass, which seems to date from the second century A. D.

Mr. Gatty tells me that a copper celt, quite plain, and roughly made, was found some years ago by a keeper, under a heap of stones on the moors above Sheffield, in the parish of Bradfield. Mr. Gatty lived in that parish for twenty years, and collected flint implements, but never heard of any other copper or bronze article being found. The shape, so far as he remembers, was like this: — ▭

These supplementary notes exhaust for the present all the information which I possess concerning the ancient copper and bronze antiquities of India. Perhaps the publication of them, like that of my previous paper, may attract the attention of observers and scholars interested in prehistoric archæology, and help in the elucidation of problems now very obscure.

AHMAD SHĀH, ABDĀLĪ, AND THE INDIAN WAZĪR, 'IMĀD-UL-MULK (1756-7).

(Contributed by William Irvine, late of the Bengal Civil Service.)

(Continued from p. 51.)

Rubric. — The Shāh marches from Farīdābād towards the territory of Sūraj Mall, Jāṭ; he pitches his camp close to Sherkoṭ; on the same day at the request of 'Imād-ul-mulk he seizes by force the fort of Ballamgaḍh, which lay three *kos* from the camp, towards the left; flight of Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāṭ, Shamsher Bahādur, Marhaṭṭah, and Antā Mānkher, Marhaṭṭah, who were within that fort; slaughter of the rest of the garrison.

Be it known that the following was the order of the Shāh's march and encamping. One march was never more than five *kos*. When there remained one watch of the night he started; and performed his morning prayers upon his arrival at his advanced tents. He had not a single kettle-drum sounded, nor music at fixed hours, nor trumpets (*karrah-nāe*) and such like.

Before the Shāh mounted, twelve thousand special slaves assembled, three thousand on each side of the Shāh's tent. The title of these men was *Durrānī* (the pearl wearers), and from their ears hung gold rings, mounted with very large pearls. They remained drawn up in ranks at a distance of one hundred paces, seated on their horses. When the Shāh placed his foot in his stirrup, the twelve thousand slaves at one and at the same moment, with a single voice, shouted aloud: "Blessed be the Names, in the Name of God, peace be unto His Majesty the Shāh!" This sound rose to heaven and reached the ears of the army, thus enabling them to know that the Shāh had started. Then the rest of the army from that time got ready, and at the moment of dawn began its march, and reached its new quarters at one watch after daybreak. The general rule was to march one day and halt the next; but on some occasions there was a halt of even two days.

The mode of the Shāh's progress was as follows: The Shāh advanced alone amidst the ranks of his slaves, riding a horse, his sword slung from his shoulder, and his quiver on. There were four bodies of slaves, each of three thousand men, one division in front, one behind, and one on each side. Each division of them wore a hat of a different style. It was prohibited for a slave belonging to one division to ride with another division; he must keep with his own set. If by chance any one disobeyed the rule and the Shāh noticed him, the man received a beating so severe that he was left half-dead, or with perhaps only a gasp of life left in him.

All these slaves were well-made and good-looking, of white and red complexion, with gold-lace waistbelts and hats of flowered gold lace. On each side of the hat hung flowered-pattern tufts (*ṭurrah-hāe*), towards the ears, near the cheeks. Their long sidelocks were in curls. Many of the slaves, those who were officers, had jewelled aigrette-holders with feathered plumes fixed on the top of the hat. They rode fast horses of Kābulī breed, and guided them, each in his own station, with a grave demeanour. They moved at the distance of a musket-shot from the Shāh's person, all their faces turned towards him. The Shāh rode alone in the middle, with an open space around him.

In whatever direction he chanced to glance, one slave holding a pipe and another bearing a porous bottle of water rushed up to him. Then the Shah would take the pipe-stem into his hand, rein in his horse, and proceed slowly. When done with his pipe, he would rinse his mouth three times with water from the bottle.

The treasure and the food supplies, the stores of clothes, and so forth were carried in the following manner. On the left flank, outside the ranks of the slaves, there were one hundred camels loaded with bread, baked and then dried, two hundred camels loaded with grain, this was called *sūrsāt*.[23] This grain was given out daily in allotted portions to the nobles and the servants of the Begams. On the right flank were two hundred camels loaded with clothes and vessels, silver pots, and so forth. Such treasure as there was came in the rear of the guard of slaves, which followed the Shāh ; it was carried on mules and two-humped dromedaries.

Shāh Pasand Khān and Jangbāz Khān, with the *quwāchī-bāshī*, were told off to the rear-guard and held command over its movements. The three thousand slaves, who rode in front as advance guard, fully armed and ready, bore each a lance whose head was either gilt or silver-plated, having a decorated (*muqaiyash*) and fringed (*musalsal*) pennant. To the onlooker, owing to the multitude of lances, it seemed like the glittering of rain. In the rays of the sun the spearheads and pennants so shone, that you might imagine the stars were sparkling in the sky. It was wondrous as a garden in springtime, and a sight worth beholding.

On the day that the Shāh after the afternoon (*ẓuhr*) prayer set out to conquer the fort of Ballamgaḍh, the author in company of the Mīr Ṣāḥib [Sher Andāz Khān] was in attendance on His Majesty. By a lucky chance the ranks of those slaves formed up close to me. In whatever direction I looked, my eyes rested on countenances lovely as youthful Joseph, as if the slaves from Paradise, throng upon throng, had descended upon earth, and with their fairy-like dispositions were seated firmly in the saddle, thirsting for the blood of the children of Adam. By the Lord ! I was so overcome that my head drooped to the pommel of my saddle.

A horseman named Mīr Muḥammad 'Aṭā, by race a Barakkī Sayyid, belonging to the troops of the 'Usmān Khān already mentioned, who, to a certain extent, was proficient in Arabic and Persian, and used to pay a daily visit to the Mīr Ṣāḥib, had set up a friendship with the author. At the time I have been speaking of, he was at my side. He exclaimed : "O So-and-so ! What "is the matter with thee ? Thy complexion has turned saffron-colour and thy eyes red as the planet "Mars. The hot rays of the sun have affected thee !" He offered me water from the *chāgal* or leather-bottle that he carried, and I re-opened my eyes. I answered : "I have no need of water"; and I repeated the following quatrain :

Quatrain.

Ān roz kih ātash-i-muḥabbat afrokht,	"The day when the fire of affection was kindled,
'Āshiq roshan-i-'ishq zi ma'shūq āmokht ;	"The lover learnt from the loved-one the brightness of love ;
Az jānib-i-dost sar-zad īn soz wa gudāz,	"Through a friend arose this burning and melting,
Tā dar na girift-i-shama' parwānah na sokht.	"So that the butterfly should not fall into the lamp and burn."

[23] Turkish, "requisitions in kind levied from the enemy."

He said : "Say it over again ! What is it ?" I replied : "O brother ! seest thou not that this "crowd of lovely faces with white cheeks and rosy lips has brought affliction on my life and faith, "and robbed me of my heart ; and these dusky eyes with sword-wielding eyebrows and arrow-like "eyelashes, how they stab me as with daggers by their amorous and languishing glances, and spill "the blood from many hearts."

He gave a loud guffaw, and glancing towards them he brought forth a heavy sigh, and exclaimed : "Thou speakest truth, come on so that we may be closer to them. I am acquainted "and friendly with a number of them." I recited the couplet : —

Harzah-gard-i-bāgh chūn bulbul nayam ; parwānaham,	"A butterfly am I, no vagrant songster of the grove,
Mitawānam kard parwāzi, kih bas bāshad marā.	"I can wing my flight, and that is enough for me."

Two days afterwards the said Mīr, on some pretext or other, brought four of these slaves on a visit to the Mīr Ṣāḥib ; and to some extent an intimacy arose, and they came frequently. The Mīr Ṣāḥib (God give him rest) treated them with great kindness, and feasted them and received them with civility. He even gave them money, as much perhaps as fifty rupees.

One of them sang Persian odes (*ghazal*) excellently, to the accompaniment of music, and possessed a heart-alluring singing voice. Every time he came there was a wonderful crowd. He got me to write him several *ghazals* and took them away with him.

One of them is the following : —

Ghazal.

Turā,st qadd chū sarv, wa turā,st rūe chū māh,	"Thou hast the cypress' waist, thou hast a moon-like face,
Yake miyān-i-qabā, wa yake ba zer-i-kalāh,	"The one girt in thy coat, the other showing below thy cap.
Rabūdī az man jān, wa burdī az man dil,	"Thou hast robbed me of life, hast carried off my heart,
Yake ba qadd chū sarv, wa yake ba rūe chū māh ;	"One by this cypress-like waist, the other by this moon-like face :
Khabar dahad lab-i-tū, wa nishān dahad rukh-i-man,	"Thy lips tell a tale, and my face reveals it,
Yake zi surkhī-i-la'l, wa yake zi zardī-i-gāh.	"Those by their ruby redness, this by its hay-like pallor.
Būd chū bakht wa qadam, chashm wa zulf-i-tū dā,im,	"Be thy eyes and locks lasting like Fate and the Ages,
Yake zi khwāb-i-nazhand, wa yake zi tāb-i-dū-tāh.	"These by venerated sleep, those by their two-fold brightness.
Zi dard wa ḥasrat-i-tū dīdah wa dil-am har daur	"From pain and grief of thee my eyes and heart for ever
Yake mi-bārad khūn, wa yake bar-ārad āh :	"The first rain blood, the other heaves a heavy sigh :
Shudā,st mūe man az ranj 'āraẓ, wa zulf-at,	"By grief my hair is changed, while my locks
Yake chū shīr-i-sufed, wa yake chū qīr-i-siyāh.	"Are grown white as milk, thine still black as pitch."

Praise be to God ! Whither are my words wandering !

Hemistich.

Ḥusn-i-īn qiṣṣah 'ishq ast, dar daftar na mi-ganjad.	"The beauty of this tale is love, no volumes can contain it."

To return to the narrative. The retinue of the servants of the Bėgams, which was called the retinue of the *Ḥaram* of the Shāh, marched in the following order. After the morning prayers they started. Closed litters (*'imārī*) were placed on camels; these had curtains of red broadcloth, some decorated, but most of them plain. On several of the camels were large closed litters, but on most of them two panniers (*kajāwah)*, the furniture of which was also of scarlet broadcloth. There were about two hundred camels. In the midst of them, which was styled the *kalb*, or "heart," went fifteen to twenty persons, carried on *takhts*, or platforms, in the Hindūstānī manner, borne on the shoulders of *kahārs* (a caste of litter-carriers).

This procession, from the number of covered red litters, formed a sight worth seeing. In advance, at the distance of an arrow's flight, went five hundred mounted archers, and as an armed retinue (*qūr*) there followed one thousand horsemen. At five to six *gharīs* ($1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 hours) after sunrise they reached their encampment. The horsemen who came first gave a shout, using the words *Yurḥā! Yurḥā!* that is, "Withdraw on one side." In every lane and passage in the camp through which the retinue of the *Ḥaram* took its way, every one, great and small, remained with his face covered by his skirt, until the last of the procession had gone by. If by chance any one ever glanced towards the retinue, one, two, or three horsemen would ride at him and without a pause most relentlessly thrash him. The retinue would take four or five *gharī* (90 to 112 minutes) to pass any given spot. All the people on their road, through the camp, were in a most extraordinary condition of apprehension, and you might say each of them was a man afflicted by God.

The camp of the Shāh was pitched in two portions. The first was the male and the other the female quarters. Between the two was left an open space of about the width of two or three arrows' flight. The female camp was called the *Ḥaram*; the men's camp had two names; where the Shāh sat was styled *Khargāh*, and where the scribes of the office were placed was called the *Darīkhānah*. In the screens of the *Khargāh*, facing the *Darīkhānah*, there was one large entrance, constructed of wood, painted of an azure colour, and partly gilt, on which were beautiful flowers of many sorts depicted by the brush. On the top of the gateway was placed a large dome made of copper, two sides of which were gilt. This was called the *Qubbah-i-Shāh* (the Shāh's cupola). It was so high that it could be seen at a distance of three to four leagues (9 to 12 miles?). If the light of the sun were over against it, it shone from afar, and the men in charge of the baggage train were guided by it to their destination. It was there that the Shāh's own tents would be found.

At each of the two wings of this entrance stood a large standard in a gold-embroidered scarlet broadcloth cover. From the top of each standard hung a bow upside down, and a flower-pattern cloth, *viz.*, a waist-cloth, hung down from each end of it. To each bow notch a naked sword was attached to the bow-string (*chillah*). If a halt were ordered, the two swords were placed upright. If there was to be a march, then at nightfall, one sword was let down and placed upon the ground. These were the signals of a halt, or a march.

To go on with the story. When the Shāh marched from Farīdābād and reached his camp, the fort of Ballamgaḍh was three *kos* to the north. 'Imād-ul-mulk represented to him that the fort of Ballamgaḍh was close by, and the infidel Juwāhir Singh, son of Sūraj Mall, Jāṭ, with Shamsher Bahādur and Antā Mānkher, two Marhaṭṭah chiefs, were within the fort. His Majesty's wisest course was to detach a strong force to drive the fumes of overweeningness out of their heads.

The Shāh said: "My scheme is to uproot the forts of Dīg and Kumher. What is there for me "to attack in little forts like this?" He ('Imād-ul-mulk) represented: "If these rebellious "fellows did not happen to be in this fort alive, it would be of no importance. At this moment, when "the infidels have taken refuge so near to us, to leave them unmolested and continue our march, "will raise many suspicions."

The Shāh replied: "Take with you Afẓal Khān, the Ghilzah, who is at the head of forty "thousand men, and invest the fort." 'Imād-ul-mulk and the said Khān arranged for the

investment of the fort. The garrison went on fighting with swivel-pieces and muskets until the hour of afternoon. The Shāh from moment to moment sent off express riders to ascertain progress. After the afternoon prayer the Shāh started himself and soon reached the spot. The Mīr Ṣāḥib followed, and the author with him, as related above.

Then the Shāh in his own pure person inspected the fort from all four sides. He fixed on one direction and caused the ground to be measured with a rod up to the foot of the wall, and caused the cannon called *Kullah-i-khūnbārah*[24] to be brought, and ordered it to be fired into the air. *Kullah-i-khūnbārah* sent its charge up to heaven and it returned to earth within the fort. By concussion its two pieces, which were of iron in the shape of a large casket (*durj*), split asunder, and, wherever they went, reduced everything to splinters. What chance had a human being of standing against them! The firing continued for four or five *gharī* (1½ to 2 hours), the aim being constantly altered. Changing from one position to another, the balls were sent in one after another. In short, after the same fashion, four other mortars (*kullah*) were brought into action. A number of the infidels within the fort were killed, and great confusion arose there.

At this time the Shāh was engaged in the evening prayers, and continued to sit on his prayer-carpet till the time of sunset prayers (*namāz-i-maghrib*), then night came on. All three chiefs of the infidels came out of the fort and slunk into the ravines adjoining the river Jaman (Jamnah). It was not known in what direction they had gone.

After the lapse of twenty to forty-five minutes, sounds not issuing any longer from the fort, the Shāh ordered it to be stormed. Strong bodies from all directions moved conjointly upon the gates in close formation and effected an entrance. The gates were broken open with axes, and all persons found within the fort were put to the sword. But of Juwāhir Singh and the others not a trace could be found. 'Imād-ul-mulk himself came into the fort and inspected the corpses one by one; but as he reported to the Shāh, the accursed one was not among them.

The skirmishers were ordered to keep a watch over the neighbourhood in all directions and take care that he (Juwāhir Singh) should not get away in safety. In spite of all their activity, no trace could be discovered. Some days afterwards, Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, *faujdār* of Shukohābād, was introduced to 'Imād-ul-mulk by the Mīr Ṣāḥib. This *faujdār* told us he was in the fort with Juwāhir Singh. The Jāṭ chief, Shamsher Bahādur, Antā Mānkher, and he (Hidāyat 'Alī Khān) dressed themselves in Qizzilbāsh clothes, and, going through an underground chamber into the ditch of the fort, they threaded their way through the Shāh's troops, and hid in some ravines near the Jamnah river.

For two days and two nights they remained concealed in that spot, and got not a mouthful to eat. Such terror had overcome them that they would not emerge even to drink water from the river. When the Shāh had marched away, they came at night time by a route they knew before to a village, and there mounting a bullock-carriage reached a small fort in another village. There he (Hidāyat 'Alī Khān) went to sleep; where the other three vanished to he knew not. All he could find out from the guide was that ten matchlock-men and one horseman had come with three horses, and carried them in some direction or other.

To make a long story short, after the taking of Ballamgaḍh, the Shāh told 'Imād-ul-mulk to make out a list of all the cash and goods found in the fort, and produce it before him. Accordingly, there were found in the fort, twelve thousand rupees in coin, with pots and vessels of silver and copper, and gilt idols, 14 horses, 11 camels, clothing, grain, and much other goods. All this was confiscated. The grain was delivered to the *sūrsāt* (the food-supply department, see *ante*). Of the cash total five thousand rupees were given to Afẓal Khān and two thousand to 'Imād-ul-mulk. Two camels were presented to the Mīr Ṣāḥib. The Shāh made a two days' halt at this place and issued an order for slaughter and plundering.

[24] "The blood-shedding Heel," probably a mortar, and so named from its shortness or shape.

It was midnight when the camp followers went out to the attack. It was thus managed; one horseman mounted a horse and took ten to twenty others, each attached to the tail of the horse preceding it, and drove them just like a string of camels. When it was one watch after sunrise I saw them come back. Every horseman had loaded up all his horses with the plundered property, and atop of it rode the girl-captives and the slaves. The severed heads were tied up in rugs like bundles of grain and placed on the heads of the captives, who by the Abdālīs are called *Kannah*, and thus did they return to camp.

After afternoon prayer (*ẓuhr*) an order was given to carry the severed heads to the entrance gate of the chief minister's quarters, where they were to be entered in registers, and then built up into heaps and pillars. Each man, in accordance with the number of heads he had brought in, received, after they had been counted, five rupees a head from the State.

Then the heads were stuck upon lances and were taken to the gate of the chief minister. It was an extraordinary display! Wherever your glance fell nothing else was to be perceived but severed heads stuck upon lances, and the number could not be less than the stars in the heavens.

Daily did this manner of slaughter and plundering proceed: *Wa shab rā az faryād-i-zanān kih bah asīrī āwardah, ba ānhā ṣuḥbat mī-kardand, goshhā-i mardum kar mī-shudand*, It was a marvellous state of things, this slaying and capturing, and no whit inferior to the day of Last Judgment.

All those heads that had been cut off were built into pillars, and the men upon whose heads those bloody bundles had been brought in, were made to grind corn, and then, when the reckoning was made up, their heads, too, were cut off. These things went on all the way to the city of Akbarābād, nor was any part of the country spared.

In addition to all this, five thousand Rohelah foot soldiers had joined the army. Each man procured some thirty to forty buffaloes. The plundered goods, such as jewels and clothes, they loaded upon these buffaloes, and established a market of their own within the camp, where they sold all these things at low prices. Cloth goods worth ten rupees they sold at one rupee, and those worth one rupee for eighty *tankah*. Copper and other vessels that had been broken up were strewed along the route of the army and no one stooped to pick them up. Excepting gold and silver nothing was carried away.

In this manner Jahān K͟hān and Najīb K͟hān went on ahead of us, as far as Mathurā. The towns of Mathurā and Bindrāban were subjected to a general slaughter, and completely plundered. The latter is a principal holy place of the Hindūs, situated upon the bank of the Jamnah; it is in the territory of the Jāṭ.

On the day that the Shāh marched from Shergaḍh, after the reduction of Ballamgaḍh, he pitched his camp near Ḥasanpur and Nadīnah. The same day Jangbāz K͟hān arrived from Mīraṭh, bringing with him much booty. Among other things were four elephants, loaded up with silver only, seventy-six horses, and a quantity of other property. The whole was produced for the Shāh's inspection.

As to the plundered elephants and palanquins it was remarked that these two modes of travelling were specially used by the emperors and nobles of Hindūstān. The Shāh said, elephants were admirable means of baggage transport. But a mount, the control of which is not in the hands of the rider, and it can carry him whither it wills, should not be resorted to; while a litter is only suitable for a sick man.

Afterwards Jangbāz K͟hān was given robes of honour and a jewelled plume-holder. He was told that an envoy sent by G͟haẓanfar Jang, Aḥmad Bangash, had arrived at Court; and he agrees to such and such an amount of tribute, and prays that some commander, with some properly qualified claimant (*tūrah*), be sent by the Shāh to reinforce him, so that out of dread of the Abdālī might, his

enemies may withdraw from his territories. Patents for the provinces of Audh and Bangālah were in preparation in his (Aḥmad Khān's) name. "Thou, who art of his tribe, hast been asked for, and "as I look on you as my son, I wish to send you for the execution of this project in the place "of any princely heir. I follow after you stage by stage."

Jangbāz Khān assented, made his obeisance, and straightway sought the chief minister at his tent. Mīr Sher Andāz Khān was sent for. The papers stating the demands of Aḥmad Khān were read. Then he (Jangbāz Khān) said to the chief minister: "I command no more than five "thousand horsemen, while Aḥmad Khān has not much of an army, nor any funds. How can "I eject the Marhaṭṭahs or occupy ṣūbah Audh? Shujā'-ud-daulah possesses a treasury and an army, "and is the governor of that province. The same thing applies to the territory of Bengal. Thus, "the undertaking of these enterprises is opposed to reason and wisdom. I decline to go."

The chief minister said: "When you were in front of the Shāh you accepted and then left his "audience without a protest. Now you are raising difficulties. What does this mean?" Jangbāz Khān answered: "I was unable to say these words to the Shāh himself." Then 'Imād-ul-mulk intervened, saying: "The army is part of the provincial government. Whenever the province has "been made over to Aḥmad Khān, he can collect as many troops as ever he likes. The whole race "of the Afghāns form his army, there must be two hundred thousand fighting men of his tribe. "You are only nominally required to impress people with dread of the Shāh. Knowing you to be "a brother of the same race as himself, Aḥmad Khān applied for you."

Jangbāz Khān would not agree but continued to give a flat refusal. The chief *Wazīr* carried his words to the Shāh. His order upon this report was to send 'Abu-uṣ-ṣamad Khān instead. The chief minister told the Mīr Ṣāḥib what order the Shāh had given, and asked him to write about it to Aḥmad Khān, and call upon him to state his views The Mīr Ṣāḥib pointed out that what Ghazanfar Jang (Aḥmad Khān) wanted was the nomination of some prince of the imperial family — as for the rest, he would see to it himself. 'Abd-uṣ-ṣamad Khān commanded thirty thousand horse, and for the time being the daily expenses of such a force could not be provided. For this reason he indicated Jangbāz Khān, whose force is only five thousand men.

Then the Mīr Ṣāḥib proceeded to the tent of Jangbāz Khān and presented the shawls, *et cetera*, the gifts intended for him, as previously detailed. Out of the whole present he accepted only a pair of shawls and returned the rest, saying: "Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang is the chief man of my tribe, out "of politeness I accept a pair of shawls. I am no king or minister that I should extend my foot "beyond my due station." The Mīr Ṣāḥib insisted much, but not another article did he accept. As to marching himself, he absolutely declined to do so.

Two days passed in this fruitless discussion. On the third day, when the Shāh happened to make a halt at one of the camps, 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mīr Ṣāḥib laid before him the proposal that he (the Shāh) in person should march as far as the town of Mathurā, and there make some stay. Then whatever Aḥmad Khān proposed, if it seemed advisable, could be carried out. The Shāh said: "It is well."

Rubric. — March of the Shāh towards Mathurā on the representation of Mīr Sher Andāz Khān, and after reaching it and making a seven days' halt, he starts on his return to his own country.

On the day that the Shāh entered the neighbourhood of Mathurā, he crossed the Jamnah and encamped near Mahmān (Mahāban?), where there is a *sarāe*, built by one Sayyid 'Abd-un-nabī,[25] and it goes also by the name of Sarāe Nabī; it lies two *kos* to the east of Mathurā.

[25] He was made *faujdār* of Mathurā on the 16th Rabi II., 1079 H. (26th September 1668), and was killed in an attack on a Jāṭ fort upon the 21st Zu,l Ḥijjah of the same year (24th May, 1669), *Ma,āsir-i-'ālamgīrī*, 74, 83.

En route the Mīr Ṣāḥib paid a visit to Najīb Khān, who was at Bindrāban with Jahān Khān. These two nobles had marched fourteen days earlier, and had carried out a general slaughter in the country round Mathurā and Bindrāban, and had halted there. The author went with him (Sher Andāz Khān). Wherever you gazed you beheld heaps of slain; you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children lying in a heap. Not one of the dead bodies had a head. In short, we reached the quarters of Najīb Khān and sat there some three quarters of an hour. The stench and fetor and effluvium in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath. Every one held his nose and stopped his mouth with his handkerchief while he spoke. The Mīr Ṣāḥib said to Najīb Khān: "How can you relish your "food or a drink of water?" He replied: "What can I do, I am under the Shāh's orders; in "default of his order I can move nowhere."

When I got to the town of Mathurā I saw exactly the same state of things. Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning. Many buildings had been knocked down. A naked man emerged from the ruins and asked me for a little food. I gave him some money and asked: "Who art thou?" He said: "I am a Musulmān, I was a "dealer in jewellery, my shop was a large one. In addition to precious stones and engraved and "mounted goods, I had 4,000 rupees in cash in the shop. On the day of the slaughter the Shāh's "army suddenly appeared, when nobody had the least expectation of them; it was at dawn. "A horseman, drawn sword in hand, came at me and tried to kill me. I said I was a Musulmān. He "said: 'Disclose your privities.' I undid my cloth. He continued: 'Whatever cash you have, "give to me that I may spare your life.' I gave him my 4,000 rupees. Another came and cut me "on the stomach with his sabre. I fled and hid in a corner. My shop was emptied. For several "days past I have had nothing to eat, but a few uncooked grains of corn. Camp followers come "in day after day and knock down the houses. In many places buried treasure is discovered and "carried off. But still there are hoards left in other places not yet found by any one. If you can "take me to the camp with you and place men at my disposal, I will point out the hoards."

In brief, I made over to him a sheet to cover him, and brought him with me. When I reached the bank of the Jamnah, I found it was fordable. The water flowing past was of a yellowish colour, as if polluted by blood. The man said: "For seven days following the general slaughter, the water "flowed of a blood-red colour. Now fourteen days have elapsed, and the colour of the water has "turned yellow." At the edge of the stream I saw a number of Bairāgī and Suniyāsī huts, huddled close together. These men are ascetics of the Hindū faith. In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck.

To continue my story. I brought the man above referred to with me and produced him before the Mīr Ṣāḥib. The next morning, with the permission of the chief minister and 'Imād-ul-mulk, ten horseman of 'Uṣmān Khān's regiment were sent with him and several axe-men. He took them to a house. After they had applied their axes once or twice, a box was uncovered. It held two hundred gold coins, several pieces of diamond, half a *sér's* weight of jewelled ornaments, and the same quantity of plain gold ornaments. After that, several other places were broken open, but nothing was discovered.

We came back and displayed the property before the chief minister. The *Wazīr* made a sign to the Mīr Ṣāḥib saying: "Half I give to you and 'Imād-ul-mulk, half is mine." The Mīr Ṣāḥib represented that he had never accepted plundered property. "All belongs to Your Lordship, for "you have come from your own country with the intent of upholding the Faith and expelling the "infidel. You are engaged in a Holy War, and this is a special holy place of the infidel." The minister rejoined: "Well, I give it you from myself." But the Mīr Ṣāḥib still refused.

On the next day the Mīr Ṣāḥib attended the Shāh's audience. The Shāh was inspecting the lists of booty from Mathurā that had been drawn up by Jahān Khān. After he had done this, he

conferred robes on Jahān Khān and Najīb Khān, and told them to move on to Akbarābād, where there were many wealthy men, who are subjects of the Jāt. These must be either slain or made captives, and all their property seized and delivered over to the officials of his government. That same day they made their first march towards Akbarābād.

At the same audience the Shāh said: "Is there any one who can compose a rhyme on this "victory; the meaning must be that I have given Islām peace from the oppression of the infidel, the "words *durr-i-durrānī* to be included in the date-giving line." You must understand that the Shāh styled himself *Durr-i-Durrānī*.[26] At the head of his missives, instead of his own name, he wrote these words in gold ink with his own hand.

In the Shāh's army was an Afghān poet, a native of Kābul, whom he knew by sight. His name was Khawāṣ Khān, and his pen-name was Bezhan. The teaching of Prince Taimūr Shāh was confided to him. The Shāh sent for this man and instructed him as to what he wanted, telling him to reflect on it and bring him the result. The Mīr Ṣāḥib told this story to me.

Next day the Mīr Ṣāḥib was at the quarters of 'Imād-ul-mulk. There Khawāṣ Khān said that two days had gone by and he was still puzzling over that chronogram and the expressions required in it by the Shāh. He could not get it into shape. The Mīr Ṣāḥib began to speak of me and then sent for me. I went to the place. 'Imād-ul-mulk said to me: "You, too, must try to think this "out." I gave no reply. He went on: "Certainly — you must have a try." I answered: "I have no choice left; but I must have till to-morrow to prepare it, and I will then produce it."

That same day I set to work and got the hemistich for the date, and then composed a strophe of two couplets, which I made over to the Mīr Ṣāḥib. The hemistich for the date is:

Ba Hind aiman namūd Islām Shāh-i-durr-i-durrānī

1169 H.

"The King of Islām, the pearl of pearls, brought peace to India."

The morning afterwards, the Mīr Ṣāḥib stated to 'Imād-ul-mulk that So-and-so (*i. e.*, the author), after reflecting two or three hours, had written this chronogram in a rhymed strophe. 'Imād-ul-mulk inspected it and approved it highly; then he said it was very excellently written and quite perfect. He sent for the writer and said to me: "Your Mīr Ṣāḥib wishes to place this "chronogram before the Shāh, while I say it is not wise to do so; for this reason that the Shāh "will summon you to his presence, and will doubtless present you with a robe (*ḥullah*), but he is "sure to say also, 'Remain in attendance on me.' He will appoint a monthly salary and rations, "and carry you off with him. What are your ideas about this?" I repeated this hemistich—

Ai roshnā,ī-i-ṭaba'! tu bar man balā shudī

"O sharpness of wit! thou art my damnation,"

and held my tongue. After a moment or two 'Imād-ul-mulk made a sign again to me, and said: "What is your wish, speak." I replied: "This loyal servant obeying your exalted order brought "forth 'moist and dry' (*raṭb yābis*?). So long as the Mīr Ṣāḥib does not turn me away, men "may offer me *lakhs* of rupees, and I would not leave him." He answered: "The men of towns, in "particular of those round Lakhnau, who are famed throughout the realm for their noble descent and "valour, are extraordinary creatures, full of airs and graces (*bā ān o bān*)."

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[26] "Pearl of Pearls." No doubt he, like the rest, had worn in his ear a gold ring, mounted with a pearl, when one of the household slaves of Nādir Shāh. Before he rose to power a *faqīr* had prophesied his success, and styled him *Durr-i-durrān*, "Pearl of Pearls." Hence his epithet of the *Durrānī*, "the man of the Pearls."

After the writer had returned to his quarters, 'Imād-ul-mulk, in my absence, said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "Let me have Muḥammad Ḥasan, and he will live with me as your representative. I will "appoint you to the office of Branding and Verification [of troopers' horses] and the inspection "of the personal rolls of my soldiers; it will be your office and he will be your deputy." The Mīr Ṣāḥib answered: "Muḥammad Ḥasan is my right hand; if your Lordship designs to amputate my "hand, what objection have I?" These speeches were reported to me by the Mīr Ṣāḥib that night, and he added: "Now let us wait and see what happens. Whatever country or whatever office it "be, you will not go away from me."

To return to our story. As Jangbāz Khān persisted in his refusal, the chief minister and 'Imād-ul-mulk and the Mīr Ṣāḥib sat from early morning to midday in consultation upon what should be done with regard to Aḥmad Khān's business. After much argument 'Imād-ul-mulk advised that one of the princes of Hindūstān should be appointed to the *ṣūbahs* of Audh and Bengal, and despatched in charge of him ('Imād-ul-mulk). Jangbāz Khān should also be sent. If he agrees, well and good; if not — it is the emperor's country, and in the non-presence of the emperor, the prince affords a perfect claim and title. Wherever he directs his steps, crowds of helpers will join him. The kingdom is his kingdom. Not one of the nobles and *rājahs* of Hindūstān, except they be disloyal, will act in opposition.

Thus they reported to the Shāh that if His Majesty had planted in his heart the desire to assist the emperor of Hindūstān, then one of the princes, sons of the emperor of Hind, ought to be sent for; a patent for the eastern provinces should be granted to him, and he should then be sent off in company with Jangbāz Khān. In this manner the said Khān's (Jangbāz's) scruples would be removed, and all others concerned would be re-assured.

In accordance with the chief minister's proposals, the Shāh considered the plan and held it to be a good one. At once he wrote and sent off a letter to the emperor of Hindūstān, 'Azīz-ud-dīn, 'Ālamgīr Ṣānī, calling upon him to send a prince at once, without any delay. The emperor of Hindūstān selected two princes; the first was named Hidāyat Bakhsh, holding the title of Wālā Jāh, Bahādur. He was a son of this same emperor of India. The second was Mīrzā Bābā by name and A'lā Jāh by title, the emperor's son-in-law. They were despatched under the care of Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah, the Chief Almoner (*ṣadr-us.ṣadūr*). A patent for the Audh province was made out in the name of Mīrzā Bābā, and for Bangālah in that of Wālā Jāh, aforesaid. The emperor affixed his own seal to these, and handed them to the princes. At the time of leave-taking he said to Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah: "I make over these two princes to you in trust. If something in the shape "my heart desires can be accomplished, my purpose is fulfilled; otherwise, these pledges, entrusted "to you, I shall demand again. See to it that they fall into no one else's hands."

The said Nawāb, taking the two princes with two elephants, one riding horse for each, and a mere soldier's tent, reached our camp by forced marches. The Shāh also issued to them patents for the provinces in accordance with those given by the emperor of Hind. The chief minister persuaded Jangbāz Khān, and the Shāh added: "My son, I will not leave you to be destroyed, my hand is at "your back."

'Imād-ul-mulk received an aigrette and a plume. A handsome set of robes, along with a jewelled aigrette and a feathered plume for Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang, Aḥmad Khān, were made over to the Mīr Ṣāḥib. At the time of leave-taking the Shāh said to the Mīr Ṣāḥib: "Sayyid, wherever "I may be, if a letter from thee reaches me, whatever request you make, it shall be attended to. Set "your mind at rest."

As the weather was hot and it was the season of the spring harvest, a great deal of sickness appeared in the Shāh's army and it took one hundred rupees to purchase one *sēr* of tamarind,

a drink made of tamarinds being prescribed with benefit. Daily one hundred and fifty men died. Finding that the climate was adverse, the Shāh arrived at a fixed decision in his mind to return to Wilāyat. He despatched the princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Jangbāz Khān to Farrukhābād; while he wrote to Jahān Khān and Najīb Khān that as soon as they had read his letter, and wherever they might be, they must start for his camp. Giving over this letter to 'Imād-ul-mulk, he instructed him, and two days before his own departure started him and his party off for Farrukhābād. The Shāh himself two days afterwards marched from Mathurā, and, taking the route *viâ* Kābul, made his way to Qandahār.

Let us go on with the story. The Mīr Ṣāḥib went stage by stage with that expedition as far as Akbarābād. Jahān Khān had carried out a general slaughter in that city as far as Nīlah-gumbaz; then he invested the fort. Rājah Nāgar Mall and others were shut up in it. They finally agreed to pay Jahān Khān four *lakhs* of rupees, promising to produce the money on the following morning. Three hours after sunrise had passed, when 'Imād-ul-mulk and the others made their entry into Akbarābād. Owing to the general slaughter and the investment, the city was in confusion as if Judgment Day had come. The inhabitants of the city had disappeared.

'Imād-ul-mulk went straight to Jahān Khān and made over to him the Shāh's letter. After reading it he said: "I have a promise to be paid four *lakhs* of rupees to-morrow morning. I stop "here to-day and up to midday to-morrow. On receiving the sum named from Nāgar Mall, I will "begin my march." 'Imād-ul-mulk retorted: "That is impossible. This is imperial territory. "What damage has been done cannot be helped. But now the Shāh is on the march and you have "got this order. Relinquish the hope of collecting the rupees, for after the receipt of them there "will be delay."

Jahān Khān said: "One *lakh* has been promised for this evening, get that paid over to me. "Then what harm is there if I march." Thus 'Imād-ul-mulk sent word to Rājah Nāgar Mall. The latter thought it a lucky escape and sent the *lakh* of rupees to Jahān Khān the same day, and that Khān began his march at the time of evening (*maghrib*) prayer, and went away.

The day after this we made a halt in Akbarābād. The princes and Jangbāz Khān crossed the Jamnah and pitched their camp in a line with Katrah Wazīr Khān.[27] Then quitting Akbarābād they moved stage by stage as far as *parganah* Mainpurī. During these marches two or three things happened, the record of which is worthy of being dwelt upon.

From Akbarābād, Najīb Khān sent his full brother, Sulṭān Khān, with four hundred horsemen in attendance on 'Imād-ul-mulk. When the princes, 'Imād-ul-mulk, Jangbāz Khān, and Sulṭān Khān reached Mainpurī, they consulted and decided to halt there. The Mīr Ṣāḥib was to go on to Farrukhābād, and bring back Aḥmad Khān with him. On his arrival, whatever was decided on, could be carried out. The Mīr Ṣāḥib left the author with the tent and baggage at Mainpurī and departed for Farrukhābād. Nawāb Aḥmad Khān sent two tents with screens for the princes, and one tent with screens for 'Imād-ul-mulk. They wrote to the author that he was to deliver these tents at their respective destinations and obtain and forward with all speed answers to the letters. The Nawāb himself would join the camp in four days. The author carried out the instructions sent him by the Mīr Ṣāḥib.

On the fourth day, in the morning, a messenger arrived with a letter from the Mīr Ṣāḥib, saying, that on that day at one watch after sunrise the heir-apparent, Maḥmūd Khān, would reach the camp in advance, and the Nawāb himself would reach it in the afternoon. I carried off this letter to

[27] On the left bank, opposite Rāj Ghāṭ, between Nawābganj and the river; see Constable's "Hand Atlas," plate 48.

Imād-ul-mulk. When he had looked at it, he said: "Go to Nawāb Yaḥyā Khān" (who had also come with us[28]) "and on my behalf say to him that I am mounting to go out and escort into "camp Aḥmad Khān. He, too, should mount." I went, gave my message, and returned.

At this point another messenger came in to say that Nawāb Aḥmad Khān must have reached a place five *kos* distant, and his son, Maḥmūd Khān, was in his company. 'Imād-ul-mulk sent the author to Jangbāz Khān requesting him to mount and come out to act as escort. I went and said the Nawāb Wazīr had sent this message. He jumped up and said: "*Fulān-i-man* has mounted and "is coming to me, what care I, and why should I go out to greet and escort him in." I came back and repeated his words to 'Imād-ul-mulk. He was putting on his clothes, ready to mount. He sent the author back again, telling me to say that the Mīr Ṣāḥib had handed me over to him when he left, and what could he write to the Mīr. I then left him. At length the said Khān also mounted. He and 'Imād-ul-mulk and Yaḥyā Khān went out four *kos* to meet the new arrival, and together with him they returned to the camp.

Early next morning 'Imād-ul-mulk went to the tent of Ghaẓanfar Jang Aḥmad Khān. The two of them then mounted in one litter, and in another litter was Maḥmūd Khān. In this mode they went to see the princes. When they reached the entrance there was a long stoppage and both *pālkis* were struck by men with their maces of office, so that a great uproar ensued at the entrance and it lasted for some hour and a quarter. Everybody exclaimed that this was a part of the ceremonial of sovereigns, and nobles look on it as a part of their grandeur. In fine, after an audience, robes of honour were conferred on both, that is, father and son, with a sword and horse for Maḥmūd Khān.

In the afternoon Nawāb Sulṭān Khān came to visit Ghaẓanfar Jang. Upon his reaching the entrance he attempted to enter. One Mushrif Khān, the chamberlain (*'arẓ-begī*) of Ghaẓanfar Jang, said: "Be pleased, sir, to wait a moment until I have announced you." He went in and reported. The Nawāb remarked: "Say to Sulṭān Khān that he must wait twenty minutes while I put on my clothes." On hearing these words Sulṭān Khān was offended, and made off to his own tent.

Ghaẓanfar Jang remarked: "What idea had he got into his head? Is he not aware that he "was once in my service, and to this day the descriptive roll of Najīb Khan is preserved in my record-room?" The words were carried to Sulṭān Khān, and he ordered his advance tents to be sent out in the direction of Dihlī, as next morning he meant to start for Shāhjahānābād. 'Imād-ul-mulk interviewed Aḥmad Khān that evening, and said whatever the occasion called for, and gave him advice. An outward reconciliation then took place between the two nobles and they had an interview. After that Ghaẓanfar Jang went to Sulṭān Khān's quarters, and one day entertained him at a banquet.

After one week we marched from Mainpurī, and all the chiefs on reaching Farrukhābād pitched their tents on the Ganges bank close to Fatḥgaḍh. Two days afterwards news was received that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, Rohelah, ruler of Aṇwalah and Barelī, had come to an agreement with the Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and they had exchanged turbans. Then 'Imād-ul-mulk proceeded to Aṇwalah and prevailed on Sa'dullah Khān, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān, Mullā Sardār Khān, Donde Khān, Fatḥ Khān,sāmān, and the other leaders to march for the prince's camp.

At this time news came that 'Imād-ul-mulk had been made a prisoner by the Rohelahs of Katehr. It so chanced that on the same day 'Imād-ul-mulk reached Farrukhābād in safety. The same day at noon another report reached us that the Marhaṭṭah army had arrived within two marches of us, and on that night or next morning would be at Farrukhābād. Ghaẓanfar Jang brought away from Farrukhābād all the inhabitants, and conveyed them to our camp on the bank of the river. So complete was the evacuation that there was not a soul left in the city.

[28] The eldest son of Khān Bahādur, Zakariyā Khān, a former governor of Lāhor; his mother and 'Imād-ul-mulk's mother were sisters, daughters of I'timād-ud-daulah, Qamar-ud-din Khān, the *Wazīr* who was killed in 1748.

At the end of five days Sa'dullah Khān, with the chiefs named above, arrived on the further bank of the river and encamped there. They were written to and asked to cross over the Ganges and join our force. This they did, and the whole army was united near *parganahs* Mihrābād and Jalālābād.[29] The tent of Sa'dullah Khān himself was pitched three miles (one *farsakh*) from us.

Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah began a march out of his own territory and arrived at *parganah* Sāndī and there halted. Between the two armies there was a distance of nine *kos*. When a week had passed, he (Shujā'-ud-daullah) sent his wife's brother, Nawāb Sālār Jang, to Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān with a message that if at this time he would espouse his cause in this great and difficult business, it would be the height of favour.

Then Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah one day left his camp and drew up outside of it, and gave an order that commanders should report the mustering of their troops. On that day the regiment Mīm Bāshī of Ṣādiq Beg, Mughal, was ordered to parade for inspection. Sardār Khān, the leader of five thousand Mughals, attended, but of his whole command only twenty-five horsemen put in an appearance at the muster. All the rest out of fear of the Afghāns — they having of aforetime received a terrible handling from Aḥmad Khān — had fled with their families from Lakhnau, and Banglah, [*i. e.*, Faizābād], some going to Benares, some to 'Azīmābād, some to Allahābād and other towns. No man of the Mughal race was left. From that day the said Nawāb discharged all of the Mughals. He was in a high degree anxious and perplexed.

The only course open to him seemed that Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān should, in whatever way was possible, put an end to the war and invasion. Nawāb Sālār Jang remained several days at Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān's tent, while some settlement of the dispute was being arrived at. One day there was a general report in Shujā'-ud-daulah's army that Sālār Jang had been made a prisoner. At that time great consternation arose, especially among the men from Shāhjahānābād, and the whole group of Begams was in a great state of mind. Next day they learnt that it was all a mistake.

To continue the story. With Aḥmad Khān were about fifty thousand horse, old troops and recruits, as entered in the lists. The Rohelah force was even larger. Every day the princes' audience was attended by all the leaders, including Jangbāz Khān, Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khān, Mullā Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, and Nawāb Aḥmad Khān. They remained until noon and held consultations; but Sa'dullah Khān would not agree to appear.

In the end 'Imād-ul-mulk said that Sa'dullah Khān must come to the princes' audience. That Nawāb paid no attention to this. Still, one day he came and was honoured by presentation to the two princes. A title was conferred upon him, *viz.*, Shams-ud-daulah, Mubāriz-ul-mulk, with the grant of robes of honour and a sword. The other chiefs admitted that they were willing to obey the orders of the emperor and of the Shāh; in whatever direction the princes might advance, they were ready to follow in their train and take part in the contest and battle-fray. Accordingly these assertions they supported by an oath. Sardār Khān, Bakhshī, Ḥāfiz Raḥmat Khān, and Donde Khān, went off to see Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān and informed him. He said: "You may fight, I do not "forbid you; but not in the very slightest will I become ally or supporter of any man on either side."

They said he ought to remain with the army until the province of Bengal was recovered; no such opportunity would ever fall to their lot again. The said Nawāb, however, refused absolutely, and repeated his former answer. Then one day a report came to Jangbāz Khān that horsemen from the army of Shujā'-ud-daulah had driven off his camels while grazing. It was noon-time. As soon as he heard this, the said Khān lept from his place like a coal from a flaming fire and instantly went to see the princes, flung his turban on the ground and said: "At once I ride out to fight;

[29] These are to the north of the Ganges, on the Audh border.

"with you I have no concern." The prince took his own turban and placed it on Jangbāz Khān's head and said a few words. Jangbāz Khān came out and rode off, followed by his troops. The rest of the divisions, one after the other, mounted and took the field.

When they had come out two *kos* from the camp, a fierce storm arose, a cloud of yellow dust rose so high into the air that neither sky nor earth was visible. An hour and a half afterwards heavy rain came on, which lasted one and a half to one and three-quarter hours. All this wind and rain blew in their faces. So violent was the torrent of rain that the small streams could only be crossed by swimming. Jangbāz Khān halted where he was, in the expectation that when the wind lulled and the rain abated they would be able to move again, and begin the fight.

The wind and rain were so severe that all the tents in the army were blown over, the horses, pulling up their tethering pegs, dispersed in all directions, and the men were involved in difficulties and discomfort. The disturbance continued for full three hours, and the wind remained as high as ever and the rain as heavy.

Seeing no help for it, Jangbāz Khān ordered a return march from that place at three-quarters of an hour or one hour before sunset, and re-entered his camp. He remarked: "O friends! it "seems as if we were acting against God's good pleasure. I am convinced now that for a further "space of time the stay in this region of the Marhaṭṭahs and others, our enemies, has been decreed."

After two days he sent a message to the princes through Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān that Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah had agreed to pay five *lakhs* of rupees to the Shāh's army as a tribute. As Jangbāz Khān had heard that the Shāh had started for his own kingdom, he had accepted this proposal. Next morning a *lakh* of rupees arrived in cash; and a cessation of hostilities was arranged. Nawāb Aḥmad Khān lost heart, and was displeased; taking with him the princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk he returned to Farrukhābād.

Two days previously the author had started with a note from princes Hidāyat Bakhsh and Wālā Jāh Bahādur, in consultation with Nawāb Saif-ud-daullah, who to some extent had become estranged from 'Imād-ul-mulk; and Nawāb Aḥmad Khān had made several speeches to the Mīr Ṣāḥib, through which his displeasure betrayed itself. Thus he, too, (the Mīr Ṣāḥib) was a sharer in this consultation. He sent the author with the said note to see Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah.

This was the substance of the note. If a force were sent to a distance of two or three *kos* from us, we will leave this camp on the pretext of a hunting expedition, and come to join that force and then come on to you. You must also send twelve thousand rupees in cash.

When I (the author) got to Shujā'-ud-daulah's camp, I obtained an interview through Āghā Mirzā Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Mīr Ghulām Rasūl (*alias* Mīr Manjhle), grandson of Nawāb Sipāhdār Khān, deceased, whose grove is at Allahābād.[30] Shujā'-ud-daulah said: "To-morrow I shall be "employed in getting together the *lakh* of rupees that I have agreed to pay. The day after that I will give you an answer and send you back with Mīr Ghulām Rasūl Khān." After this I went to visit Shekh Ṣāḥib Shekh Allahyār[31] and Sayyid Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān,[31] both being then in the service of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah and commanders of cavalry regiments. With them I spent the day.

On that same date Nawāb Ghaẓanfar Jang Aḥmad Khān and 'Imād-ul-mulk, taking the two princes, recrossed the Ganges and returned to Farrukhābād. The Mīr Ṣāḥib (Sher Andāz Khān)

[30] This man was the son of Khān Jahān, Kokaltāsh, 'Alamgīr's foster brother. He was governor of Allahābād towards the end of 'Ālamgīr's reign, and died in 1130 H. (1718). The name of the grove has been now corrupted into "Bāgh Subahdār."

[31] Both natives of Bilgrām. The former, H. M. Elliot's "accurate Murtaẓā Ḥusain," is the author of the valuable *Ḥadīqat-ul-aqālīm*, also written at the instigation of Captain Jonathan Scott. Nūr-ul-ḥasan Khān finally moved his home to Paṭnah 'Aẓīmābād and died there.

also went back to Farrukhābād. The next morning, when I reached the site of the camp, I found nobody but Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān there; thus I stopped in his camp along with Mīr Ghulām Rasūl Khān. As the zamīndārs were out on the roads plundering, it was impossible to proceed to Farrukhābād. It was with the greatest difficulty that I got a note sent there for the Mīr Sāhib.

His answer was that I must stop where I was and begin a negociation to get him (Sher Andāz Khān) into Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān's employment. I (the author) obtained an interview with the Nawāb through Mīr Ghulām Rasūl Khān. The Nawāb said: "From this day I take you into my service, and as soon as I reach Anwalah, I will send a *parwānah* summoning Mīr Sher Andāz Khān."

That same day Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān ordered his army to march in the direction of Anwalah, while he himself, unattended, went into *parganah* Pālī to meet Shujā'-ud-daulah. After they had passed a night in the same place, Sa'dullah Khān returned to Anwalah. When he had arrived he sent a *parwānah*, inviting the Mīr Sāhib to come with one hundred horsemen. The letter was made over to one Shāham Khān, whose home was at Mau,[32] with orders to forward it by the hand of his own servant to Mīr Sher Andāz Khān.

Ten days afterwards the said Khān's brother sent back the letter unopened and wrote that Mīr Andāz Khān had been appointed *faujdār* of the *parganahs* near Anūpshahr, which had been granted by the Abdālī Shāh to Nawāb Ahmad Khān. He had received robes of honour and had departed for his charge. The two princes and 'Imād-ul-mulk had started for Shāhjahānābād. Jangbāz Khān had remained on at Farrukhābād, awaiting the money payment promised by Shujā'-ud-daulah.[33]

The author took the returned letter to Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, or, rather, after I had opened and read it, I made it over to him. The Nawāb signed an order fixing the author's pay at forty rupees a month, and appointed me one of the gentlemen troopers (*yakkah*). Jangbāz Khān wrote from Farrukhābād for the money agreed on, as to which the Nawāb (Sa'dullah Khān) had made himself responsible. Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah paid one *lakh* of rupees, and in regard to the remaining four *lakhs* he made a promise to pay in fifteen days, and went back to Lakhnau.

When one month had passed and the money had not arrived, Jangbāz Khān came to Anwalah in person and demanded payment. Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān said that Rājah Mān Rāe, his *dīwān*, was at Barelī; when he came back a correspondence would be opened with Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah, and in a week the money should be handed over to him (Jangbāz Khān). A week went by, but the *dīwān*, from several causes, was still detained in Barelī and had not returned to Anwalah.

Jangbāz Khān crossed the Rāmgangā river which flows between Anwalah and Barelī, and went as far as Barelī, where he surrounded the house of the said *dīwān*, and there was a great disturbance. That very day he obtained the four *lakhs* in cash from the *dīwān*, and then made a start for his own country. Thus the sum fell to be paid by Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān, and not a copper of it was recovered from Nawāb Shujā'-ud-daulah.

The author for twelve years remained in the service of Nawāb Sa'dullah Khān. Upon his death[34] (May God give him rest and admit him to Paradise), I was two years in the employ of Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān, the former Nawāb's brother and holder of *parganahs* Sahswān[35] and Ujhyānī, *et cetera*. Having taken a few months' leave and gone home, I heard there that Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān, while engaged in playing with a large snake, was bitten by it and expired. I therefore decided not to return.[36]

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32 Mau Rashīdābād to the west of Farrukhābād.

33 The "Ser Mutāqherin," III. 148, says 'Imād-ul-mulk had reached Farrukhābād on the 7th Shawwāl, 1170 H. (24th June 1757).

34 Sa'dullah Khān died on the 5th Sha'bān 1176 H. (18th February 1763), aged 27 years—*Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī*. Thus the period of service under him could not have exceeded six years.

35 Both now in the Budāūn district, United Provinces.

36 'Abdullah Khan died on the 7th Safar 1180 H. (14th July 1766)—*Tārīkh-i-Muhammadī*.

Nawāb 'Abdullah Khān was an able poet; his pen-name was 'Āṣī. He was also a capable musician and painter; and he knew a lot of secrets about snakes, and spent much time in playing with them. At length his fate came from a snake's poison and by God's decree he passed from this transitory world. May God give him rest.

Couplet.

Dunyā,st dār-i-be-baqā, 'uqbā,st mashrūt-i-fanā	"The world is a passing show, eternity conditioned by decay:
Bas khūb shud kiz yād-i-mā in ham guzasht, ān ham guzasht.	"Enough that in memory of me this and that happened."

[The End.]

Additional Notes.

The chronology of this invasion may be here farther elucidated from the *Tārīkh-i-Ahmad Shāhī*, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 196, ff., 62b. to 98b., and *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Ṣānī*, B. M. Oriental MS., No. 1749, ff., 84b—128b.

Aḥmad Shāh sent out his tents from Qandahār on the 22nd Sha'bān 1169 H. (21st May 1756) and marched on the 27th (26th May). About three weeks later Īraj Khān arrived as an envoy from India. Kābul was reached on the 9th Shawwāl (6th July 1756). About the end of August, Qalandar Khān was sent to India with Īraj Khān. On the 22nd Zu,l Ḥijjah (16th September) the march from Kābul began; the camp was at Jalālābād on the 8th Muḥarram 1170 H. (3rd October 1756), and his advance troops entered Lāhor on the 4th October. The Shāh reached Peshāwar early in Ṣafar 1170 H. (end of October). Qalandar Khān received his first audience at Dihlī on the 6th Ṣafar (30th October 1756). The march from Peshāwar was resumed on the 22nd Ṣafar (15th November). On the 27th Rabī'I (19th December 1756) Āghā Riẓā Khān was sent by the Indian Emperor to Aḥmad Shāh. Some time in Rabī' II. (23rd December 1756 to 20th January 1757) Aḥmad Shāh moved from Sonpat to Narelah. On the 4th (26th December), after a consultation, the emperor's tents were sent out to Katrah Mahaldār Khān (close to Bādlī), and Ya'qūb 'Alī Khān, Afghān, undertook to obtain a favorable settlement from the Durrānī. On the 28th (19th January 1757) 'Imād-ul-mulk appeared in the Shāh's camp at Narelah. Aḥmad Shāh entered the Fort at Dihlī, sat on the throne, and coined money, 8th Jamādā I. (28th January 1757). Khān Khānān (Intiẓām-ud-daulah) had been made Wazīr on the 26th January; and the marriage of 'Imād-ul-mulk to Mu'īn-ui-mulk's (Mannū's) daughter took place on the 20th of February.

Aḥmad Shāh marched eastwards on the 21st February and Jahān Khān carried out the slaughter at Mathurā on the 28th February 1757. The two princes, who had been sent for, left Dihlī on the 14th and reached the Shāh's camp on the 18th March. The Shāh's return march began on the 27th March; he reached Farīdābād on the 29th, and on the 2nd April moved to a place between Bādlī and Narelah. From that point his movements do not concern us.

The dates of the ineffective campaign against Shujā'-ud-daulah may also be given. On the 3rd April 1757 the princes were at Mainpurī, and Aḥmad Khān, Bangash, joined them. They moved on to the Ganges on the 4th and Hidāyat Bakhsh proceeded to Iṭāwah, while Mīrzā Bābā remained at Qādirganj till the 19th. When Shujā'-ud-daulah came out, the prince retreated to Farrukhābād. The princes recrossed the Ganges on the 30th May and Sālār Jang arrived from Shujā'-ud-daulah on the 10th June. Terms were arranged, and on the 24th June the princes crossed back and returned to Farrukhābād. They moved on to Dihlī and 'Imād-ul-mulk followed with Aḥmad Khān, Bangash. They were at Kol ('Alīgaṛh) on the 14th July, and four kos from Dihlī on the 23rd. 'Imād-ul-mulk on the 13th September 1757 introduced Aḥmad Khān at Court, he having been newly appointed Amīr-ul-umarā (*vice* Najīb Khān).

THE CHUHRAS.

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(Continued from p. 31.)

3. The Creation.

Awwal Maulâ sâjiyâ sab thîṅ pâṇî
Pâṇî uttôṅ ṭôriyâ, phir sab bayân.
Allah Maulê sâziyâ lau, kalam, zamîn tê âsmân.
Chând tê sûraj sâjiyâ târêâṅ nâḷ bhariyâ âsmân.
Baṛê baṛê hô gayê nê âqlân dê pardhân
Târê ginê na jâṅgê, kûṛâ hai jahân.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ sab khôl bayân.
Rôz qiyamat nûṅ sûraj akhîṅ kaḍḍhêgâ sôlâh,
Kals tê chanḍôê dîâṅ tadôṅ Shâhîâṅ nûṅ lôṛâṅ
Otthê Bâlâ pır karêgâ Shâhîâṅ dîâṅ gaurâṅ
Sâyâ hôwêgâ chanḍôê da, baddaḷ dîâṅ lôṛâṅ
Du'â sunô ḳhâṅ môminô, phir sat jugwâḷî,
Khwâja Kâḷak Dâs hô kharê nipâlî.
Ek pauṅ vaggêgâ jâlim, dûyâ chând Shâh dêgâ dikhâḷî
Allah rasôî jiêuṅ lêi bah iksê thâḷî
Jag sapûran hô gayâ, Kâḷak Dâs dî vârî,
Chêlê siftâṇ jôṛîâṅ kar baṛî tiyârî.
Otthê Bâla âkhiyâ Rabb nûṅ, mêrâ man sawâl

Allah dâ nâm karêgî mêrî kâḷî zât
Tussâṅ jag dê vich âûṇâ, dêṇâ dîdâr,
Taiṅ jag sapûran hôwêgâ, dargâh-i-darbâr
Allah ôthê Jhaumpṛê nâḷ, kîtâ takrâr,
Têrê Shâhî jag karngê vâr âṭhô vâr,
Allah dassê khôlkê sârê narwâr.
Thâṅ rakhiṅ pôchkê phullâṅ dê hâr
Chhândâ sâḍḍâ rakhṇâ awwal vichkâr,
Dilôṅ ghunḍi khôlaṅgê tâṅ dêâṅgê dîdâr
Tâîṅ jag sapûran hôwêgâ, dargâh darbâr
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîân, paṛh nâm chatâr.
Jhaumpṛê aggê Rabb dê ârj gujârî
Jag sapûran na hôwêgâ vâr âṭhô vârî,
Maiṅ nûṅ ôthê ghat dê jitthê dôzakh dî avârî,
Shâhî mêrê rakhṇê, jê chand sitârê.
Allah âkhêâ Bâlêâ, têrî pâk kamâî
Âpê kalam pakaṛ lê, kâgaz tê siyâhî,
Chaudâṅ tabak bakhshâ lê sârî lôkâî,

First God created water everywhere.
From this beginning all the story then
He gave of the creation. God the Lord
Made tablets, pens, the earth, the heaven. He made
The sun, the moon, and filled the sky with stars.
Full many wise men lived and died, but none
Could count the stars. The world is vain. All this
Disciples have in full recorded. Lo,
Upon the Resurrection Day the sun
Will ope his sixteen eyes; the canopy
With golden poles will shade the Shâhîs then.
Great priestly Bâlâ then will help the Shâhs.
The shadow of the flag will refuge be
Like shadow of a cloud. Believers, hear,
The true-age prayer, when Kâlak Dâs will stand
With Khwâja. Both will be our helpers. Then
Tempestuous storm of wind will sweep the earth.
The Shâh will come, in form a second moon,
And God will sit and eat with him. What time
The offering was made by Kâlak Dâs
It was accepted. Hymns disciples sing,
So carefully preparing. Bâlâ spoke
To God, and said, 'My supplication hear.
My kindred black thy name adore ; do thou
For ever in the sacrifice preside.
Appear to us, and prove our sacrifice
Acceptable to thee within thy court.'
A promise true God made to Jhaumprâ. 'See,
Thy Shâhîs all must sacrifice — the day,
The eighth, a sacred day must be.' And so
God gave him knowledge of the mystery,
Command to keep the altar swept, and see
That garlands of sweet flowers encircle it.
'The sacrificial portion due to me
The inmost be — it is the first and best.
If they their hearts unlock I will appear
And will accept their sacrifice.' Now read
And ponder well the record of His praise.
So Jhaumprâ made petition to his Lord.
'To sacrifice on every eighth is hard;
For me impossible ; like moon and stars

Têrî gal nahîn phêrnî jô kar lêi sâi.
Bâlê pîr pakaṛ lêi, kâgaz tê kânî,

Varhê dî jag karogê ik muddâimî,
Bâlê pîr ummat bakhshâ lêi kam hôyâ âsânî
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, var Durgâ Bhôwânî.
Ôhî ik sach pauṅ dhanî.
Awwaḷ sift Khudâ dî chêlâ baṅâê,
Mâṅ tê pitâ nâṅ sêvîêṅ jaiṅ sansâr vikhâê.
Dêvî mâtâ sêvîêṅ, jaiṅ shabd sikhâê.
Pîr, paikambar, auliyê, Rabb âp banâê
Bhunnê dâṅê bîjwêṅ jauṅ khêt jamâê,
Jihṛâ lâwê ajmatâṅ sôhî ôh pîr kahâê
Aggê pahrê sach dê, kuchh hô gayê nê hôr,
Sach duniyâ thîṅ ṭur gayâ, jhûṭh payâê jôr,
Lâlach laggâ sach nûṅ, Rabb baṅâyâ chôr
Jhûṭhê painch hî manniyê, phirêṅ baṛê lilôr.
Is pahrê dê âdmî hôê baṛê atatt,
Ôṛak sifat suṅâûṅî kôḷ lêṅî nahîṅ rakh
Sidqâṅwâḷê suṅaṅgê bêsidqâṅ nahîṅ pak,
Jinhâṅ suṅiyâ sidq nâḷ, bihishtîṅ varṅ bêshaqq

Augaṅhârâ chêlâ hôyâ Langar Shâh dê vârê.
Ôh sannhâṅ bahut mârîâṅ jhuggê bahut ujârê,
Ôṛak ḍhaṭṭhâ âṅkê shâhânê duârê
Jitnê aib sawâb sâṅ bakhshâ lêyê sârê
Ôs nîṅhâṅ dharîâṅ nâm dîâṅ dhar sûtar chârê
Chêlê ûpar nîṅhâṅ dê chaṛ kôṭ usârê
Nâm baṅiyâ itnâ jôṅ ambar târê
Barakat Bâlê pîr dî kôî hankâr na mârê
Chêlê sift baṅâṅdî kî kitî tadbîr.
Aggê Bâlê pîr dê hôyâ dâmangîr
Duniyâ tôṅ bê hirs hâṅ nahîṅ jag na sîr
Âqibat vêḷê bauṛṅâ tûêṅ sachchâ pîr
Sifat shurû karn dî man karê bichâr
Sab haqîqat pîr dî suṅâwâṅ zâhir
Bâlâ pîr âyâ duniyâ tê das autâr
Chêlê dânishwand bî hôê lakh hazâr
Unhâṅ nâm baṅâyâ itnâ kôî bêshumâr
Ôṛak nahîṅ âyâ nâm dâ sab challê nihâr

Preserve my Shâhîs, even if thou must
For ransom me cast into hell.' God said,
'O Bâlâ, thou deservest well: take pen,
And ink and paper, for I grant thy prayer.
Throughout the world thy followers shall be saved.'
So priestly Bâlâ took a reed and wrote,
'We make a yearly sacrifice,' and thus
Great Bâlâ had his followers' sins forgiven.
'Twas easy. His disciples sang his praise,
Bhôwâni aiding, goddess eloquent.
The Lord of wind and sky alone is true.
The first of God's commands disciples sing.
To father and to mother honour give,
Who showed the world to us: the goddess too
Who taught us truth. The priests and prophets all
Were made by God. If perfect seeds are sown
Straight barley grows from out the earth, and so,
When fruits are good the priest is proved a true
And perfect priest. The former ages all
Were times of truth, but truth has left the world:
Untruth prevails: Desire attacked the truth
With onslaught fierce. God made this thief desire.
False teachers are received, and proudly walk
Amid an evil age, where wicked men
Do wickedly. All this I must reveal.
The true will hear, the false reject, but those
That hear with faith at last will enter heaven.
A sinful man am I, disciple born
Within the time of Langar Shâh. 'Twas he
Broke into many a house, and many a hut
He burned. At last he came, repentant he,
To seek the gates of Bâlâ's shrine, where he
Had all his sins forgiven. The name of God
He made foundation sure, and, as with plumb
And compass, straight he built a hiding place,
The base firm resting on the name of God,
The top far reaching to the stars of heaven.
The blessing Bâlâ gave accomplished this.
There is no room for boast. To write a song
Assayed the priest's disciple. Thus he caught
The hem of Bâlâ's garment as he prayed,
And said, 'O thou true priest, the world is vain,
No sacrifice have I, no merit, none:
Be thou my helper in the end. How shall

Sâḍḍî jândî tiyârîân man karê vichâr
Hukam Bâlê pîr dâ kaḍḍhân nâmôn qahâr

Sidqânwâlê suṅangê hôr lôk gawâr
Jinhân suṅiyâ sidaq nâḷ ôh payê azâbôn pâr

I praise thee in a song? My heart would sing
My theme shall be the virtues of the priest.
Ten times did Bâlâ come a priest indeed
Into this world—ten millions had he wise
Disciples—men that thought upon the Name,
But never yet could measure it. They left
The world and went in wonderment. I too
Will leave it, and my heart exclaims.' The priest,
Great Bâlâ thus commands, 'Adorers of
The Name escape God's wrath: the righteous hears,
The rest are ignorant. But those that hear,
And trust, shall be set free from fear of pain.

4. Story of Dhagâṇâ.

Andar Narwarkôṭ dê Shâh pîr Dhagâṇâ
Ôhdâ bâp[32] *pûrâ hôyâ âp rêhêâ aniyâṇâ*
Chhê mahînê guzar gayê pîr murîdî jâṇâ
Vaṛiyâ Dillî âṅkê kar sûhâ bâṅâ.
Aggê Chuhṛâ nambardâr sî ohdâ nâm Sadhâṅâ.
Ôs palang ḍâhyâ pîr dâ sirê tê rakh sirhâṅâ.
Turt ba turtî pîr dâ chaâ kîtâ khâṅâ
Pîr vêkhê palang tê (vêkh karm rabbâna)
Vagâr pêî sarkâr dî kôtwâl bhajâyâ.
Ṭhaṭṭî vaṛê âṅkê nambardâr bulâyâ
Chûhṛê sabbhô châ dê bâdshâh farmâyâ
Âi asâḍḍâ jâṅ nahîn ghar pîr ê âyâ
Ih ḍâhḍâ kâḷâ nâng hai bâdshâh azmâyâ
Is dê bâp Akbar Shâh dâ manjâ gagan bhonâyâ
Îsâ Nand diân kôṭliân bakhshiân sôhnê thân banwâyâ.
Nâḷê châḷî manjeân dâ hâḷâ bakhshâyâ.
Sawâ pahr din charhiyâ manjâ dhart lahâyâ
Ih bî kâḷâ nâng hai usê pîr dâ jâyâ

Asâḍḍê ghar saṅkdêân nî âj pîr ê âyâ
Chêlê siftân jôṛîân, paṛh nâm suṅâyâ,
Kôṭwâl utthôn palṭêyâ Chûhṛê nahîn jâṅdê.
Wazîr amîr puchhdê tû kyûn nahîn âṅdê
Pûchhan Khair Dîn nû kitthê tur gayê wâṅḍê

In Narwarkôt there lived a great high priest,
Dhagâna. When his father died he was
A child, but, six months passed, the time drew near
When his followers must be visited. He came
To Dehli clad in red. The *lambardâr*
A Chuhṛa was, his name Sadhânâ, he
A bed prepared all for his priest, and placed
A pillow on it. Then in haste he cooked
His food for him. The priest regards the bed.
How woundrous are God's works. A messenger
In haste came running to the Chuhṛas' homes,
And to the headman orders gave to send
The Chuhṛas all—the king commanded. 'But'
He said, 'we cannot go to-day—our priest
Has come—beware, he is as dangerous
As any serpent. All this knows the king:
He tried him once, for this child's father sent
King Akbar's cot straight to the sky, for which,
He gifted him the fertile village lands
Of Îsâ Nand, a golden temple too,
And freed him forty villages from tax.
That priest all in the morning caused the bed.
Suspended in the sky to seek the earth.
This young priest too a cobra is, the son,
Of him we spake of. This we longed for, Sir,
He visits us.' This song all in his praise
His true disciple made. The messenger
Brought word, 'The Chuhṛas will not come.' The king

[32] *Bâlâ Lâl Khân*

Kôṭwâḷâṅ tê Chuhṛeâṅ muḍḍhôṅ vair jinnâṅdê
Chaukîdâr khalôkê paliṭâ lâyâ
Chûhṛê nahîṅ âundê ghar pîr nê âyâ,
Ós dê bâp Akbar Shâh dâ manja gagan bhuâyâ
Gussâ khâdâ Jahângîr muṅh muṛkâ âyâ
Uhô pîr pakaṛ lêaunâ na jâṅâ pâyâ
Óhu phâsî dêṅâ lêâkê. Ihô hukam suṅâyâ
Lashkar bâdshâh dê châ kîtî dhâî
Aggê baiṭhâ pîr sî Shâh dêh vaṭâê
Bâl aiyâṅâ baṅ gayâ âyâ Jag dî Khâî
Hutiyê phêrê bâdshâh dêssâṅ vich sârê
Uhô pîr pakaṛ lêâuṅâ Rabb mêrê bâp dê sirôṅ mihṅâ utârê
Chûhṛa Chhapparî Band sî nâm Mang saḍâê
Ós pîr andar lukâyâ, aulâd vikhâê
Bârâh baras dî laṛkî lâṛ pîr dê lâî

Vidh mâtâ jûrî vaḷ chhaḍḍî, kauṅ haṭâê
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, paṛh nâm suṅâîṅ.
Jâṅ kandrê naddî dê pîr childâ[33] kamâê,
Bârah baras guzârkê phir vihâê.
Rôza bârah barsâṅ dâ anâj na khâê
Muṅh thîṅ Rabb dhêaun pêyâ tap kamâê
Shâh namûna nâm sî taḍôṅ pîr phir akhâê
Pîr karê tapassiyâ chêlê âkh suṅâê
Mâîḷ Nûr Divânî ôdarî uṭh jangaḷ jâê
Jangaḷ suttâ pîr sî. Jâ khaḷî pôwândî
Óh dâ mâs gayâ sûkkê bah kôḷ bulândî
Taḷîâṅ jhas jâgaundî muṇh thîṅ shirmândî
Jêkar hôndâ bâl, pîrâ, maiṅ pêî khaḍândî
Angaṅ disdâ sôhṅâ kyûṅ ôdar jândî
Par maiṅ laṛ laggî tuddê mêrî umar vihândî
Maiṅ ghar baiṭhî tuddê bin dammâṅ bândî
Pîr Dhagâṅâ uṭhkê dalîl guzârî
Baṛê baṛê balwant nê rannâṅ nê mârê,
Kâwaṅ Lank luṭâyî Sîtâ dê mârê
Kahn churdê mundrî Guzrî pair khilârê

Demanded, 'O Khair Dîn, why brought you not
Them forcibly? Where are the idle folk?'
Police and Chuhṛas are old enemies,
A watchman standing by adds fuel to fire.
'The Chuhṛas will not come because their priest,
Whose father sent great Akbar's bed sky high,
Is come.' So Jahângîr was angry. Drops
Of sweat stood on his brow. 'Go,' cried he, 'Catch
This priest, and see he flee not. Bring him here,
And hang him!' So the king's command. The king
His army marched against him, but he found
No force opposing, for the priest there sat,
Transformed into an infant who was brought
To Jagdî Khâî, while every province round
Was taught to seek and him identify.
The king commands that he in chains be brought,
If haply from his father's name God wipe
The old disgrace away. A Chhappari-band,
A Chuhṛa, Mang by name, concealed the priest.
He hid him in his house and showed, instead,
His children. Then in marriage to the priest
He gave his daughter, girl of summers twelve.
'Twas Vidh, the mother, that united them,
And none may separate the pair. Now far
The praises publish' that the true disciple sang.
The priest upon the river bank engaged
In contemplation. Twelve long years he passed,
Twelve years of fasting, solid food he'd none.
He worshipped God, and lived an anchorite.
Then God alone he knew, and so he came
To be a worthy priest. Alone he lived,
Until his own disciples came to say
His wife, his Nur Divânî, missed him much,
And grieved for him. She ran towards the wild,
Even where her priest was sleeping. There she stood
And bowed beside his feet. His flesh was dried
Upon his bones. She called him, standing near
She clasped his feet to wake him modestly:

[33] Period of abstraction and meditation.

Râjâ Bhôj ghôṛâ ban gayâ, rânî châbuk mârê,
Aivêṅ jadd paikambarâṅ laṛ môê vichârê
Nâm lêô ummat dâ sab rannâṅ nê mârê
Jahângîr Chugatta bâdshâh, Dillî dê lâṛê
Ụhnû gâh gayî ḍûmṅî, assîṅ kauṅ vichârê
Pîr Dhagâṅâ uṭhkê aṅ nâṛâ vâhyâ
Arsha, azîm kambiyâ, bhuchâḷ sî âyâ.
Haibat dhartî Dhauḷ nûṅd dêôṅh lâlî âyâ
Ḳhabar hûî dargâh vich, Rabb vêhi puchâyâ
Hukam zôrâvarâṅ dâ vêhî bhâuṅâ âyâ
Puchhiyâ âkê pîr nû, Tussâṅ kî farmâyâ ?
Mâiṅ dîvâ dhariyâ aḍkê vich têl bî pâyâ
Battî dê chhaḍ bâḷkê sach bar Ḳhudâyâ
Dê nûr apṅê nûr thîṅ na rahâṅ trêhâyâ
Maiṅ maujdâ Bâlâ pîr hâṅ maiṅ ih farmâyâ,
Lê sanêhê pîr dê vêhî muṛ jândâ
Jitnâ hâl hawâl sî sab âkh suṅândâ,
Ôh mauj dâ Bâlâ pîr hai, tâṅ râzî hondâ.
Jhôḷ piyârê nûr dâ Rabb dast phaṛândâ
Dôiṅ dôâṅ nû vaṇḍkê iṅkô jêhâ chhândâ

Ih bî âwiṅ daskê Shâh Bâlâ âhndâ
Mat kôî chêlâ is dî chá gal bhôwândâ
Ih baṛâ zôrâwar pîr hai mat azmat lâhndâ.
Sârê âviṅ daskê ihdî aṅwâṅ
Ihḍâ adab karnâ kôî nâḷ ḍhiyâṅ
Ih êhḍâ sûrâ hô sîâ, nahîṅ ant bayân.
Ih chhattî jug jal bimb vich kîtâ ashnân.
Par sippâṅ andar rakhiyâ khud nâḷ dhiyâṅ

She said, 'My priest, had you been still a child,
I would have fondled you as once I did.
Ah me! had my dear home resounded sweet
With children's voices, then I had not thus
Been here. You wed me but my youth, alas,
Is passing swift away. Oh let me stay,
And serve you like a slave.' Dhagânâ rose.
And mused, 'A many valiant men have been
Undone by women. Râwan lost Ceylon
For Sîtâ. Gujrî fascinated Kahn
What time he stole the ring, and Ranja Bhoj
A horse became; his wife applied the whip.
And thus the sons of prophets fought and died.
They said they died for men — for women 'twas
They died. Great Jahangîr Chagatta, once
The king of Dilli, gay bridegroom became,
And lost his honour to a dancing girl.
What will become of me?' Dhagânâ cried.
He rose, he shouted, till the heavens shook.
The earth did quake; the white ox Dhaul for fear
Did tremble, and the light of day grew red
Like blood. The voice straight penetrates Heaven's court.
Forthwith God sends His angel Gabriel.
A message brings he from the Lord; he comes
So speedily all to the priest and asks,
'What seekest thou?' The priest replied, 'A lamp
Have I prepared, and placed within it oil,
And eke a wick: light thou the wick. True God
Who art. Light from thine own light give to me,
Quench thou my thirst, for Bâlâ priest am I,
A wanderer free. My one request vouchsafe.'
So Gabriel, back bearing his request
Presented it, with explanation, 'Lo,
'Tis Bâlâ, wandering priest, that makes request,
And will not be content till it be given
A cup of sparkling light.' God gave it free,
And placed it in the angel's hands. He said,
'Give them, the husband and the wife, give both
An equal share, and say that Bâlâ comes
Into the world again. Let none refuse
To hear him, for he is a mighty man
Of God. He may be angry, in his rage

Aggê gayâ duniyâ tê nau vêrî jawân
Huṅ daswîṅ vârî tuḍh ghar âyâ parwân
Par sadḳê ih dê nâm tôṅ hôṅdâ qurbân.
Vêhî nûr dittâ vandkê dassê pîr dê aṅwâṅ.
Jêhṛê ih dê murîd nê, bihishtî jân.
Nahîṅ qadr firishtêâṅ, ihnû âṅ bulâṅ.
Jûṅ aggê Dharm Râê dê khaṛ jâ puchhâṅ.
Shâh Bâlê dê murîd nûṅ na pawê dhuwân
Jitnê aib sawâb nê sab baḳhshê jâṅ
Jô Shâh Bâlê dê murîd haiṅ, nâḷ nek nigâh
Khullê darwajjê varêgâ, hô bêparwâ.
Massallî jêhṛê baṅ gayê unhâṅ dî kôî nahîṅ jâ

Oh Narakê dâḳhil hôṅgê, dôzaḳh dî bhâ
Munkir tê Nakîr bî, phir lêkhâ maṅgaṅ,
Nêkaṅ badîâṅ puchhṅgê. nâḷê haḍḍîâṅ bhaṅan
Jô Shâh Bâlê dê murîd haiṅ, na puchhaṅ na jammaṅ.
Ohdâ âdar karnâ itnâ nâḷê pakhê jhulaṅ
Pîr piyâla nûr dâ pî ghar val âyâ
Dîvâ balêâ jôt dâ ôhnû Rabb vadhâyâ
Nau mahînê gujar gayê pîr kukhê âyâ
Âyâ rât sôhâg dî mâṅ shagan manâê
Arshâṅ thîṅ firishtê ziyârat nûṅ âê
Dîvêâṅ dê bâḷkê shamâdân jagâê
Hûrâṅ pariâṅ baiṭhkê sab mangal gâê
Ziyârat karêô pîr dî Rabb pûrî pâê
Rât sanîchar vâr dî pîr Bâlâ jammî
Baḷdê dîvê mât hôê uṭh dâî bhannî.
Gurhtî âhî nûr dî vich sônê chhannî.
Pahilâ darshan mâṅ kîtâ jis pâyâ thaṅnîṅ.
Pîr daswêṅ autâr jê suṇiô akhîṅ tê kannîṅ.
Nâvîṅ sadî gujar gayî aggê daswîṅ panni
Pîr paṇḍit âkhdê, Pîr bhôrê pâô.

He may dishonour some. Go, Gabriel, go,
Declare to them the signs, and see that they
Give him due honour. He is great, so great,
His greatness none will measure. On the deep
He floated six and thirty ages; then
He gave oblations; in the shell I kept
And shielded him from harm. Nine times before
He has incarnate been, now in thy house
A tenth time he will come. Let all regard,
And sacrifice themselves to him.' An equal share
The angel gave them, and the signs he showed
'Who follow him will go to heaven at last,
The angels dare not summon them, nor dare
To bring them to the presence of the king
That rules in Hell. No force unlawful will
Compel the followers of Bâlâ Shah.
Their sins will be forgiven who look with faith
To Bâlâ Shah. All fearlessly they come
And enter free the doors of Heaven, but those
That are Masallis straight will enter Hell,
Where flames await them. Munkir and Nakîr
Will strict examine them, a record true
Of deeds, both bad and good, they will demand,
And then they'll break their bones, but Bala's men
Will be nor asked, nor born again. All grace
Will them be shown, and fans be waved on high
To cool them.' Bala drank the cup of light
And homewards sped — a lamp with heavenly light
Was given him. Nine months passed, a child was born.
One happy night the mother omens sought,
And lo! from heaven high came angels down
To see the child. Bright lamps were lit, and placed
On stands; bright fays and fairies came to sing,
'Behold the priest, and God be with you all.'
On Saturday, by night, the priest was born,
The lamps that burned grew dim, the midwife ran
In fear. The child's first draught was one of light
All in a golden cup. His mother looked
And saw him first. She gave him milk and so
The priest was now the tenth time incarnate.
Hear ye with eyes and ears, the ninth is passed,
The tenth great age begun. The Pandits said,

Bârah varhê is nûn na vâ lôdô
Sakht sitâra is dâ jê sach puchhâô.
Ih dêvtêân vichchôn barâ hai; na gal vadhâô.

Hujrê Shâh Muqîm dê kôi gaddi bhârî.
Pîr sâhib dê pôtrê saiyid balkârî.
Kisî dûtî jâkê ôthê chuglî mârî.
Tâlî Chûhrêan dê pîr dî kôi bêshumârî.
Sunkê saiyid pîr nê gaddîn jôrâîân
Kuhârê unhân uṭhâ lêyê môndhê dhar par nâîân.
Ṭâlî dê hêṭh âṅkê sab nazrâṅ kardê.
Traê darê banangê sôhnê kârîgar sâf kardê.
Phull lagganġê takhtiâṅ buhê sôhnê bandê,
Sôhnîâṅ banîâṅ chaunkiâṅ, ghar bûrâṅ dhâîâṅ.
Saiyid apô vich bahskê salâh kaṭṭaṅ di kardê.
Pîr Dhagâna jâkê muṛ arzâṅ kardâ
Nâḷê pîr kahndâ pêyâ, Rabb thîṅ ḍardâ
Par châcha jis nûṅ âkhîyê panḍ châ, nahîṅ kharḍâ.
Sayid, zôrâwar nê, Rabb kikar ih kardâ
Pîr Dhagânâ Saiyidâṅ dê nâḷ na hôyâ kâhḷâ

Hôr andar pîr hai is ṭâḷîwâḷâ
Ṭâlî hath nahîṅ launâ, mat karô uchâḷa.
Saiyid âhndê, 'Lêâ, Khâṅ, ṭâḷî dakkaṅwâḷâ!'
Pîr Dhagâna partkê muṛ ghar vaḷ âyâ.
Qufal utâr bhôrê dâ ziyârat pâê.
Jitnâ hâl hawâl sî sabb âkh sunâê,
Pîr Sahib dê pôtrê ṭâḷî vaḍhan nê âê
Phir khâli us nê nahîṅ jâunâ bâjh dêkh dikhâê
Ṭâḷî bâbat kuchh nahîṅ jag mêhnâ lâê
Bâlê nûrî bâp nûṅ phir arz sunâê
Sâḍḍê ḍâhḍê sahib dî ṭâlî kauṅ vaḍhâê
Bakhsh zabânî rahm kar sir khâk raḷâê
Jekar sâya sâhibdâ ṭur âpî jâê
Pîr Dhagânâ âkhêâ, 'Tussîṅ bâl aniyânê,

'The child must hide twelve years in darkness drear;
No light must see — his star is powerful. He,
If you the truth would know, among the gods
Is strongest. This keep secret.'

Shâh Muqîm[34]
Had his last resting place where Saiyids brave,
His grandsons, lived. An enemy brought them word
The Chuhras dared them cut their *shisham* tree.
The *shisham* tree the priest of Chuhras loved
Is great. The Saiyid priest, this hearing, yoked
The oxen to the wagons. Saiyids took
Their axes, shouldered saws, and stood beneath
The *shisham* tree. Regarding it they said,
'Yes, three good doors the tree will make, the wright
The boards shall plane; we'll carve them fine with flowers.
So beautiful they'll be — and lovely chairs
We'll make — our wives will run to own them.' So
The Saiyids talked with purpose fixed and firm,
To fell the tree, but Pîr Dhagâna came.
He begged them to have patience, not to cut
The tree. A priest he was and spoke them fair
As fearing God. A man may make request
And humbly say 'Friend, help me with my load.'
The friend thus meekly asked no aid affords.
Just so the Saiyids harsh comply not. What
Will God do now? Dhagâna, priest, was calm.
He to the Saiyids said, 'The Master is
Within; touch not the tree; you'll rue it else.'
The Saiyids angerly cried, 'Who's the man
That will prevent us?' Priest Dhagâna came,
Unlocked the door that led to chambers dark
Beneath the ground, and looking on his son
The rightful priest, the story told him thus:—
'The grandsons of the Muslim priest have dared
To come with purpose ill to fell the tree,
The *shîsham* tree. But learn they must to feel,
And recognise, our power. The tree itself
Is little worth; the insult offered us
Is great. The world will scoff.' But Bala said

[34] Muqîm for Mukîm: *cf. muqat*, which is probably for *mukat.*

Andar is bhôrê dê bârah sâl rihâṅê
Aôṅ utthôṅ naskê kai dukh rihâṅê.
Nâḷ dagê dê mârdê Nathôṅ bâj chhaḍâṅê
Bê parwâṅ usdâṅ ôh âpê jâṅê
Bâlê Nûri âkhiyâ, kyûṅ hâl gôwâô
Maiṅ nûṅ apṅê dukh dâ khôl patâ suṅâô.

Khârê upar chârhkê mainûṅ châ nuhâô
Chhatti sâl dî ban lagî lêkhê âhdê lâô.
Jê manjûri Sâhib dî, fateh âpar paê.
Faqr namânê us nûṅ ik gal suṅâî.
Haṅê dâna bijêâṅ jaṅ khêt jamâêṅ
Jihkar ârê jêkê fath upar pâêṅ.
Nahîṅ tê ḍhêrî apṅê dâdê kôl jamâêṅ.
Lêkê izan bâp dâ pîr kârê taiyârî,
Dhâṅâ nêzê vâng kai andarôṅ kôlê bârî
Andarôṅ is dargâh dê pîr lâê târî
Duniyâ uttê ghaliyâ, maiṅ nûṅ baṅ gayî bhârî
Tudhê pardê kajnê kar madadgârî.
Kihâ Rabb pîr nûṅ kyûṅ sôch guzârî,
Takabbar hath talwâr hai nahîṅ chaldî kârî.
Qabza khôl talwâr dâ tu banh lê dhârî.
Saiyad âl rasûl dî panjê shêr dê mârîṅ
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ paṛh nâm chatârî.
Pîr bhôrêôṅ nikliyâ mâ bandî vârî
Ôhdâ mathâ Bâlê chand dâ jêûṅ asmânê târê
Chand jiwêṅ âsmân tê jiwêṅ chamkâṅ mârê

Nûr matthê dê chamakdâ lêndâ lishkârê
Pîr pôshâkâṅ p... âṅdâ nuhâkê ûpar khârê.

In answer to his father, 'Who will dare
To cut the *tâli* tree, which is the Lord's.
Forbid me not and I will lay in dust
Their heads; if on me rests God's power, behold,
Like chaff they go.' But priest Dhagâna said,
'You're still a child—within this cell you've lived
For twelve long years: defeat means dire disgrace,
And if you're killed, a hawk escaped, alas,
Is not more swiftly lost to sight than you.'
'The Lord is all resourceful,' Bâlâ said,
'Why weep you? Tell me all your grief, and seat
Me on a basket, bathe me, glorify
The Lord who gave me grace to worship Him
For six and thirty years. If He appears,
My adoration paid, then victory
Undoubted will be yours.' The father then,
Like hermit true, made this request. 'Essay
Your power: a grain of corn sow, which sown
Shall in an instant grow if victory
Is ours. If not, then insult and a grave
Beside your fathers will your portion be.'
The boy, his sire assenting, now prepared
To go. Like burning coal he went in wrath.
With speed as of a spear. His heart was fixed
In prayer all close within God's presence. 'Thou,
O Lord, didst send me to the world; behold,
Thy servant now is troubled. Succour me.'
The Lord addressed the priest, 'Why art thou sad?
Pride grasps a sword in vain; no wound it makes:
Grasp thou thy sword's hilt, sharpen it and cut
Clean off the lion's paws, Muhammad's race.'
These songs are sung, compiled by followers true.
Oh read and sing God's name. The priest emerged
From out his dark seclusion. Giving alms
His mother kissed her son — his forehead high
Was like the moon. It shone as do the stars
That shine in heaven, or like the moon aloft
That beams and glows. The beauty of his face

Atar tê amîr nê uttê kam vichârê
Pîr bhôrêôn nikliyâ salâm mâ nûn kardâ.
Awwaḷ sêvân tudh nûn mêrâ pîr hai khaṛdâ
Putr jân dên tê mâ dâ jî nahîn kardâ.
Nain hôwên gindhâôḷê, rag kaḷêjâ bhardâ.
Bîbî âkhê Shâh nûn kivên ih na jâê
Mân putr raḷ baiṭhkê châ hêṭh vadhâê
Nainî nîr na ṭhiliyâ dukh kalêjâ khâê
Pîr kâhlâ hô pêyâ mât ṭâli wadh lê jâê
Vidiâ hôyâ pîr jî, mân khair pukârê.
Ḳhalqat âî hamâkê, lôg pinḍ dê sârê,
'Arzân karn hath banhkê sab ḍar dê mârê
Shêr tê bhagiâṛ dê, kaun ugâhî dhârê
Tâḷîwâlâ pîr hai, har kisî nûn jâppê
Chhinj tamâshâ vêkhnê lôg ागayê âpê
Lôg tamâshagir nê, kôḷ jhurdê mâppê
Pîr Dhagâna âkhdâ Allah karê sujâppê
Dôvên ikaṭṭhe hô paê juṭ paê ne sânî

Pîr ih âkhê, Saiyidâ, kôî dê nishânî,
Tâḷî vaḍhḍhanê â gaêôn tainû hôî girânî.
Aithê hî mar jarêngâ hô jâêngâ fânî.
Gussa âyâ Saiyid nûn, uggân âyâ
Pîr nûn jhiṛakkê ôs kôhâṛâ châyâ
Pîr panjâ ugharîâ magar Saiyid dê lâyâ
Jitnâ lahû sarîr dâ sab bâhir âyâ
Zamîn tê jâ pêyâ na bôlê bulâyâ
Manjê uttê pâkê sir najrân châyâ
Ḳhudîwâḷê nûn mârdâ Rabb ê âp farmâyâ
Jadôn chêlâ ravânnâ kar rêhâ jadôn vaḍḍhan nûn sî âyâ
Shâh Dhigânâ âkhdâ pîr lakh hajârî
Ik miyân nahîn meêndiân hun dô talwârîn.
Pêô putr nahîn jêundê raḷ ikseê thâḷî
Jân Nishaurâ mall bahô jidê munḍ Khiyâḷî.
Lêkê izan bâp dâ pîr ghôṛê chaṛhiyâ
Majjalôn majjaliâyâ ê Nishaurê vaṛiyâ
Aggê choudhrî Râm Chand sî, jis vâggân tê phaṛiyâ
Bah ja jhanḍâ lâkê, kihâ hariyâ bhariyâ.

Shot dazzling rays. The priest on basket bathed
Now fully dressed and scented, issued forth.
He made obeisance to his mother, who
In reverence said, ''Tis I shall worship thee,
O priest of all the house.' She grieved and wept
At parting from her son. Her eyes were full
Of tears, her heart was breaking. 'Husband mine,
Prevent him.' So she spake and sat her down
Beside her son, and fondly him embraced.
Her eyes dropped tears, her heart was wrung with pain.
The priest must leave her, for the *tâlî* tree
Was in dire danger; so he went and she
Cried 'God speed' after him. A crowd of friends,
The village folk, with folded hands, implored
The priest to stay — they feared for him. 'A wolf,'
They cried, 'or lion who can face?' But he
Was Tâlîwâlâ priest — his name and fame
Brought all the country round to watch the sport,
And view the wrestlers, for they love to see
A worthy match. The parents of the priest
Were sad. Dhagâna said, 'God succour thee.'
So face to face they came, an equal match.
So thought the people. 'Saiyid!' cried the priest,
'Show me a sign — why came you, tyrant, here
To cut the *tâlî* tree? Now die you shall,
And perish quite.' The Saiyid angry grew;
He cursed the priest in surly tones, and he
But laid his hand upon the Saiyid's back,
When out there grushed a stream of blood, and prone
The Saiyid fell. They laid him then, bereft
Of sense and speech upon a bed, and brought
Him from the arena home. God kills the proud;
It is his Law. And so it was that day
The brave disciple faced the Saiyid when
He came to fell the tree: Dhagâna said,
'A mighty priest art thou. O never shall
Two swords one scabbard occupy: we may
No more as son and father eat one food.
Naushera by Khiyali is thy home.'
The priest obedient mounted then his horse,
And reached by stages sure Naushera. There

Bâlâ nûrî pîr sî, rahndâ mûnh suchché.
Chhattrê, bakrê, kôh lêyê mullâṅ nûṅ na puchché.

Ram Chand, the Chowdrî, seized his horse's reins,
And cried, 'Dismount! Unfurl your flag, and dwell
O blessed man, with us.' Enlightened priest
Was Bala, pure and holy. Food unclean
He ate not, for he killed his own, both sheep
And goats. No Muslim priest he asked.

5. Story of Dânâ.

Atê Imminâbâd bî dûr nahîṅ kôî lammî mukhê,
Ôrak khabarâṅ hôṅgîâṅ Dânâ vî puchché,
Râj sî Chugattêâṅ Dilli vich phêrâ
Jahângîr Chugattâ Bâdshâh niyâṅ karê changêrâ.
Dânê nûṅ mît âkhdâ, Ustâd hai mêrâ,
Mainûṅ karnâ aundâ têrâ adab bahutêrâ.
Duniyâ tê nahîṅ âunâ mur dujjâ phêrâ.
Lai lai mûṅhôṅ mangkê kôi mulk changêrâ.
Dânâ qâzî dil vich dalîl guzârî
Dê chhaḍḍ Imminâbâd dî bâdshâhî sârî
Kîtî mêrî na murê phir Dillî târî
Halâl harâm nakhêr sân chaupâyâṅ têrî
Imminâbâd likh dittâ Jahângîr Shâhzâdê
Kîtê kam Khudâ dê phir nahîṅ duraḍḍê
Sharâ kull Panjâb dî vas têrê tê sâḍḍê
Chuglî jehṛâ jâ karê chuk dêâṅ duraḍḍê
Dânâ râzî hôkê Imminâbâdê â varḍâ
Shahr âyâ hômâkê lôk nazrâṅ dhardê
Khabar hô gayî Panjâb vich â Dânâ varḍâ

Naushera town is near by Imminâbâd,
And Dânâ heard of Muslim law profaned,
Chugattâs reigned in Dillî. Jâhângir,
The king, did justice. Dânâ was his friend,
He said, and teacher. So the king decreed
Him honour great, and said, 'I come not here
Again — man lives but once — make thy request,
And I will give thee province good.' He thought,
And said, this Dânâ Qâzî, 'Give me all
Imminâbâd, without appeal to thee
In Dillî: I will cleanse the land of all
Unlawful things.' Great Jahângir bestowed
Imminâbâd on him. The Lord's great works
Are wonderful. Said Dânâ, 'Panjâb law
Is ours to make or change: who disobeys
Shall exiled be.' In gladness entered he
Imminâbâd. All men brought gifts. Throughout
The Panjâb it was noised that Dânâ made
This entrance to the town. The Brahmans feared.

Shahrîṅ Brahman kambdê Rabb kîkar ih kardâ
Jô kôî Imminâbâd vich viâh rachâê
Pichhôṅ mêḷ âundâ awwaḷ Dânâ jâê
Uhnûṅ khânôṅ kôi na môṛdâ jô khâê sô khâê,
Tambbôl lêndâ likh, âp nahîṅdrâ na pâê,
Mârê ḍar chaugattêâṅ kôî gal na hilâê
Aukhê lôg Dânâ thîṅ kuchh pêsh na jâê
Dânâ Imminâbâd vich râj sî baiṭhâ kardâ
Ḍardâ Imminâbâd vich kôi â gadâ na kardâ,
Kôî musâfir â varê huqqâ pîyê nâḷ ḍardâ
Faqîrâṅ nû ḍar itnâ jô azâb qabr dâ
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ pêyâ nâm hî paṛhdâ.
Shâh Daulâ faqîr sî, hai sî dariyâî
Lagâ jândâ Gujrât nûṅ kar lammî dhâî
Râh vich Imminâbâd âê uhnûṅ kaun haṭâê

They knew not what the Lord would do. Whene'er
There was a wedding. Dânâ first of all
In Imminabad was called, the best of food
He chose, and, though no gift he gave, yet he
Kept count of others' gifts. None dared complain,
As fearing the Chugattâs. Dânâ was
A king among them. Beggars feared to beg,
And strangers ceased to smoke; *faqîrs* indeed
Shrank from him as a man shrinks from a grave.
This song of praise the true disciple made
To glorify the name.

Variyâ shahrê jâkê jâ sadâ bulâî
Sakhtî vêkh faqîr dî mîḷ Dânâ jâî
'Kalmê panj banâ bî, mainûṅ âkh suṇâîṅâ.'

Shah Doulâh was
A famous saint who loved the streams. He made

'Maiṅ Allah dá nám jáhndáṅ, hôr paṛhiyá nahîṅ.'

His way to Gujrât by stages long
And entering Imminabad he begged an alms,
But all unhappy met with Dânâ, who
'To try him asked the Kalmas five.
'I only know,' said the *faqîr* 'the name
Of God. Nought else I know.' Dânâ was wroth.

Dáná hôyá qahrwán sir bhár chukáî,
Lôkáṅ ákh vêkhkê faqîr chhuḍáyá,
Us munḍê magar lákê aggê bhajáyá,
Iṭṭáṅ máran vávehiáṅ aggê bhanná áyá
Khaiṛá táṅ sî chaḍḍiyá jê shahrôṅ báhar sî áyá.

He laid a load upon the poor man's head,
Despite the people's prayers to let him go.
He set the city boys upon the saint,
Who stoned him from the town.

Bává Nának Gurú sî sab dá sánhjá,
Oh púrá karámát dá táṅ gurú sadándá
Uhnúṅ Hindú mathá ṭêkdê ôh jit val jándá
Sail karê saṅsár dá duniyá ajmán lá.
Ráh vich Imminábád sî ôh var gayá vánḍá
Ṭhákur duárê jákê Bábá ḍêrá láê,
Shahr áyá hamákê lôj nazráṅ lê áî
Hindú mathá ṭêkdê, Sáḍḍá sat gur ê áyá
Khabar hô gayî Dánê nú ôh ápê áê
Dáná qázî baiṭhkê uhnúṅ gal sunáî,
Jô tainúṅ mathá ṭêkdê sab jhúṭh lôkáî,
Hinduáṅ dá tú gurú haiṅ zahirî kalá dikháiṅ
'Maiṅ sat Gur dá nám jáṅdáṅ, kuchh paṛhiyá nahîṅ.'
Aggê Bábá bôliyá, "Suṅ, mullá Qázî,
Pîr paikambar anbyê sab vaḍḍê qázî,
Sánî nahîṅ kôi Rabb dá sab jhúṭhî bázî.
Faqr Allah dî zát hai, suṅ ahmaq qázî.
Dáná hôyá qahrwán chaṛh gussá jáî
Bábá andar dêkê chá chakkî chôhdê.
Oh púrá karámát dá uttê chádar páî
Jitná dáná shahr dá hô áṭá píhjáî
Azmat púrî táṅ gayá phir naskê jáî.
Chêlê siftan jôṛiaṅ paṛh nám sunáiṅ.

Then came a saint
Whom all men owned to be a teacher true,
The Gurû Nânak. Hindûs bowed to him,
As here and there he wandered trying the world.
In Imminâbâd he stayed: the people brought
Their gifts to him and said, 'Sat Gur has come.'
But Dânâ came to see him, questioning,
'Men honour you without a cause: what sign
Show you that I should honour you who teach
The Hindus?' Nânak said, 'I know but this,
The name of my Sat Gur. Oh Muslim judge,
All priests and prophets, makers of the law,
Called men of God, are nought 'fore God. A play
It all is — God alone is the true saint,
Oh foolish Qâzî.' Dânâ angry grew.
He locked the saint up — made him turn the mill
To grind their corn. So Nânak spread his sheet
And ground the corn of all the town without
An effort. Fleeing then the town he showed
His power so. This song of praise was made
By true disciple. Read and glorify
The Name.

Mîráliwálê dá mulváná bahut kitábáṅ paṛhdá,
Aê gayê núṅchêrdá dhigánê sî laṛdá
Áṭá khôke faqîráṅ dá Dánê kôl khaṛdá
Chêlá ákhê gávîêṅ Rabb kikar ih kardá.
Jándá jihṛî galî val, rannáṅ pêyá ḍaráê,
Maulî maihndî dharî súrmáṅ kôî na páê,
Rannáṅ núṅ áyá ḍar itná kôî phul na handáê
Kôî mard kisî nál gal karê ôh kafarat lagáê
Mullá aisá phiṭṭiyá vaḍḍi chîrá khâê
Chêlá aggôṅ gáôndá sárî gal sunáê,

Mîrâliwâlâ Mulla read
So many books, he met all men in strife
Of argument. He sent the poor saints' alms
To Dânâ. Let us see, the Chelâ sang
What the Lord does. The *mulla's* wont was to
Insult the ladies, who left off to use
Their lace and henna, ceased to dye their eyes
And wear their jewels; even wreaths of flowers
They dared not wear, and, if a man should hold

Gallāṅ ôhdîāṅ kardê Bâvê tê Sôḍh
Mullāṅ Mirâṉwâlê dâ kôî pakkâ hôdî
Muchhāṅ ôhdîāṅ kakkîāṅ dâṛhî sî khôdî.

Converse with any maid, a blasphemer
He straight was judged. The *mulla* grew full rich
With bribes, and fat — the story I will tell.
The Bâbas and the Sodhis talked about
The *mulla*. 'Rogue and rascal he,' said they,
'Mustaches brown and beard but scanty his.

Mullâ béfarmân hai uhdî bhaiṛî vâdî,
Namâz rôza nahîṅ jāṅdâ chauṛ ustad banaṅ dî.
Gullî lêndâ jumerât dî ghar êkôî jêṅî

He has no principles, his ways are bad.
The fasts and prayers are nought to him; he would
Be called a teacher — takes his Thursday bread
From all the houses.'

Mirâṉwâḷêôṅ tur pêyâ Gahṇâ mulvâṇâ
Aggê gaṛh Nishaurê â gayâ vêkhê jag shahâna,
Vêkh sirishtâ pîr dâ Gahṇâ ghabrâṇâ,
Chattrê bakrê kôh lô saddêh nahîṅ mulvâṇâ.
Saṛbaḷ kôlâ hô gayâ Gahṇâ mulvâṇâ,
Chêla âkhê, Gahṇêâ, ih jag hî shahâṇâ
Kôl pîr dê âṅkê Gahṇâ karê bayân,
Chohhattrê bakrê kôhnâêṅ karnâêṅ tû gyân,
Sharâwâḷê mulvâṇê, têrî kaḍḍh lêṅgê jân.
Shamas Tabrêz pîr sî vich Multân,
Sharâwâḷê mulvâṇê ôs dî ulṭî khall lahâṅ
Oh dâ bhâṇḍâ kîtâ adrâ nâl dêṅ na khâṅ.
Us sûraj ṭikkâ bhuniyâ tâṅ mûṅh lagâ sî pâṅ.
Itthôṅ kîkar bachêṅgâ sânnûṅ das bayân
Chhattrê bakrê sâḍḍê apṇê sharâ hai tuhaḍḍî
Sharâ nahîṅ mangaṅ asîṅ gayê tainû laṛn dî hai vâdî
Bhâjî tainûṅ nahîṅ ghalliyâ vich pâ rikâbî,

Mullâ Gahṇâ, marched
To Garh Naushera: there he saw the rites
That Chûhṛâs practised in the sacrifice.
Their priest killed rams and goats himself, nor once
Called in a Muslim priest. And seeing this
Gahṇâ grew angry like a glowing coal.
'Oh Gahṇâ,' the disciple said, 'observe
The way the Shâhîs sacrifice.' But Gahṇâ said,
'You kill both rams and goats, how dare you have
Such rites? We that do know the Law of God
Will kill you. Know you not that Shams Tabrêz,
Priest of Multân, was by the masters of
The law hung up by the feet and flayed, because
He broke the law. They cast him out. They would
Not let him eat. The sun approached, and he
Did roast his fish and ate his scanty meal.
They spared not him, then how will you escape?'
The priest replied, 'The rams and goats are ours,
The law is yours. We do not want your law,
Nor have we called you. Yours it is to seek

Sânnûṅ têrî khabar nahîṅ tû kêhṛê thâṅ dâ qâzî
Ôh Gujrânwâḷê na gayâ, ôh Imminâbâdê dhâṇâ
Râh vich rôndâ jâondâṅ Gahṇâ mulvâṇâ
Aggê majlis Dânê qazî dî ôthê jâ kurḷâṇâ.
Pag lâhkê piṭṭedi jâ Gahṇâ mulvâṇâ
Dânê qâzî âkhiyâ Ihnûṅ pakaṛ bahâô.
Jâṅ kisî ihnûṅ mâriyâ main nûṅ puchh suṇâô
Jâṅ ihnûṅ kuchh laṛ gayâ kôî mantar pâô
Chhil Kaiṅsar dâ khauf hai ihnûṅ andar pâô,
Lôkâṅ uhnû pakaṛiyâ Gahṇâ tad bî ṭappê

A quarrel. Go. We know not you, nor where
You dwell and execute your law.' But he
Went not to Gujrânwâl, but took his way
To Imminabad, to see the Qâzî. So
He went in tears. Gâhṇâ the priest appeared
Before Dânâ the Qâzî. There he wept
Such bitter tears, and threw his turban down
So vehemently, and beat his breast so sad
That Dânâ Qâzî cried 'Take hold of him.
Here seat him—and see he has been beaten, or
A serpent poisonous has stung him, so
Use charms. Or mayhap he has some disease.

Chugli Bâlê pîr dî aggê Danê dê dassê,
Chuhṛêâṅ dâ pîr hai vich Nishaurê dê vassê,
Chhattrê bakrê kôh lai, mullâṅ nûṅ na puchhê.
Dana kahê sipâhiâṅ nûṅ Uṭh karô taiyârî,
Asvâr hô jâô ghôṛêâṅ khich lô talvârîn.
Pîr nûṅ gal karn na dêûnî phir d ujjî vârî.
Aithê pakaṛ lêâunâ, pîrî vêkhângâ sârî,
Chhattrê kôhnâ vêkh lâṅ, vaḍḍâ balkârî.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ, Rabb paij savârî.
Sau asvâr pur pêyâ ghôṛiâṅ tê chaṛhkê.

Control him—and shut him up indoors.'
They tried
To hold him, but he cast them off and railed
Against priest Bâlâ, saying to Dânâ, 'He,
The Chuhṛas' priest, lives in Naushera. He
Kills rams and goats himself, and disregards
The Muslim priests.' Thus spake he. Dânâ gave
His soldiers orders to prepare to mount
Their horses, ride away, and draw their swords,
Nor let the priest resist by even a word.
He must not have their leave to utter word.
'Go bring him here in chains, his priesthood I
Will prove. I'll see if he kills rams himself,
The headstrong man.' His own disciple wrote
This song of praise. May God vouchsafe us peace.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE TODAS. BY W. H. R. RIVERS, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. With Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co., 1906, pp. xviii, 755, 40 Tables and Map.

EVERY visitor of Ootacamund has met the sturdy, shock-headed aborigines of the soil, who first greet him with a merry '*salâm*' and then naïvely and confidently ask him for his tribute in the shape of an '*illâm*' (as the Arabic word *in'âm* is pronounced by them). Their little colonies of barrel-shaped huts are scattered all over the Nilgiri plateau. Two of them are on the very outskirts of the summer capital: one near Sylk's Hotel and another close to the Government Gardens. Others occupy some of the most picturesque spots in the environs: near the Marlimund Reservoir, near the Umbrella Tree, at the top of the Sigur Ghat, in Governor's Shola, &c. From the time when the hills were first visited by Europeans (which is less than a century ago), the Todas have excited much interest, and a pretty extensive literature has grown up regarding them. No observer, however, has made so deep a study of them as Dr. Rivers, whose special accomplishments as an anthropologist, and whose previous experience of similar work in the Torres Straits, enabled him to gather very accurate and detailed information about their customs and beliefs. The result of his stay among them is the delightful volume to which I seek to draw the attention of all friends of India.

Dr. Rivers gradually examined nearly every individual of the whole tribe, which numbers about 800 people. With the help of two interpreters — a catechist and a forest ranger — he extracted from them a vast mass of valuable items of information, which he checked and verified by cross-examination and independent statements. He found these uncultured savages extremely intelligent, veracious, and far from reticent except on certain tabooed matters.

The Todas are a purely pastoral race and do not possess any wealth or means of subsistence except their fine, fierce-looking buffalo-cows, to the care of which their daily life is devoted. No wonder that in their belief milk has become a sacred substance and the dairy a place of worship. 'The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas' (p. 38). Besides the 'ordinary buffaloes' attached to any village, there are herds of sacred buffaloes which are tended by dairymen-priests. The holiest kind of dairy is the *ti*, and its priest the *pâlâl* (*i. e.*, milkman). Dr. Rivers gives a full description of the complicated dairy ritual, plans of the dairies, and photographs of the dairy-vessels, the priests, and their attendants. The most sacred object of the dairies are certain buffalo-bells (*mani*), which are kept in the innermost room of the dairy-temples, and to which a miraculous origin is imputed. The picture on p. 51 will interest Sanskrit scholars, as it shows the native method of churning, which is frequently alluded to in Hindu literature. Most of the dairies resemble in form

the ordinary dwelling-huts; but a few, such as the so-called 'Toda Cathedral' (pp. 44, 46), are circular, with a conical roof. To keep off cattle and wild beasts, both huts and dairies are surrounded by walls and have a very small opening, which can be passed only by creeping, and is closed by a sliding door on its inner side. The interior has two raised portions on which the people sleep.

One of the most striking customs of the Todas is polyandry combined with polygyny. 'Wives are constantly transferred from one husband, or group of husbands, to another, the new husband or husbands paying a certain number of buffaloes to the old' (p. 523), and 'a woman may have one or more recognised lovers as well as several husbands' (p. 529). The catechist who translated the Commandments was met by the serious difficulty that there is no word for adultery in the Toda language. Dr. Rivers has taken the trouble to work out, and has published, as an Appendix, the genealogies, as far as they were remembered, of nearly the whole of the Toda community. These pedigrees are valuable in various respects. They illustrate the complicated system of Toda kinship and provide statistical material for the study of the marriage regulations. The older census records show a considerable excess of men over women. Dr. Rivers attributes this fact to the practice of female infanticide which, as his new tables prove, has now almost entirely ceased.

As may be expected, Dr. Rivers' volume contains a full account of the funeral ceremonies of the Todas. I have witnessed cases of both varieties: the so-called 'green funeral' at which the corpse is burned, and the 'dry funeral' at which certain relics — a lock of hair and a piece of the skull — are finally cremated. On these occasions the fire is produced by friction, as I am able to confirm from personal knowledge. Before the cremation various articles, which the deceased person is expected to require in the other world, are placed near the body. As a *conditio sine quâ non* some buffaloes have to be killed, which will supply him or her with milk and *ghi* in the future life. 'Formerly it was the custom to slaughter many buffaloes at every funeral. This impoverished the people and was prohibited by the Government about forty years ago, and since that time the number of buffaloes killed at each ceremony has been limited to two for each person' (p. 338). The two victims are caught and dragged to the appointed spot, where they are dispatched by striking the head with the blunt side of an axe. The racing of the infuriated and frightened animals by muscular youths, the dignified bearing of the more aged spectators (who remind us of Roman senators), the lamenting of the mourning women, the musical (?) strains of the band of Kôtas (who receive as their fee the flesh of the slaughtered buffaloes), — all this combines with the grand contour of those lovely hills in producing a weird scene which no visitor will ever forget. The Todas call the abode of the dead 'the world of Am,' *i. e.*, of the Hindu god Yama. It is believed to be situated to the west of the Nilgiris, and to reach it a river near Sispara has to be crossed by a thread bridge. Wicked Todas cannot cross it, but fall into the river, where they are bitten by leeches. When they get out on the further bank of the river, they have to stay in a sort of purgatory before reaching their final destination.

I conclude these hasty notes on Dr. Rivers important work by reprinting from p. 386 the translation of a funeral dirge, which alludes to Ootacamund and its lake and the boats on it, and betrays the influence of the Zenana Mission, under whose protection the author of the poem had lived for some time:—

"O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower of the lime tree! Having found a proper husband, you married; having found a proper wife, I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo-horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me."

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 9th March 1907.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 333.*)

III. — INSCRIPTIONS AT BASGO AND NYEMO.

THE villages of **Basgo** and **Nyemo** are situated on the right bank of the Indus, at the two ends of a long plain which is the site of the important **Battle of Basgo,** when the invading armies of the Mongols and Tibetans were defeated with the assistance of the army of the Mughal Emperor of India. The strong fortress of Basgo, the ruins of which come into sight, when the end of the large plain between Saspola and Basgo is reached, was not destroyed during the Mongol war, but by Dogra troops between 1834 and 1841 A. D.

(a) The Fortress of Basgo.

This fortress is mentioned twice in the *Ladâkhî Chronicles* before the **great siege of c. 1646-47.**[6] We first hear of it as one of the possessions of **Dragspa'abum,** the rival king to **'dBumlde, c. 1400—1440.** Dragspa'abum may have found some fortifications in the place, but he seems to be the man who made a really valuable stronghold of it, and it is probable that all the thick ancient walls and round towers were built in his time. The supply of water in the fortress must have been continuous, as is shown by the length of the Mongol siege, and the existing brook was probably included in the fortifications. Also, there could have been during the war no lack of food, as the grain-stores of all the Ladâkhî castles were almost inexhaustible, owing to the custom of adding some grain at every harvest. The castle store-houses sometimes look like very deep round wells, and at **Wanla** I was told that the grain stored there of old was not even yet emptied out.

The most conspicuous building in the fort, and the one which alone is still entire, is **the Chamba ('aByamspa) Monastery, built by King Sengge-rnam-rgyal, c. 1590—1620.** It contains an **image of Maitreya,** made of copper (clay and wood ?), gilt, in size "such as he will be in his eightieth year" (as the *Chronicles* say), *i. e.,* about three stories high ! The face cannot be seen in the lower story, as is often the case with these statues, because the head reaches through the ceiling and must be inspected from a higher place.

Of the once famous **Royal Palace** here, called **Rabstan-lha-rtse,** there is not much left. A small building, which is locally known as **the Seljang (probably γSer-lcang) Monastery,** is to be found inside the ruins. There is a court on the roof with covered galleries all round it, in fair preservation. There are here some very rude Lamaist paintings, with explanatory **inscriptions in modern dBu-med Characters.** One portion of the wall is covered with a very **long inscription in black ink in dBu-can Characters,** which probably tells of the construction of the galleries and the decoration of the palace. It is certainly of some historical value, but in such bad preservation that I could not make much of it. The middle and lower portions are quite gone. I tried to find a king's name in it, and the Lama who assisted me in the task, occasionally pointed to certain words in the inscription. When he took his finger off the wall, away went the word which he had pointed out, and I believe that it is in this way that the most important parts of the inscription have been destroyed. There is, however, some hope left that it will be possible to fix its date approximately. The inscription contains a great number of names of state-officials and similar well-known persons, whose dates will, no doubt, eventually become known by a collation of the various inscriptions in these parts. I copied one of the many names, that of a Lama, Stag-thsangba-ngag-dbang-rgya-mthso. The term *Stag-thsangba* plainly indicates that he must have been a disciple or

[6] I find that the date of the siege of Basgo has been preserved by Bernier, the friend of the Moguls (see Pinkerton's *Travels*). He speaks of this battle as having taken place 17 or 18 years before 1664, *i.e.* 1646-47. I am convinced that a date preserved by a European is more deserving of our acceptance than one preserved by the Tibetans, on whose authority 1686-88 has been accepted up to the present as the date of the siege.

successor of the great Lama **Stag-thsang-ras-chen,** who flourished during the reign of **Sengge-rnam-rgyal,** mentioned above, and thus **the date of the inscription** has to be fixed at any rate about 1600 A. D. or a little later. The Lama **Ngag-dbang-rgya-mthso** is mentioned as a contemporary of Sengge-rnam-rgyal on an inscription from Saspola.

(b) Hymn in Honor of Sengge-rnam-rgyal.

(On Stone.)

This hymn (**in dBu-can Characters**) is found on one of the numerous *maṇi*-walls which are built along the trade-road, below the **Fortress of Basgo.** Close by is a tablet on stone, containing a hymn in honor of **Nyima-rnam-rgyal,** but the stone has become so much weathered that hardly any part of the inscription, besides the name of the king, can be made out. I also noticed in the neighbourhood a tablet containing a hymn in honor of **bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal,** but it has not yet been read.

Tibetan Text.	Translation.
skye dgu phan bdei sbrang char silili	The rain which is of great advantage to all beings, makes *silili*
mang bde dgabai lotog sosor smin	And the different kinds of fruit (harvest) ripen, pleasing in their own beauty,
snyanpai rnga chen nam mkhai ltongsnas rdungs.	The great and melodious drum of heaven is beaten in the zenith,
gragspai dpal ldan riboi rtsenas γyo.	And shakes [the air] from the zenith of the famous and glorious mountain.
dpung thsogs dragpoi dar skad 'ururu	The strong voice of the noble company [of gods] makes *'ururu*,
dge bcu 'adzompai smon bya thiriri	The prayers in which the ten virtues are gathered, sound *thiriri*.
dar rgyas skyidpai glu len gyururu	The song of the spreading happiness sounds *gyururu*.
yulla γyang chags sala 'adurdu mtho	In the land pleasure grows, and high joy on the earth.
chos rgyal pho brang rab brtan la rtse dang	The palaces of the kings of faith, **Rab-brtan lhartse,**
de sogs 'adzam gling yongsla dbang bsgyurpai	And the others, were raised by the fearless lion who
'ajigsmed sengges btegspai khri stengdu	Really is the wielder of might in Jambudvipa. On the throne
Nya khri btsanpo zhes byai sa bdag byung	Originated a lord of the earth, called Nya-khri-btsanpo.
mkhyenpa rab rdzogs 'ajampai dbyangs dang mthsungs	He is like the perfectly wise 'aTam-dbyangs. (Mañjughosha).
mkha mnyam sa skyong thugs rje chenpo 'adra	He is like the protector of heaven and earth, the great Merciful (sPyan-ras-γzigs; Avalokitesvara).
thub bstan skyongba γsangbai bdagpo bzhin	He is like the protector of the doctrine of Buddha, the Lord of mysticism (Phyag-rdor, Vajrapāṇi).
chos rgyal chenpo sengge rnam rgyalgyi	May the life-time of the great king of faith, **Sengge-rnam-rgyal,**

sku thse brtancing dbu rmog mthoba dang	Remain firm, and his helmet remain high!
chab srid bcassu rtagtu rgyas gyur cig	And may also his political power spread!
sgrolmai rnam sprul bskal bzang rgyalmo bzhugs	There resides also queen bSkal-bzang, the incarnation of the (white) Tārā.
sras dang longs spyod chab srid rgyaspar shog	May her children and abundance increase!
γzugs mdzes spyan legs lhai sraspo nono rgyal sras	Praise to the princes of beautiful shape and good faces,
bDe ldan rnam rgyal sras Indra Boti rnam rgyal stod	**bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal,** and **Indra Boti-rnam-rgyal!**
lhayi srasmo γcesma Nor 'adzin rgyalmo bzhugs	There resides also the daughter of the gods, the beloved princess **Nor-'adzin.**
yab yum drungdū chosla dgābar shog	May [she] rejoice in the religion before father and mother!
chos blon chenpos dgu dgā mangpo dgā.	The great ministers of faith are enjoying ninefold happiness.

Notes.

smon bya; the word *bya* is probably related to *byedpa*, and the meaning of the construction would be 'doing prayer,' pray.

'adurdu, the exact meaning of this word I find it impossible to ascertain. In my translation I have considered it parallel to *γyangs-chags.*

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the vernacular name of the castle at Basgo.

Indra-Boti-rnam-rgyal: according to the *rGyal-rabs*, the name of the second son is Indra-Bhodhi-rnam-rgyal. The name testifies to Sengge-rnam-rgyal's inclinations to Hinduism, which are also mentioned in the *rGyal-rabs.* The last lines are somewhat injured and cannot be read with absolute certainty.

(c) The Ancient Ruined Monastery of Basgo.

Outside the present village of Basgo, a little to the east of it, on the plain between Basgo and Nyemo, there are the ruins of an ancient monastery which is generally known as **Sogpoi mGonpa, the Mongol Monastery.** It is locally believed to have been erected by the Mongols during the siege, **c. 1646-47,** but at Basgo and Nyemo almost everything ancient, of which there is no certain record, is nowadays thought to be connected with the Mongols, who are also believed to be the erectors of many a ruined *mchod-rten.* In most cases, however, it is quite improbable that the Mongols had anything to do with them.

As regards the Monastery, it is quite probable that it existed as such at the date of the Mongol War and was destroyed during that war. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact that there are **maṇi**-walls along the two paths which branch off from the main road and lead to the ruin, because **maṇi-walls were hardly built before 1600 in Ladākh,** as a study of the votive tablets on them proves; and it is not likely that *maṇi*-walls would be constructed on a road to a ruined building which had lost its significance. These considerations go to show that these two particular *maṇi*-walls were constructed between **1600 and 1646.**

The Monastery consists of a large hall, twelve paces square. On the right and left of the East side are two smaller rooms which project out from the east wall, and probably formed the ends of a gallery that once connected them. The walls are still in existence, but as the roof has long fallen, rain has destroyed the paintings with which they were once decorated. The only traces of paintings now existing are the **raised medallions,** the forms of which are still quite distinct. In the plate attached the arrangement of those on the West (fig. 1) and of the North and South walls (fig. 2) are shown. The East wall had none, but contains the door. Their existence creates the presumption that the Monastery was built by Kashmîrî monks.

Monasteries with raised medallions on the walls are very rare, and, as far as I know, only in a single instance, that of **the Chigtan Monastery,** are the original paintings on the medallions, or at least traces of them, still preserved, a fact which makes the Chigtan Monastery to be of the greatest importance with regard to the ancient Kashmîrî form of Buddhism in Ladâkh. A Muhammadan *mullah* is said to have covered the paintings there with mortar, and when I visited the place, the mortar was still on them. But possibly the mortar may prove to have been the means of their preservation, for I can quite imagine that, by working carefully over them with a brush, these ancient pictures, overlaid and hidden probably in the eighteenth century A. D., can be brought to light again.

There are some ancient ruined *mchod-rten* at Basgo, which probably go back to the first days of this monastery, say, between **900 and 1000 A. D.** Most of these are to be found in or near the gorge, West of the village, on the road to Saspola. Several of them take the form of a staircase-pyramid, with a ground-plan of star-shape. They thus remind one of the ancient ruined *mchod-rten* at Alchi.

(d) The Ruined Nunnery at Nyemo.

On a rock above the Eastern part of the village of **Nyemo,** near the gorge leading up to the plain between Nyemo and Phyang, are the ruins of ancient buildings, which are popularly known as **Jomoi-mgonpa,** the Nunnery. There is but little beyond the foundations to be seen of it now, and, besides potsherds of the ordinary sort, there is nothing on the spot to remind one of its ancient occupants.

South of Nyemo, on the right bank of the river, there are ruins of a **huge castle built in cyclopean style,** of the origin of which even local tradition knows nothing; and not very far from this castle, which is called **Chung-mkhar,** in a little enclosure of rough walls, is a **stone image** of rather rude make and very ancient appearance. This is generally known as the **Aphyi-Tomo-rDorje** (Grandmother Nun rDorge), and is apparently believed to represent one of the ancient abbesses of Nyemo. The figure wears a crown of five points on her head, and carries a crozier in her right hand (see fig. 7). Such croziers are not used nowadays, so I am told. On her face is a black spot which is due to the hot butter which is smeared over it at times; for the cult of this old image has not yet ceased, and on certain occasions, especially on **New Year's Day,** the whole village assembles, and drums and clarionets are played before the image for several hours. For the rest of the year, the image is in the care of a peasant, called the **Chung-mkharpa,** who is the owner of the ground near the castle.

By the name of the ancient abbess, said to be thus represented, one is reminded of the famous **rDorj-ephagmo, Vajravarâhanî,** who is nowadays continuously **incarnated in the abbesses of the Samding Monastery on the Yamdok Lake.** But it is practically impossible to decide now, whether in the name of the image at Nyemo the ancient name of the abbesses of Nyemo has been preserved for us through popular tradition, or whether the name merely represents the fame of the abbesses of Samding.

Between the ruins of the Monastery and the Castle are several ancient *mchod-rten* and traces of **rows of mchod-rten,** which seem to have contained 108 *mchod-rten* each. These rows are **the predecessors of maṇi-walls.** Popular tradition assigns these relics of a former age to the Mongols, and says that the Mongols constructed all of them during their siege of Basgo. This is, however, quite improbable, because **after and during the reign of Sengge-rnam-rgyal (c. 1590—1620), the building of maṇi-walls became a popular custom,** and entirely superseded the former rows of 108 small *mchod-rten*. This obliges us to date all rows of *mchod-rten* before 1600, and especially those rows at Nyemo, which are in a particularly dilapidated condition and probably several centuries older than the *maṇi*-walls. Historical information about the Nunnery is hardly likely to ever become available, but the stone-image of the abbess appears to belong to 10th or 11th century A. D.

Remains at Alchi & Basgo.

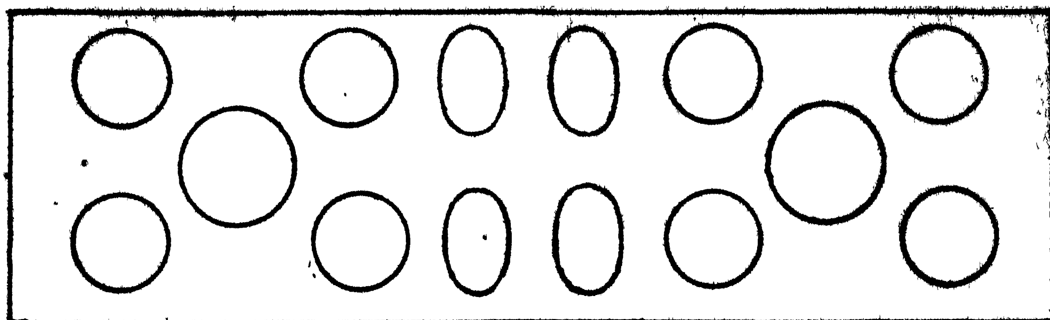


Fig. 1

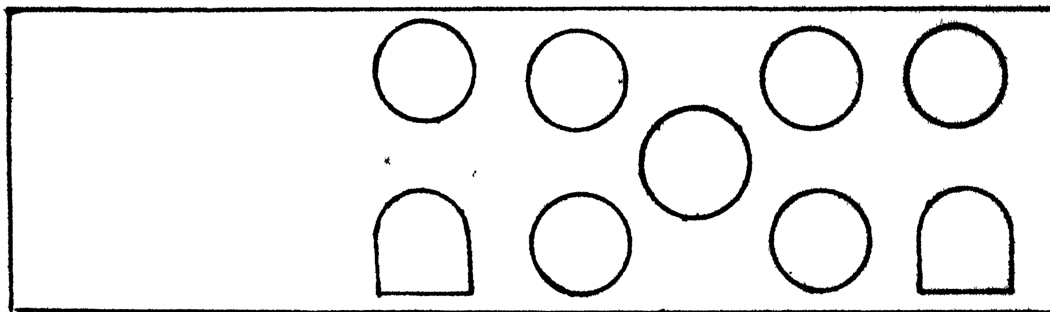


Fig. 2

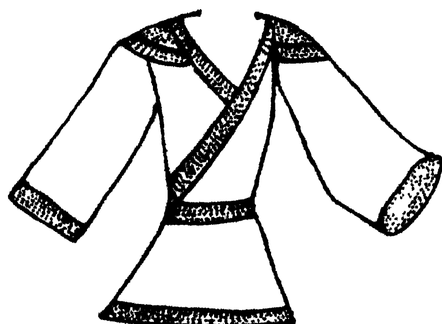


Fig. 3.

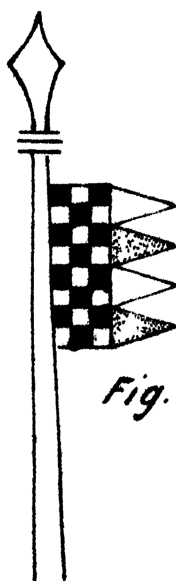


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

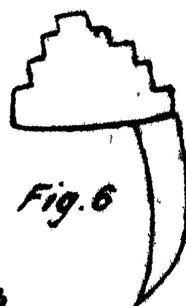


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

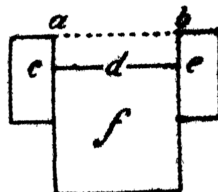


Fig. 8.

A. H. Francke, Del.

B. E. S. Press, Litho.

Description of the Plate.

Fig. 1. Western wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 2. Southern wall of the ruined monastery at Basgo, showing arrangement of medallions.

Fig. 3. Dress from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi. Dress white, the spotted parts red.

Fig. 4. Flag from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi; black, white, and red.

Figs. 5 and 6. Hats from the historical pictures in the ruined monastery at Alchi.

Fig. 7. Rough sketch of the sculpture of the abbess at Nyemo.

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the ruined monastery at Basgo; *f*, central hall; *c*, *e*, side halls; *d*, door; between *a* and *b* was probably a wooden gallery.

IV. — INSCRIPTIONS AT DARU.

The village of **Daru** is situated a little above the trade road on the large plain, which extends between the villages of Nyemo and Phyang. It is of little importance and hardly ever visited by travellers. It has, however, a ruined castle, which is said to have been built by the ministers (*bkā-blon*) of Daru, who were servants of the kings of Leh.

(a) Inscription of King Lhachen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal.

Not very far from the trade road, South-West of the village, there is a **boulder,** about nine or ten feet high, which has two walls abutting on its Eastern face, and having the appearance of being the remains of a hall. The face of the boulder, which formed one side of the hall, has on it **five or six sculptures,** among which the figure of **Vajrapāṇi** is the most prominent. Besides the sculptures, there are several inscriptions on the boulder in various stages of legibility and possibly of different times; those on the right side being carelessly executed and having the most modern appearance. One of the clearest of all the words is the name of the king, which has still the traces of its original red colour.

The present writer also found a number of inscribed fragments of stone-tablets lying about the boulder, which he took to Leh and deposited at the Moravian Mission. But in spite of much time spent over them, it was found impossible to fit any two together, and they seem to belong to several different tablets. There may be more fragments under ground, which might be brought to light by the spade. On one of the fragments the syllables *rGyalmo-rTan* . . . . Queen *rTan* . . . . could be read. Had the historiographers of Western Tibet thought it worth while to mention the names of the various queens of the country, such fragments would have a great historical value.

Of the **inscription** on the rock, which is mostly in **dBu-can Characters,** I was able to make out the following portion :—

Tibetan Text.

On the left side.

. . . . . cam, cam palun

lha chen gun dgā rnam rgyal.

lag ygo (or *mgo*) 'ajam yangs skyab khomd (?) shi (?)

Under central figure.

blon chen phyag rdor jo, log bas (?)

To the right of central figure.

phyagna rdorje
blo bzang don 'agrubo
dkon mchog bkris dang . . . .

To the right of the preceding.

. . . e zhen
. . . . grubpa
bkris.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

It is almost impossible to give a translation of the inscription; because those parts which can be read with some amount of certainty, consist only of names, and it is in several cases doubtful whether they belong to human beings or to mythological conceptions.

cam is probably a defective writing of the word *lcam*, spouse. The first name would be that of a queen: spouse (or queen), Palun (perhaps Paluna). She is not mentioned in the *rGyal-rabs*, but, as already stated, the names of only a few queens are given in that work.

Lha chen gun (kun) dgā rnam rgyal is doubtless the name of a real king (see below); *gun*, instead of *kun*, corresponds to the actual dialectical pronunciation of the word.

'ajam yangs, is doubtless the word *'ajam dbyangs* (Mañjughosha); but, as the other words in the line are not clear, we do not know, whether it is meant as a name of the mythological or a real person.

skyab [*s*], help, in the same line, may be part of a personal name; but it may also be part of a prayer to *'aJam dbyangs*.

About the other words in this line, there is not much certainty. *Lag* means 'hand,' but the connection is not clear.

blon chen phyag rdor j'o; *blon chen* means 'great minister'; *phyag rdor* is Vajrapâṇi; *jo* means 'lord.' If the inscription refers to the mythological being, the title 'great minister' remains strange. There may have been a real minister of such name.

phyagna rdorje is once more the Tibetan name of Vajrapâṇi. This name in its Sanskrit and Tibetan forms is carved also on the west side of the rock several times.

bLo bzang don grub is either the name of an ordinary person, or that of the third disciple of *Tsong-khapa*, who lived about the year 1500 A. D. One of the sculptures may thus refer to him. If that could be proved, we should have to date this part of the sculptures and inscriptions at any rate after 1500 A. D.

dKon mchog bkrashis (*bkris*) may be the name of a locally famous lama or a state-official.

e zhen is too incomplete to suggest any translation.

grubpa, fulfiller, is probably the second part of the name of a lama.

bkris (*bkrashis*), happiness, may also be the second part of the name of a lama or other person.

Identitification of king Lhachen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal.

This name, which can be read with the greatest certainty on the boulder at Daru, cannot be found in the *rGyal-rabs* of Ladâkh. Does this mean that he was a Tibetan king of a line different to that of the kings of Leh, although bearing their dynastic name?

If the ministers (*bka blon*) of Daru are the descendants of some old line of local kings or chiefs, that line cannot have remained independent long after the arrival of Central Tibetan Dynasty, about 1000 A. D. Also it is not likely that any chiefs of Daru could be in possession of the same dynastic name as the kings of Leh. So **Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal** is not

likely to have been a local Daru chief, and he cannot have been one of the Purig chiefs, because their dynastic names were quite different. Nor can he have been a Balti chief, because the Baltis were Musalmans at the time that they overran Ladâkh. And, lastly, there is no history of the arrival of any Central Tibetan kings after 1000 A. D.

These considerations preclude any identification of this king outside the line of Leh, and there is, moreover, much to show that **Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal** must belong to that line. The names of the Tibetan kings generally consist of two parts: the dynastic name, and the proper name. The dynastic name of the ancient line of the kings of Lhasa was bTsan or bTsanpo, and is found in many of their names, *e. g.*, Nyā-khri-btsanpo, Srong-btsan-sgampo. The dynastic name of the first dynasty of the kings of Leh was **Lha-chen,** and is found in most of their names, *e. g.*, Lha-chen-dpalgyi-mgon, Lha-chen-naglug. Whenever it does not occur, as in the name bKrashis-mgon, it may be presumed that the king was not the eldest but a younger son of his predecessor. As the second dynasty of the kings of Leh was descended directly from the first, the name Lha-chen was added to many of their names at their pleasure. The dynastic name of this second dynasty was **rnam-rgyal**, and it is found at the end of every one of their known names. This dynasty is particularly well known, not only from the chronicle *rGyal-rabs*, but also from its many inscriptions. Such a name, therefore, as Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal would be that of a king of the second dynasty, but it is curious that the name **kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal** does not occur in the chronicle, although even after the second dynaty had been robbed of its power by the Dogras, the syllables *kundgā* occur as part of a very long royal name in **'aJigsmed-(etc)-rnam-rgyal.**

If, then, **Kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal** is to be held to have been one of the kings of Leh, and cannot be found among the list of kings of the second dynasty, it remains to be seen if he can be placed among the kings of the first dynasty. There is a passage in the *rGgyal-rabs*, hitherto held to be doubtful, which may enable us to so place him. Karl Marx's MS. A. of the *rGyal-rabs* puts king Lha-chen-jo-dpal directly after king bKrashis-mgon, but Marx notes that Schlagintweit's text of the *rGyal-rabs* (which is quite in accordance with his own MS. A., at any rate in those early parts) places a king, *Lha-rgyal*, between them.

Lha-rgyal, taken by itself, is a strange form, and suggests the omission of something between *lha* and *rgyal*. My explanation of the circumstances is as follows: — The ancient MS. from which both Karl Marx's MS. A. and Schlagintweit's original MS. were copied had some fault in the place where some such name as **Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal** originally stood. Several things may have happened to create the omission; *e. g.*, the right bottom corner of a page may have been torn off in such a way that only *Lha* remained of the first part of the name, the last syllable *rgyal* being preserved on the left top corner of the next page. If a European scholar were to find a MS. in such a condition, he would feel it to be an obligation to inform his readers of the fact. It is different with a Tibetan. He believes he has done wonders if he copies all he can make out. Usually he simply leaves out a doubtful passage altogether, and goes on as if nothing were missing. These habits will account for the difference between Schlagintweit's and Marx's MSS.

The presence of the dynastic name of the second dynasty in the names of this king creates a difficulty; but it may be pointed out here that the name *rnam-rgyal* was not new when it was made a dynastical name in c. 1500 A. D., but can be found in central Tibetan names about the year 1000 and perhaps earlier.

If, therefore, this theory of the identity of **Lha-chen-kun-dga-rnam-rgyal** with the Lha-rgyal of Schlagintweit's MS. of the *rGyal-rabs* be correct, we have to date this king **c. 1250—1275 A. D.,** which date would very well account for the ancient character of this part of the inscription.

(b) A Passage from a Votive Tablet of King bDeldan and Prince (or King) bDe-legs.

On one of the *maṇi*-walls, a little below **Daru,** towards Phyang is to be found a votive tablet containing the name of **Prince bDe-legs,** beside that of his father **bDe-ldan,** in the form which was usual, while bDe-legs was the heir-apparent. I have not yet found any votive tablets containing the name of bDe-legs as king, but on a tablet at **Domkhar** can be read the name of bDe-legs alone, with the title *rgyal-sras*, prince. This is remarkable because votive tablets of bDe-leg's father and son (Nyima-rnam-rgyal) are not at all rare. The easiest explanation of the omission of the reign of bDe-legs from votive tablets is that the Lamas forbade the people to mention this king on them, and destroyed all those bearing his name which were in existence, because after the battle of Basgo he was obliged to become a Musalmân. That *maṇi*-walls were constructed during his reign, we know from a votive tablet at **Nyurla (sNyungla).** On this tablet instead of the name of a king, that of a high Lama, **Mi-pham-mgon,** is given who is styled rGyal-thsabs or Viceroy. After the battle of Basgo, the great Lama Mi-pham-mgon, for whose name *rGyal-rabs* wrongly inserts that of Mi-pham-dbangpo,[7] was sent to Ladâkh by the supreme government of Lhasa, to conduct the peace negotiations, and the authority of bDe-legs was so much shaken that the great Lama took the place of the king in the minds of the people.

Text.	Translation.
(In dBucan Characters.)	
. . . lha chen bde ldan rnam rgyal bde legs rnam rgyal, dbu rmog mtho zhing chab srid rgyaspar shog	. . . . the great gods, **bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal** [and] **bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal,** their helmets being high, may their reign (or progeny) spread ! . . . .

Note.

The reason why the inscription was not copied in full was want of time and the fact that some parts of it were in such bad condition that the reading proceeded very slowly. I may here mention that another tablet containing the names of both these kings was discovered at **Phe,** on the Indus, below Daru.

(c) Sanskrit-Tibetan Votive Inscription by the Minister Thse-dbang-dongrub, c. 1800 A. D.

(On Stone.)

Along the wall of the present government garden at Daru there is a *maṇi*-wall, which is furnished with two large votive tablets. Although both the wall and the tablets are only about 100 years old, the latter are not in particularly good preservation. The state of preservation of an inscription depends entirely on the kind of stone selected, and the softer the stone the shorter the time the inscription lasts. The Tibetan part of the inscription was originally copied in full, but the paper containing the latter portion of the inscription has unfortunately been lost,[8] and I can now offer only the first part of the Tibetan text.

[7] *Mgon* and *dbangpo* are almost synonyms, which explains the fact that the name occurs in two forms.

[8] Together with the copy of the Alchi Bridge Inscription and others.

Text.

(In dBucan Characters.)

Sanskrit.

Om namo(m ?) B[h]agavate aparimita ayur dznyāna subhanitsitastana tsoradzāya ; tathāgatāya ; arhate samyaksambuddhāya ; tadyathā ; om [punye punye] mahāpunye aparimita punyer dznyāna sambharopatsito om sarvasam samskāriparishudha dharmate gagana samunagate subhava bishudhe (vishudhe ?) mahānaye parivariye svahā !

Translation.

(Of the Sanskrit by R. C. Dutt, C.I.E.)

Om, adoration to the Lord, the immeasurable, the life of contemplation, the soul fixed on holiness, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the awakened, the self-existent !

Om, to him of perfect holiness, of great holiness, of immeasurable holiness, of unmeasured righteous knowledge, of radiant soul !

Om, to him who has done all sacraments, to him of pure religion whose way is high as the heavens, to the well purified, to the great teacher and traveller in the righteous path, — Glory !

Tibetan.

Mi dbang choskyi rgyalpoi phrinlas ɣsergyi shing rta gyendu la drenpai 'akhorlopa bkā mdzod thse dbang dongrubkyi sku thse mdzadpa stobs . . . .

(Of the Tibetan.)

When the great minister, **Thse-dbang-dongrub**, the upwards driving coachman of the golden carriage of the works of the king of faith, the powerful over men died, power . . . .

Notes.

La drenpa, an idiom meaning about 'driving upwards.'

bkā mdzod, literally 'treasure-house of words.' I translated it by 'minister,' but it may more properly mean 'wise man.'

sku thse mdzadpa, 'making his lifetime,' used in the sense of completing his lifetime.'

V. — THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS AT SHEH.

There are **three inscriptions** at Sheh, one accompanied by various sculptures on the rock on which the castle is built, and the two others on the **Maitreya Rock,** a little below the village on the Indus, which is now popularly known as **Sman-bla.**

There are traces of several other inscriptions on the Maitreya Rock, in both **Persian and Tibetan characters,** which have been effaced, probably during some war. It is probable that when either the Balti or the Dogra armies marched up the Indus valley, they destroyed the Tibetan inscriptions, and carved others in Urdu or Persian on their place. If this happened, the Ladakhis would in turn destroy the new inscriptions, as soon as the hostile army had left the country. The two very ancient Tibetan inscriptions that have escaped destruction owe their escape to their positions on the rock. One is carved so high up that it cannot be reached unless special arrangements are made, and the other was hidden behind a masonry-wall so that it could not be read, until the wall was broken down by the missionaries in January, 1906. Indeed, I am told that some lines have not even yet come to light.

Nos. I. and III. of the legible **inscriptions** have been **copied by bLo-bzang-thar-rnyed,** meteorological observer at Leh : No. II. by **bDechen-bZodpa.**

INSCRIPTION No. I.

Position : High up on the Maitreya Rock.

Text.

idkon mchog γsumla phyag 'athsal dang, nga (da ?) skvabs su γsolte, rgyalpo chenpo, tsan po lha sraskyi sku youdu mngārisikyi' abangsla rigste, phyogs bcui semscan thamscadkyi bsodnamssu bsodsnas, 'aphagspa byams dpal, khor tang bcaspai sku γzugs . . . . pa mthar brtan . . . . bgyis.

Translation.

I greet the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity) and ask [them to come] to my help. Making it as an offering of the great king, the **Tsanpo,** the son of the gods, and for [the benefit of] the subjects of **mNgaris,** and for the benefit of all the beings of the ten regions, the images of the august **Byams dpal-(Maitreya)** with his attendants . . . . . . *stûpa* . . . . . . made.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

γsolte ; the style of the writing used for this word reminds us of the **Endere Inscriptions** in Turkestan, where we find the final consonant of a syllable written not *after*, but *below*, the preceding one. In this case the *l* is written not after, but below the *s*.

mngārisi, instead of later **mNgāris.** This is the **ancient name of Western Tibet,** as is proved by the *rGyal-rabs*, though in more modern times it has been restricted to the most Eastern part of that country.

rigs is the classical *sgrigspa*, arrange, &c. See *Ladakhi Grammar*, Law of Sound, No. 3.

bsodsnas ; I take this word to be another instance of placing the second consonant under the first. Otherwise the word would have to be read *bsngosnas*, which would give it the sense of ' resolve to go the way of Nirvana,' according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Dictionary*.

byams-dpal, the glorious Maitreya. This shows that the inscription refers to the figure of Maitreya with his attendants carved along with it on the rock, giving the same date both for the inscription and its attendant sculptures.

mthar-rten. I am told that this refers to a particular kind of *stûpa*.

INSCRIPTION No. II.

Position : Behind the masonry-wall at the same site.

Text.

dkon mchog γsum dang, 'ajigrtengyi mgonpo kunla skyabssu γsolnas, khyaba phagspa byamspa 'akhor dang bcaspai sku γzugs khra svalpa mthāi bardu choskyi 'akhorlo dampa myurdu bslobpar skulla γsoldcing, dus mchodkyi rkyen sbyardpala sogspai bsodnams dang, 'aphagspa rnamskyi byin rlabs kyis, btsanpo lha sras γdung rabs dang phyogs bcui semscan phalpo che . . . . thamscad, bdeskyid phunsum thsogs shing, blanamedpai sangsrgyassu myurdu grubpar stonte 'aphagspai sku γzugs rdo 'aburdu bgyispao, γyaskyi dgebai bshes nyen rnamskyis kyang thson γsal bur bgyiba dang brtanpar bgyio.

Translation.

Asking the three highest beings (Buddhist Trinity) and all the lords of the world [to come to my] help, the image of the august **Maitreya** with [his] attendants [was made]. Praying that the glorious (bright shining) one may quickly teach and admonish the holy wheel of religion until the ends (of the earth), and that there may be the merit of the confirmed effect and such like of the periodical sacrifices; and through the blessing of the exalted ones, may the *btsanpo*, the son of the gods and (his) family, and the ordinary as well as the great beings of the ten quarters remain in perfect blessing, and be taught to attain soon to the very highest Buddhahood. [For all this] the image of the exalted one was made of stone. All the friends of the virtue of the right hand will [from time to to time] renew the colour (make clear colour) [of the image] and protect it (make it safe).

Philological Notes.

khyaba-'aphagspa, I am told that this is a locally well-known title of **Maitreya**; but what *khyaba* means I have been unable to discover.

khra svalpa (or *γsalpa*), I am told that this expression means 'very bright, shining.'

sbyardpa, perfect stem of the infinitive *sbyor[d]pa*.

rdo 'aburdu, used in the sense of 'according to stone,' 'of stone.'

Epigraphical Notes.

Though the **characters** of this inscription are of the ordinary **dBu-can** type, there are a few peculiarities in them, which point to its antiquity.

(*a*) The letter *ng* has a stroke attached to the right end of its lower line, which makes it look almost like a dBu-can *p*. This peculiarity has not yet been observed at **Endere** (Stein Collection), nor anywhere else.

(*b*) The *i* sign has not always the position of the Dêvanâgarî short *i*, but often that of the long *i*, as is also the case in the **Endere MSS.**, and many other ancient inscriptions.

(*c*) The second or final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant. Of this we have one certain and one probable case in the previous inscription. This peculiarity is also found at **Endere** and in the **ancient Balti Inscriptions.**

A Comparison of the Ladâkhî and the Endere Inscriptions.

It will be useful here to review the peculiarities of the **Endere relics**, as they are the oldest datable specimens of Tibetan orthography, and to compare the most ancient West Tibetan Inscriptions with them. The question is a very important one, because on it the possibility of dating the Tibetan Inscriptions depends.

The peculiarities of the Endere MSS. and Sgrafitti (8th century) are the following :—

(*a*) The *i* sign takes the shape of the Dêvanâgarî long and short *i* interchangeable.

(*b*) In several cases the final consonant of the syllable is written below the first consonant.

(*c*) The masculine definite article is in most cases *phâ* and *pho*, instead of modern *pa* and *po*.

(*d*) In many cases the ordinary *c* and *ts* are replaced by *ch* and *ths* ; and both *ch* and *ths* have *γ*, *d*, or *b* prefixes attached to them, whilst in the classical orthography they are furnished only with *a* and *m* prefixes.

(*e*) When *m* comes before *i* or *e*, a *y* intervenes.

(*f*) Words ending in *r*, *l*, or *n* are furnished with a *d* suffix, called *drag*.

A comparison of the ancient Ladâkhî inscriptions with those of Endere discloses the fact, that several of them exhibit some of the peculiarities of the Endere epigraphy, but not all. This leads to the supposition that the six characteristics of Endere orthography were not dropped all at once, but one by one, and Dr. L. D. Barnett has observed that, according to the Endere relics, the *drag* was even then on the point of disappearing (8th century A. D.).

In. Ladâkh, the peculiarities of the Endere epigraphy are exibited in the following inscriptions :—

(*a*) Interchange of long and short *i* is found in Inscriptions at Sheh; at Alchi-mkhar-gog (but only in the oldest) ; and at Sadpor (Baltistān).

(*b*) Subscription of the final consonant is found in the inscriptions at Sheh; in one at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Sadpor.

(*c*) The masculine article *pha*, *pho* has so far only been discovered at an ancient gold-mine near Nyurla, where a personal name is spelt *danarnapha* (or perhaps *tanarnapha*).

(*d*) *ch* and *ths* for *c* and *ts* are found in the Balu-mkhar Inscriptions.

(*e*) *y* intervening between *i* or *e* and initial *m* is found in the Sheh Inscriptions (see Inscription No. III., below); in the Alchi-mkhar-gog Inscriptions (the oldest); in those at Sadpor; at Khalatse (at the bridge); and at Balu-mkhar.

(*f*) The suffix *drag* is found in the Sheh Inscriptions.

The latest peculiarity of the ancient orthogragphy to disappear would appear to be the intervention of *y* between an initial *m* and *i* or *e*, as this is exhibited in *all* the ancient inscriptions; and the latest of them which can be dated with some amount of probability, is the Khalatse Bridge Inscription (probable date 1150 A. D.). Peculiarities which disappeared much earlier are certainly the masculine articles *pha*, *pho* and the suffix *drag*.

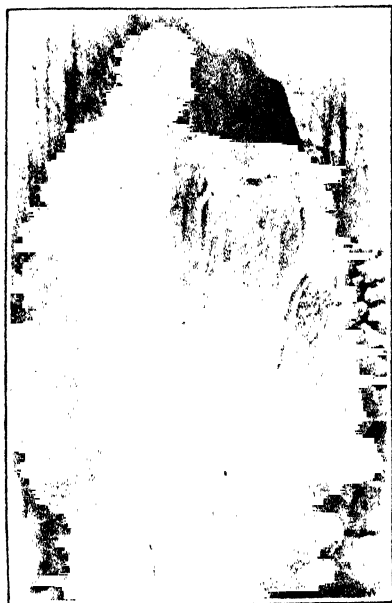
The Sheh Inscriptions exhibit the interchange of long and short *i*, the subscription of the final consonant, the intervening *y*, and the suffix *drag*.

This last point is of great importance, as the use of the *drag* was supposed to be on the decline at Endere. I propose, therefore, to put their **date between 900 and 1000 A. D.**

The King of the Inscriptions.

Both **the Maitreya Rock Inscriptions** are plainly by the same king, and both refer to the same subject, the carving of the image of Maitreya. The personal name of the king is not given, but this omission seems to have been customary at that time, as the Khalatse Inscription also speaks simply of "the great king." We find, however, **two dynastic names,** in the Maitreya Rock Inscription, the name **bTsanpo** and **Lhayi-sras.** The former is the dynastic name of the **Central Tibetan Dynasty,** from which the Western Tibetan kings descended, and the latter, which means 'son of the gods,' not only reminds us of **Lha-chen,** 'great god,' the dynastic name of the earliest **Western Tibetan kings**, but is also used interchangeably with Lha-chen by the later kings. We may thus, with some confidence, attribute these inscriptions to one of the kings of the **bTsan-po-Lha-chen line of Central Tibet** and not to local chiefs. The first of this line of kings was **Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon,** the conqueror of Western Tibet, who reigned, according to Grünwedel's *Chronology*, c. 975—1000 A. D., or, according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Chronology*, 20—30 years earlier, and I believe that it was under him that both sculptures and inscription were set up. Votive offerings of this nature were mostly made by the kings, not so much for their own spiritual benefit as for that of their parents, as we learn from the *rGyal-rabs*, and my belief is that the king caused the figures and inscription on the Maitreya Rock to be set up for the spiritual welfare of his father, who may have died when he was in Western Tibet. This supposition at once explains the use of the word *bTsanpo*, as Nyima-mgon's father was the last of the *bTsanpos* in the family, and the word *btsan* was actually part of his name, **Lde-dpal-'akhor-btsan.** It is of some interest that, in the Inscription, the wish is expressed that the sculpture may be a means of blessing to the people of Western Tibet. Apparently, the king wished to please his new subjects with it.

The result of this examination of the **Inscriptions** is that they must be most probably dated **c. 950—1000 A. D.** and must be assumed to be **by Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon,** the conqueror of Western Tibet, for the spiritual benefit, in the first place, of his father Lde-dpal-'akhor-btsan, and secondly, for that of his new subjects. In any case, the probability is that they are earlier, and not later, than 1000 A. D., and refer to some Central Tibetan king. At the same time it is difficult to see why any king earlier than Skyid-lde-nyima-mgon should have taken an interest in the village of Sheh, as it apparently became the first capital of Western Tibet after its conquest by him.



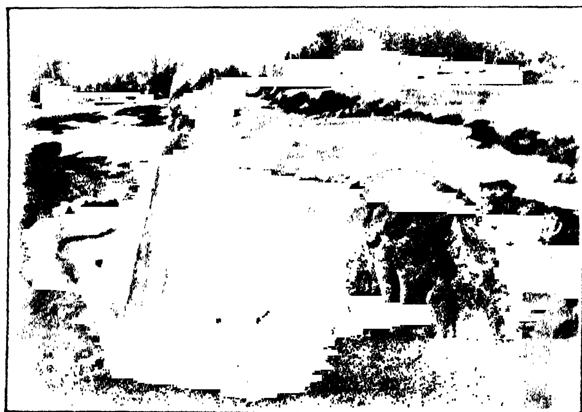
Ancient stone figure at Changspa, Leh.

Photo: Dr. F. E. Shawe.



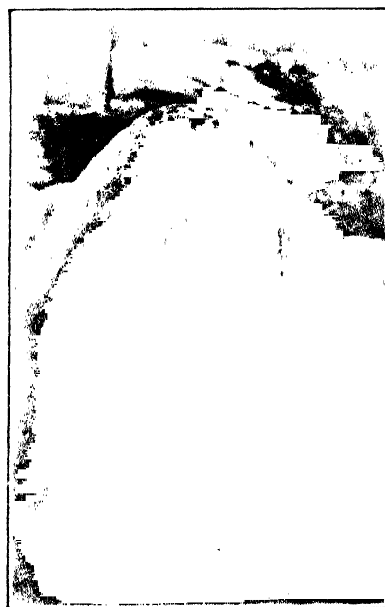
Image of Maitreya in the garden of the Moravian Knitting School, Leh.

Photo: F. Bernard, Lieutenant French Army.



Ancient stone figures on the Yarkand Road, Leh.

Photo: Dr. F. E. Shawe.



Ancient stone figure by the brook, Changspa, Leh.

Dr. F. E. Shawe.

INSCRIPTION No. III.

This inscription is carved high up on the rock below the castle of Sheh, above an image of Maitreya, and can only be read with the greatest difficulty, even with the help of a field glass. It is impossible nowadays to get close to it. The following is bLo-bzang-Thar-rnyed's reading of it :—

Tibetan Text.

dkon mchog *y*sumla bstaste, phyog cu gyal khangs myo zanggi bter . . . . . chos khal ga phulbai byang lha byamsbai nyu ku rdo 'abar ('abur?) gi mchodpa dang ku sdob; kho chengyi zhir myig tsang cing byorbar byas . . . . . . skyong dang tsangyis (or: skyongba tsangyis) en skarba . . . .

Notes.

A translation of this is impossible, as it is evident that it has not only become more weathered than the others, but is also written with a more careless orthography. From the few words, which can be made out, it looks very much as if it dated from about the same time and referred to a similar object.

dkon mchog, &c. The first line means 'looking at the three highest beings' (Buddhist Trinity)

phyog[*s b*]*cu*, the ten regions.

byamsbai (or *pai*), of Maitreya.

rdo 'aburgyi mchodpa, 'offering of a stone statue, image.'

myig tsancing, probably 'the eye getting clear'; *myig* instead of *mig* is a case of the ancient orthography.

skyongba tsangyis, 'by the protector, by the Tsanpo.' Thus, the king at Sheh would appear to call himself Tsanpo, as a descendant of the famous Tsanpos of Tibet. The term may perhaps, however, signify a name of Phyag-rdor, similar to the form Thub-bstan-skyongba.

APPENDIX.

The Age of the Buddhist Stone Images of Ladâkh.

All the stone images of Ladâkh are in relief. They are found on the living rock as well as on raised slabs of stone, and are in varying states of preservation. The following have come to my knowledge :—

(*a*) *Outside Leh.* — The images at Dras; the famous Chamba (Byamspa) at Mulbe; the medallion at Sadpor in Baltistān; the rGyalba-rigs-lnga at Spadum in Zangskar; the images at Kartse in Purig; a stone with sculptures at Tingmogang; a similar stone at Saspola; several reliefs on the living rock at Spitug, the stone abbess at Nyemo; the Vajrapāṇi at Daru; the Sman-bla and figures near the castle at Sheh; the Maitreyas at Igu, with ancient frescoes close to them.

(*b*) I am told by Dr. F. E. Shawe, who made a collection of photographs, that in Leh and its environs there are a great number of them. Of these the best known are: — four stones with images on the Yarkandi road; one stone with several sculptures at Changspa; three stones with single figures about the brook near Changspa, and another in the village; one figure at Gonpa, above Leh; an inscribed figure in the garden of the present Moravian Knitting School; one, painted red, near the palace of Leh, close to one of the former city gates; one on the plain, south of Leh, in a *mani*-wall among a large number of *mchod-rten*; one at Skara, below Leh; and one below king bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal's *maṇi*-wall on the Sheh road. This last has figures on all four sides.

With regard to the date of these figures we can safely say that they are never made nowadays, and, according to local tradition, it is a long time since they were made, a fact which does not hinder the people from still worshipping some of them. As a few of them have inscriptions, it is possible to assign approximate dates to them. The figures thus made dateable are the following:— The Maitreyas at Sheh, c. 950—1000 A. D., as shown above; the Sadpor reliefs (pictures and inscriptions, *vide* Miss Jane E. Duncan's *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*), c. 1000 A. D.

from the orthography employed; the Dras figures, with inscriptions in Kashmir *śārada* characters, most probably of the Kashmir Buddhist emigration to Ladâkh, which was at its height 900—1100 A. D.; the Vajrapāṇi at Daru, c. 1250 A. D. (or 20—30 years earlier according to Sarat Ch. Das' *Chronology*); the figures at Spadum in Zangskar of the time of the Mons, before the Tibetan conquest, which took place c. 950—1000 A. D.; the figure in the garden of the Mission Knitting School at Leh, c. 1000 A. D., from the accompanying inscription. On the whole, although one of the dates is as far forward as far as the thirteenth century, I feel much inclined to believe that the year 1000 A. D. should be taken as roughly the date of these images.

I would draw attention to the striking similarity which many of these sculptures have to the ancient **Budhhist images at Gilgit,** one of which is reproduced in Biddulph's *The Tribes of the Hindoo Kush.* And although the art was continued for some time under the rule of the Tibetan kings of Leh, I feel much inclined to believe that it is Pre-Tibetan, and probably Dard in origin. At any rate it is Indian.

The inscription on the Maitreya at the Knitting School, Leh, runs thus:—

Text.	**Translation.**
nga zharba	I, a blind one,
ma shii bardu rje	Until death
sam chodching rkyan	May offer high thoughts and
bai bsodnamskyis	Through the adorning [religious] merit
grol bya sem	May (or will) be delivered, the soul . .

Notes.

rkyan is probably for *rgyan.*

Signs of age in the Inscription are: three inverted *i* signs; *ching* instead of *cing*; and the form of the *sh*, which reminds us of *zh*.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXV. p. 210.)

PARTING from them, my boy & I tooke Councell wch way to steere; My boy advized a back way, for that ye people of that Contrey weere verry bad, and theires a Towne 12 Corse [*kōs*], wch is 6 English mile of; Theire we will goe & buy p̃vitions, wch we did, And after Travelled 17 days wthout touchinge at either towne or howse till we caime to ye great Citty Guzzurratt. These Contreys [Rajputana] are not as others, but haue many Kings. Some haue not aboue 600 people feighting men vnder them, so͂me 5000. I got safe to Guzzeratt, tho very weary of all my Travells. This was ye first iunct money [*chungam*, custom, poll-tax] I paid, otherwise cald head money, soe much for a Man & doble as much for a horsse.

I lived in that Citty 17 days privatt in a brammonists [brahman's] howse, by reason my sarvt told me I must live as his sarvt if I intended to travell safe in that Contrey, wch I did, for in those parts they are great Enemies to a Xpian.

They Mervelled to see a whiteman, never seing one before in that Contrey, Caused my Man, then My Maister, to say he bought me in the Bloches Contrey, & I was his slaue. Next morning, I rideing out to water wth my horsse, ye people stareing on me, A Naagg [*nāik*], yt

is a greatman, mett me, And askt me in his Lingua who I served, & followed me home to yt howse I lodged at, being I had not the Lingua. My man, then Master, discorsing wth him, ye Naagg demanded wtt Lingua I could speake. He told him I was but a new sarvt & could speake noe Lingua. Then, Sd ye Naag, how doe yu vnderstand him. He replied, by Signs. He was verry ernest to buy me, but my Man put him of, telling him I was his Brothers sarvt. The cause of my staying soe longe amonge them was, Wee could not Travell, They being in warrs one wth an other.

I had not scaped Sollinge but yt my boy was trusty, wch is rare of a Cannarry [Kanarese], for yt Contrey he was.

From Guzzeratt to Brampoore [Burhānpur] is 400 Leagues. I was 4 Months in goeinge it. When we caime to Junkann [custom-house], I lighted of my horsse & gote on ye Ox, wch carried ye boy & things, & the boy mounted On my horsse as Maister Att seuerall villages, for theire was noe Cittys on the way; forts theire weere, but we went out of the way to misse them. In every 40 Leagues theire was Junkanns [custom-house officers], who tooke head money. Wth much troble wee past, My man haueinge ye Lingua, but I not. And the people weere verry inquissitive what I was, being a white man, wch was rare in yt Contrey. When we caime wthin 60 Leagues of Brampoore, my Man told me, this is ye great Junkinn Towne called Halloe [Halabas, Allahabad].

When we caime wthin sight of the towne, beinge on the edge of a hill, Sd my sarvt, Maister stay here, I will observe if we can miss the towne. I told him he knew it was daingeros to goe out of ye roade way, but left it to his discretion. Mr, Sd he, I beleive yor money is almost gon. I sd, by tow such Cotte [*Bhāī, tu sach kahtā*], Brother, thou speakest trewth. Sd he, after we had Consulted together (but I had yt about me my sarvt knew not of), we haue a way we may passe, but if not, yu haue freinds at Brampoore, & yu shall pawne me heere till yu send releife. After we had refresht or selfs, my boy said, Haw'dow'ca'noun challa [*Khudā kē nām, chalō*], Lets goe in the naime of god. Am'ar'ra ser'vp'ra bout'bos'hey [*Hamārā sir ūpar bahut bhōj hai*], I haue, sd my man, for he was gray wth age, A great Charge vppon my heade. Am'ar'ra', Jou'row char, be'te Amorra Zam man hey [*Hamārā jōrū, chār bēṭē, hamārā zāmin hai*], My wife & Children lie at stake for me to yor freinds if yu get anie hurt. Hodah io'hey [*Khudā ik hai*], Sd he. Theirs but One god, Se'de'ra decking'ga' [*Sidhā rā dikhāēṅgē*], wch shall direct vs ye right way. When we had past ye towne Holloe [Allahabad] towards Brampoore [Burhānpur], we mett wth a Company of horssmen, wch had taken 24 Marchants, wch had past & not paid theire Junkin money. Sd my man, these are Rogues; They haue laid wait both wayes, because they knew ye Marchants would pass by ye vpper way to save theire Junkin money. Ou'ta' amora' bail asway [*Uṭhō, hamārā bail aswār*], Alight psently [at once] & get vppon ye Ox. He mounted psently on ye horsse & rid towards them, And said to me, Ton asta asta pecha hey [*Tum āhistē āhistē pichhē āō*], com you Softly behinde. Comeinge to them, he knew one of the horssmen, who askt him from whence he caime. He Sd, I caime from Gusaratt, And I and my man are goeinge for Brampoore to buy some swords and knives for such a Naag [*nāik*] in Guzuratt whose sarvt I am. When I caime neare, Sd my Man, then Maister, to me, Get yu a heade, this boy is a foole, & cald me naimes, Telling his accquaintance of me was but small. Sd ye Man, Kiss was ny marra [*kis wāṣtē nahīṅ mārā*], Why doe you not beat ye Rogue. Sd my Mr, Ka'poyn'ge' as ham du'han'na o'mar'ra'ga [*kyā pāūngā is ham dīwānā mārēgā*], What shall I get by beating a foole. My man puld of his girdle & gaue it ye horssman, wch pleased him well. Tam'cou a 'marra'sad ca'poss [*tum kahō hamārā sāhib kē pās*] wch is, When yu se my Maister, (Sd he to ye Marchants, who weere for Guzzerat), ham is voc'cat dalgeer [*ham is waqt dilgīr*], I am at this tyme sad & Mellencolly, because he sent a sarvt wth me I am forst to be a nurse to. The Marchants replied, & ye Soldiers, Tom bar'ra sa'fect' adam me' hey'tom better ny gente Kiss wast to mor'ra pass Chocke'ra leta

[*tum barā safēd ādmī hai, tum behtiar nahīn jāntē; kis wāste tumhārā pās chokrā lētā*], yu are an Antient gray man; methinks yu should vnderstand better then bring a Child in yor Company. He tooke his leaue, I beinge got a full English mile before them. When my man caime vp full speed a head, he asked me laughinge, ham ho'pe' sad ne [*ham khūb sāhib nē?*], Am not I a good Maister. I told him, yes. Sd he, now its yor tyme to be Maister; I did this for yor saife deliverance vnder god. In 3 days afterwards we arrived at Brampoore [Burhānpur], Where I was in saifty out of all trobles. The Gouerner theire is cald Dowd Caune [Dāūd Khān],[94] wth whome I had formerly beene In armes, This beinge in the Magulls Contrey. He treated me verry well, but was Jealous [suspicious that] I had runn away from ye Magull, yet Sd nothing to me, for he knew I could not pass wthout his leaue, questioned me many things but I resolved him nothinge. Beinge theire 6 days, weary when I caime but now well refresht, in that tyme caime the french Embassadors, who had beene att John a Badd [Jahānabād], ye Magulls Court, But wth litle honor.[95]

These 2 Embassadors, One from ye ffrench Kinge for his pticuler[96] to greet ye Magull, One from him for ye East India Company,[97] in añ 1668, when they Caime neare ye Court, ye Emperror had notis & Wee the English. They caime not in yt state vsually ye Engl or Dutch come in, Soe ye Emperror thought himselfe vndervallewed, And sleighted them, Commanding them stay 2 Leagues from Court when they expected to come to rights. Besides the Embassador for the K[ing of] ffrance had Express order from his King to deliver his Letters to ye Emperrors owne hand, wch was refused. However, the English had leaue to vizitt the fr [French] Embassadors & did send them theire tents & other nessarys they wanted. The Embassadors, Concluding ye Emperror affronted them, they pvide to goe back, wch the Emperror had notis of, & Commanded them to be brought back wth all theire goods and attendance, Saying, did they thinke to goe out of his Contrey wthout Leave. The next night The Embassadors weer assalted in theire tents, robbd of all, 3 or 4 Sarvts kild & they sadly affrighted. In this Condition They staid a day or two. But after[wards] Theire Money & Goods weere found & restored & they ordered to come to Court, The English accompíng. When they caime at ye Court gate, theire armes weere taken from them & theire pocketts sercht, But ye Engl went in wth sword & Target & pistolls by theire sides, wch greived ye Ebassadors.

Md This affront was ptly ocationed by ye Contrivance of ye Engl, for that, in ye tyme of ye last Dutch warr, ye french caused ye English letters to be given ye Dutch, wch was delivered into theire hand to be Conveyed for ye est India Company.

They[98] would [have] psented theire letters to ye Emperror, but they weere not pmitted. They then desired ye fr [French] father[99] might interprett them, but ye Emperror Askt ye Engl if they could not doe it, they being in Lattin. Mr White sd yes, Soe they weere delivered to him. The

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[94] This is probably Dāūd Khān Qurēshī, governor of Allahabad in 1670. Mr. Irvine tells me he is mentioned by Manucci.

[95] The author is incorrect. Only one of the French ambassadors (Béber) came to Burhānpur from Agra (not Delhi) in the company of Tavernier, at the end of 1667. I am indebted for this, and the two following notes, to Mr. Irvine.

[96] De la Boullaye Le Gonz was the King's man. He went eastwards to Patna, and was never after heard of again. He was probably murdered by his hired guard, who mistook his box of books for treasure.

[97] Béber was the representative of the French East India Company. The story of the embassy is given at length in Tavernier's "Recueil."

[98] *i. e.*, the French ambassadors

[99] Mr. Irvine suggests that the "French father" may possibly be Father Busée, S. J., a Fleming, who was in India about this time.

Embassador for ye Company had his desire granted, his deport humble, Soe they weer dismist,[100] And from Brampoore I travelld wth them as followes. But to returne to ye Gouerner who stopt me, haueing sent to ye Court to know If I had come wthout license. But they redy, ye Embassadors, I showed the Gouernor my pass from ye Empr, wch gaue me my liberty, And in 28 Days we arrived at Surratt, wch is but 60 Leagues from Brampoore. Att Surrat I staid 14 Days, Sr George Oxenall [Oxinden][1] p̄sident their for The East India Company, with whome I had seuerall affairs, And haueing dispatcht, I left it, But he was verry importun[ate] wth me to know how I succeeded in my Jurney into Prester John; but I knew well what I should tell him would be in England beforé me. But some things I told Mr Robt Smith, the Minister.

From Surratt I went to Madderaslepotan [Madras] in Bengall, in wch is the Kingdome of, Gulcandar [Golconda], Wher are all the Dymond Mines, wch is A Months Jurney or about 600 English Miles; from thence to MasLepotan [Masulipatam], wch is 60 Leagues; Thence to Checacull [Chicacol, Ganjam district], a great Citty, wch hath a Kinge of it selfe, a verry stronge place; Thence to Muscatt, wch belongs to the Arrabbs, the King of it called Wyley[2]; Its a place was taken from the Portugalls.[3]

In that time I was theire, they sent an Armadoe to retake it, but in Vaine, beinge wth loss & shame beaten away. After this, King Wyley [the *wali*] sent out 11, Elleaven, vessels wth about 800 Men to ye Portugalls Contrey, to a Citty cald Dew [Diu], A stronge fort & Garrison. They Landed, stormed & Plundered the Towne & brought 800 p̄soners away, Men, Weomen & Children, 8 Chests of Silver, 4 Chests of Gold. This I, John Cambell, se brought into Muskatt in the Month of August 1668, All don in 14 Days.[4]

This was great dishonor to ye Portugall affaires, they cominge to looke out for the Arrabbs & had gon on ye Pertian Coast and tooke A litle money Dew to them for custome out of Conge [Kung] and returned, On wch, Sd ye kinge of ye Arrabbs in my heareinge, They haue com out to seek me; I will now goe to seeke them, And offerd me great rewards to goe wth him, but my answer was, they weere Christians And I was one, Soe could not gratify his desire.

Att my beinge in Goa, in Anno 1668, was a Portugall ship; the Capt. of hir[5] had not only ye Command of the ship but all ye Ladeinge. And beinge One day at a Gameinge howse (for play at Dice is much vsed theire), And theire beinge many ffydalgoes [fidalgo], verry rich, this Capt fell in to play wth them, And lost not Only ship, but all his Ladeinge, wch don, in great troble he went to a Surgion, And caused him cut of his left hand close at ye wrest; ye Surgion hauseinge don his Dewtie, he, ye Capt, bought a box iust fitt to hold ye hand Cut of, & it being put in & ye Key in his pockett, he tooke it vnder his Cloke & went to ye Gameing howse, wheere was at play ye fedalgoe who had won his ship & goods wth a great heape of money & gold

[100] In a letter from Surat to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 26th March 1667, there is the following account of the French embassy:— "The Transactions of the French have bin much wondered att by all, one of the Two that came hither and went upp to Court, he that was sent from the King of France with letters Recommendatorye hath bin much slighted and att last is gone away alone, some say to Bengalla, Leaving his consort, who after a tedious attendance, finding none that would prefer his cause to the Kinge, in regard he came Empty handed, was Returning hither, but was robd of all he had, one dayes Journey out of Agra, and Received three or Foure wounds, which comming to the Kings eare, tooke pitty on him, sent for him backe, gave particuler order for his care, and afterwards admitted him into his presence, Received his petition, Gave order he should be paid out of his Treasury what was pretended to be taken from him." — *India Office Records, Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2.

[1] Sir George Oxinden was President of Surat from 1662 till his death, on the 14th July, 1669.

[2] The author mistakes the Arabic title *wali*, a governor, for a proper name. [3] In 1650.

[4] In a letter to Surat, dated from Ispahan, 5th Sept. 1669, Stephen Flower refers to "wt. had past at sea between the Portugalls and Arabs in this Gulfe" and to "the Arabs proceedings at Dio," but there is no record of the occurrence, as given by Campbell, in 1668.

[5] Hiatus in the MS.

before him, & he haueing ye Dice, ye Capt puts downe his box & sd, para esta. At it, sd ye fydalgoe.[6] Theire grt. play is passage, & its ye play theire, if ye Caster throw awmes,[7] ace & a tray, he pays doble ye stake he throwes at. The fydalgoe or Kt. threw awmes, ace & a tray, & seing it, said, open yor box & tell yor money, pushing his heape to him. Hold, said ye Capt., & tooke out ye Key of his box & opend it & showed his hand & ye arme it was Cut of, & sd, yu haue lost both yor hands. They caime to Composition & ye Capt had his shipp & goods and doble hir vallew. The Capt is now in Lisbon, And knowne to me Jno. Cambell & many others, who se his hand & Arme it was Cutt of.

Att the same tyme in Goa, I was Carried to see a father, counted a holly man of ye Order of ye Pollistians,[8] borne in Dunkirk, who had beene deade almost 12 Monts before, but lay aboue ground to be seene by all yt caime; & of seuerall Nations round about theire caime, vizt And see him lie as at ye tyme of his death vnbowelled, or wth out anie art don to him saue ye shaueing his face every weke & paireing or Cutting his nailes, wth a Naturall fresh Culler. The faime of it caime to ye Pope, as nothing don almost in Anie pt of ye world, but theire are padreys to give advice. The Pope sent for the boddie of this Padre; ye Pollistians who are ye richest Scotietie of fathers in ye world, denied it. But the Pope demanding his right hand, it was granted & Cutt of, Jno. Cambell then p̃sent, and it bled as fresh as if it had been Cutt from ye Boddie of a liveinge man. They indeavord after to p̃serve him from Corruption but could not, soe 3 days after he was buried.

One day, I sittinge wth King Wyley [the *wali*], 3 brave Weomen p̃soners weere brought before him; 2 Weere Brammonists [Brahmans] wifes, theire husbands being kild. The 3d was a Portugall, wch I freed. She told me she had to pay me what I laid out, & Did 3 doble, when I delivered her in Conge [Kung]. Sd ye Kinge to me, will you free thother two. I sd this is a Christian & I an other, They Gentues.

Two of King Wyleys Sarvts. being by, wth Katārs [daggers] by theire sides, These 2 Brammonist weomen drew each a Katār from them & before ye Kinge rip vp their Bellys & Dyed.

The next day, about 8 Clock in the morninge, theire Arrived A ship of ours from Bumbay, 220 Leagues by Sea from this place. Wyley ye Kinge of ye Arrabbs sent for me & sd, wt doe yu make this ship to be. I Sd, English. Welcome, Sd he, yts or Brother. Comeinge into ye rode, his Ladeing was rice & Butter & Coquer Nutts, wch was great Reliefe to yt Contrey, for, Except ye great Ones, they eate only Tammer [*ṭa'āma*], vizt., Dates & fish. The contrey is very barren, & haue great respect to ye English yt furnish them wth p̃vitions, for they are often vexed wth fammin.

Capt. William Hill was commander of the vessell & was verry glad to meete wt an Englishman theire, yt king Wyley esteemed, & could Speak ye Lingua, for ye Capt. could not. I delt wth the Kinge for him, for his Rice Butter & ye rest of his Ladeinge, & truckt wth ye Kinge for 350 p̃soners, Both well pleased, And for my Curtesey Kinge Wyley p̃sented me wth a Black boy & Capt. Hill a Dymond Ring, wch I accepted.

From Muskatt I went to Conge, in ye Pertion Dominyon, wth my Lady p̃soner, for soe she was, & hir husband slaine at Due [Diu]. I was much made of & gratified.

Thence I went for Commerroone [Gombroon], wch the English haue A factory at,[9] & Receive halfe Custome of it for theire good Service in helping ye Pertian to take ye famous Ormous, Once

[6] Mr. Donald Ferguson suggests the following reading of this passage:— "The Captain put down his box and said, '*Paro esta*' ['I wager this — *caixa* = box]. '*Atido*' ['Done!'], said the fidalgo."

[7] *i. e.*, ambs-ace, double ace, the lowest possible throw at dice.

[8] *i. e.*, a Paulinist, the local name for the Jesuits. John Campbell seems to be alluding to the shrine of S. Francis Xavier, whose body was removed to Goa in 1554. According to his wont, Campbell alters dates to suit his purpose so that he may appear to have personally witnessed the events he describes. The right arm of the Saint was sent to the Pope in 1614. See *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval* (Hakluyt ed.), Vol. VI. p. 61, f. n.

[9] The English factory at Gombroon was established after the taking of Ormuz, in 1622. In a letter to the Court from Surat, dated 2nd Nov. 1638 (*Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2) the Council remark that they have a "Right to the Gulph of Persia and port of Gombroon, by a firme League and Covenant made and Concluded att the Expulseinge the Portugall, which cost our nation both men and money to purchase."

soe ominent in ye portugalls tyme, from whome It was taken by ye Pertian,[10] That its said of it, If ye world weere a Kinge, Ormous was ye Dymond in it.[11] But now in the Dust, And Bossara [Basra],[12] wch is 15 days Jurney from Commoronne, ye great port.

Wee had not beene at Commoroon 2 days, but advice caime Capt. Hill was arrived at Due, haueinge soe good a voyage by my means. Mr Gayrey,[13] ye Marcht, not knoweinge me, writt to Mr fflowers[14] that if such an English man caime, discribinge me, wheere he had Cognizance or interest yt he would serve me, though, Sd he, meaninge me, he did me a discortesy once, yet hath he now served me beyond my Expectation & made me trebble mends [amends].

The discortsey I did him was in Conveyinge Sr Humphry Cooke out of India,[15] for Mr Garey would [have] sent him to ye Company because he traded in India in ye Companys goods.

My Lord Cooke[16] his father being sent by ye King of England to be Gouerner of Bumbay, a Towne Given by ye Portugalls as part of ye Dowrey of or Royall Queene Katheran,[17] lyeinge 24 howers Saile from Surrat & is an Isleland and the best port in India The Christians haue.

My Ld was sent wth 600 English Soldiers, & ye vice Roy of Portugall had order to deliver it to ye sd Ld Cooke, but tooke snuff [offence] yt he was not treated or respected aboard ye Engl vessell as he expected, set them a shore in a part of ye Isleland wheere they had noe fresh water & would not dd [deliver] the Towne Bumbay till most of ye sd 600 soldiers wee[re] kild wth a flux by drinking brackish water.[18]

Mr John[19] Flowers facter for ye India Company at Spahawne [Ispahan] & Commaroon, My Kinsman, I left him att Commaroon & went for Spawhowne & by Mr fflowers order had ye vse of ye Companys howse theire for my entertainmt.

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[10] Ormuz was taken by Shāh 'Abbās, with the help of the English, in 1622.

[11] Thomas Herbert gives the proverb in this form :—

"If all the world were made into a ring,
Ormus the gem and grace thereof should bring." — *Some Years Travels*, ed. 1638, p. 105.

[12] The Company established an agency at Basra, in 1640.

[13] Henry Gary was Acting Deputy Governor at Bombay in 1667, and assumed the title of Governor after the death of Sir Gervase Lucas, in 1668. He was never confirmed in the office, and was censured by the Court for his arrogance in 1671.

[14] Stephen Flower, with whom Campbell claimed kinship, was a factor in the E. I. Co.'s Service. He was "second" at Gombroon in 1663 and "Chief" from 1665 to 1669.

[15] I can find no foundation for this story.

[16] Sir Humphry Cooke was Governor of Bombay for the King, from April 1665 to the end of 1666, during which time there was constant friction between him and Sir George Oxinden, the Company's representative at Surat.

[17] In 1661 Bombay was ceded to the British Crown as part of the dowry of Katherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. It was transferred to the E. I. Co. in 1668.

[18] This statement is incorrect.

[19] Stephen Flower was the Company's servant at Ispahan and Gombroon. It is strange that if Campbell really were his kinsman, that he should mistake his Christian name. A paragraph in a letter from Flower to Surat, dated Gombroon, 21st January 1669, shows Campbell in a very different position from what he leads us to infer, at this time :— "On a Junke yt (in Company eight more from Scinda) lately arrived att Congo laden with goods, etc. provitions, came passenger one Mr John Cambell who had served ye King of India as a Gunner seven or eight yeares and having obteined licence to depart for his Country (to wch his freinds had often sollicited him) his resolutions was to travell overland for England, (wth wt moneys etc. hee had gained in ye time of his service to ye vallue of 7 or 8000 rups.) towards wch hee was advanced as farr as Scynda, when in Company of about 40 persons more in ye Caphila, they were unfortunately mett wth by ye who robbed them all of their money and goods stripped him to his shirt and hardly escaped with his life, in wch miserable condition at his arrivall Scynda finding noe remedy, hee chose rather to proceed on his Intended Journey though with nothing than returne againe to the service of his old Master, and about six dayes since repaired hither for my assistance, upon ye relation of which sad story, I have taken his present condition into consideration, and furnish'd him with wt necessary to carry him to England, where God sending him safely to arrive, I have hope of receiving from himselfe or friends satisfaction, in two or three days more he departs in Compa : a Portugall Padre to Busara where I shall Commend him to ye fathers courtesy there for his safe proceeding to Alleppo, and there noe doubt but ye consull to whom I shall alsoe write will befriend him in what further needfull, It would bee a shame not to commiserate and assist in such cases as this our owne country m... from whose misfortune God defend us." — *Factory Records, Surat,* Vol. 105.

But from Commoroon I tooke in the way to Spawhawne [? Lar] wch is 70 Leagues from Commeroon, haueing a note from Mr Jno ffiowers & ye Commendore of ye Dutch, we English haueinge noe howse theire but the Dutch had, yt I might haue entetainmt theire; 3 days I lodged theire wch was in the tyme of Gouerners fast, soe could not speake wth him. But at night, After I had spooke wth him, that night caime a letter from Mr ffiower to me,[20] Telling me of Monsier Demingoes invitation of all ye English, ffrench & Dutch, wth sarvants, to a ffeast he had made, being ye ffrench Agent at Commoroon.

The french Agent at Dinner Dranke to ye Dutch Commendore; ye Dutch Commendore had noe sooner pledged, but sd to Monseiur. Demingo, I am poysoned. Sr, Sd Monsier Demingo, theirs noe poyson in my howse, & tooke vp the same Glass & drank of it. He had noe sooner dranke but he fell alsoe to vomitt, & Sd, I think its poyson indeede. This broke vp ye Mirth, they both sick. Thanks be to god, noe other tasted of it, But had it beene given when we had after Dinner begun to drinke as vsuall, all ye Company had beene lost.[21]

We Exammoned ye Attendants & found it to be Contrived by ye great Banion [Banyan] who ought [owed] ye Company of ye Dutch 30000 Tomaine [*tomān*], every tomaine 30 Ropees, wch is Engl money 3l. 7s. 6d. And Thretinge ye Boy who fild ye wyne, He Confest ye Bannyon, did hyer him for 20 Tomaine, & gaue him the poyson to poyson his Maister & all the Company. This boy or slaue went away psently wth ye Banyan & his sonn. They herd they went towards Larr. Mr ffiower writt to me at Larr & desired me for his honors sake to lay hold on them, for we haue laid hold of all ye rest heere, telling me ye Cause as aboue. They comeing to Larr, herd of a strainger there, tooke me for a Dutchman Soe tooke ye Gouerners howse Vockeele [*vakīl*][22] I had my spies abrode, wch told me they had given & pmist [the] Vockeell money & pmist to turne Moores [Muhammadans]. On wch I tooke horsse & went to ye Gouerner howse, A mile from my Lodgeinge. When I caime, I sent word into ye Gouerner I desired to speak wth him. He gaue me leave to com in to him; his naime is Augugee [Aghājī].

When I caime in & wth my armes, not vsuall for a Strange[r] to doe in yt Contrey, One of his men tooke my Armes, y Gour bidinge me sitt downe. I showed my letter. Sd he, I cannot vnderstand it. I told him my grevance. Is theire, sd he, such persons heere. I told him, yes, in [the] Vockeels howse. He sent for [the] Vockeel & the 3 persons wth a gard to bring them Before he questioned them, he sd, poyntinge to me, Doe yu know this man. They said noe. But theire songe was they would be made Moores. The Gour askt theire reason, saying, we never knew a Gentue or Banyan turne Moore, but for some great falt. The Casa [*qāzī*] being by, Sd, can yu deny to make a heathen a trew Beleiver. I, heareing this, sd to ye Gouerner, shoohma me danney che gusta [*shumā mī dānī chah guftā*], doe yu know what yu say. Sd he, be'ne'she'en [*bā nishīn*], sit downe, be not soe force. I sd these are ye men, & I charged him wth Shaw Sollyman

[20] From Flower's own account, given in the next note, the 'feast' seems to have taken place at Gombroon and not at Ispahan.

[21] In a letter to Surat, dated at Gombroon, 10th April 1669, Stephen Flower gives the following account of the poisoning affair:—"The heats being entred many begin daily to fall sicke of feavours & others dead, among whom ye Kings Vizeere Sonne to his Exceeding greife, but 3 dayes since & it were well if this were the onely hazard yt. poore Europeans are subject to in these parts, where many come to untimely ends by poison, both of English & Dutch, by theire owne Servants and ye brokers as too apparent appeares and hath bin proved by a late accident and Example of that nature, hapned in ye house of Deputy Marriage, where himselfe and ye Commadore by drinking and tasting a cupp of beare had allmost lost their lives as might the rest of ye Company (among whom I was present) had itt not pleased God by a timely discovery to prevent soe greate an evill, for wch and all his mercies and deliverance this or at any other time I hope I shall remaine truely thankfull, for a particular relation and more satisfactory accot. of this sad story I desire you will be referred to the verball repetition of Sr. Nicolo Vidall and others." — *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105.

[22] *i. e.*, took refuge in the *vakīl's* house.

de Roy [Shāh Salaimān's *duhāt*].[23] When he herd yᵉ word, he rose vp & made 3 Sallams towards his kinge. I told him, these are yᵉ men haue, or would [have] beene yᵉ death of 25 Marchᵗˢ besides theire Sarvants; yᵘ haue them in yoʳ Custody; looke to them; I am goeing for Spawhawne. Sᵈ yᵒ Gouerner, two of these men looke like grᵗ men. Pray, sᵈ I, question them, He then questioned them & said, tell me trewth, Ile make yᵘ Moores, & then yᵘ are fre from all harme. He found they weere gilty of wᵗᵗ I accused them of, And Committed them to a Roome; See I left them. The Gouerner att p̄tinge [parting] Sᵈ, yᵉ Engl, Dutch & french are oʳ good freinds, Shall we loose 3 places for 3 men, in wᶜʰ are Thewsands.

Next morning he sent for me betimes & askt me wheere I was bound. I sᵈ for spawhaun. He askt what service I would command him. I told him noe service, but desired Good iustice. He is Gouerner of Conge, Commoroon & Larr. While I was thus talking, caime in 3 wᵗʰ chaines & Locks on theire hands. Said yᵒ Gouʳ, how like you this; I Sᵈ well, & yᵗ yᵉ Engl Dutch fr & portugalls would Commend his good iustice.

Sᵈ yᵉ Gouʳ, I haue don this on yoʳ word & caused a letter to be written & I to set my hand to it & my seale alsoe, yᵗ if I had abused them wᵗʰout cause, the ffranks must give accᵗ of it, and that before I left Spawhawne.

Next morning they weere sent away wᵗʰ 20 horse as a gard to Com̄roon, wᵗʰ a post before, wᶜʰ would goe yᵗ in 3 days (I was 7 in comeinge), & demanded of me to stay till answer was returned. The 5ᵗʰ day after came answer from yᶜ Gouʳ [of] Com̄roon that they had hanged the Commendores slaue, And 2000 Tomaine was gathered by yᵉ Banyans, 1000 for yᶜ Gouerner of Com̄roon, yᶜ other 1000 for yᵉ Gouerner at Larr & 80000 for to be devided amonge yᶜ Marchants [who] weere theire, ffranks, To saue the Banyans lives; & never anie Banyan to Broak or serve in business to yᵉ Christians On that Coast, wᶜʰ is 100ᵈˢ of thowsands to theire losse, for they did all business for yᶜ factories.

From Larr I tooke my Jurney for Serash [Shīrāz], 140 Leagues from Larr. First I came to yᵉ padreys theire. Next day caime yᵒ English Broker to me & told me It was not fit I should be here & Carried me to yᵒ English howse.

The Gouerner of Serash being a great Caune [Khān], yᵗ is Lord, & for some reason then not knowne, forsake his meanes And betook him to a Mountaine privat, & for 2 mo had a day noe more then yᵒ quantity of a penny white loafe. His desire after som̄e tyme theire was to know how all did wᵗʰ his fammily. A spirritt appearinge to him told him he could not goe to see his family wᵗʰout he would doe one of yᵉ 3 thing when he caime theire he would p̄pound to him, vizᵗ lie wᵗʰ his Mother And Daughter or be Drunke. He answerred yᶜ last he would Doe. He went to his howse & great p̄vitions was made, And being Over come wᵗʰ drinke he lay wᵗʰ Mother & wᵗʰ Doughter. Nex morning, Remembering what he had don, tooke his Doughter, it being in the tyme of yᵉ raines, and Threw hir into a great Tanke. She was taken vp by others & knowne to be such a Lᵈˢ doughter. The Lᵈ, after he had throwne in his doughter, went to yᵉ Justices & told him what had past, & yᵗ he iudged himselfe not worthy to live.

The iustice & Governer past it by, but sent for the Mother & Doughter & askt if it was as the Lᵈ had told. They both denie it. In caime yᶜ Men yᵗ took vp yᶜ Doughter out of yᶜ tanke, & herd what they Sᵈ & Quest̄ how she caime theire; yᶜ Lᵈ hir father made answer I carried hir theire. Sᵈ yᶜ Doughter, father now I must speake, begg yoʳ p̄don, I confess yoᵘ forst me to it. A counsell was held & yᶜ Lᵈ was put in Irons. His Brothers sonn, then Gouerner, Sᵈ, my vnkle since he left yᵉ Gouermᵗ hath drank bangg & post,[24] wᶜʰ makes him talk Idley.

(*To be continued.*)

[23] Fryer gives the same spelling 'Deroy, an interdict.' It is an appeal to the King for justice.

[24] *Bhang* and *post*, a preparation of opium.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SIALKOT.

(Continued from p. 83.)

Dânâ pakkî bahut karê, vâgân tôn pharkê,
Aggê dhar lêâunâ, nâl lêâô pharkê
Ethê pakar lêâunâ vêkhôgê na kharkê.
Unhân ghôrê laê bhajâ Atâwâ langhê;
Kitê kam Khudâ dê phir hôngê changê.
Sôhnê rang ôh nê jihrê Maulâ rangê.
Pêyâ âyâ gaj dâ kikar lâmbê laggê,
Ôh varê Nishaurê ânkê, milê ôhnân Jâmu nâî,
Jitnâ hâl hawâl sî sab âkh sunâî.
Pîr pahilê pahr bâl jê phir jawân hô jâê,
Digar nâlr 'âîj hai buḍḍhrâ sadâê.
Dihârê langhê êk, trai umar kanḍâê.
Kûnâ nâlr halîm dê kôî barî dânâî.
Apnê âp sambhâṭ'ô, main kahndâ jê nâî.
Ik sipâhî partkê, jâ arz sunâî
Asîn tân têrê gulâm hân, Dânâ pêyâ kôhâê,
Chillê charhiyâ tîr hai pasittâ na jâî
Aggê bhârê'n na pôhê, hôlâhmbê jâî.
Chêlê siftân jôriân parh nâm sunâîn.
Pîr sipâhiân nûn puchhdâ ; Dânâ kî farmâî.

A hundred horsemen marched—they rode in force,
And Dânâ gave them orders strict to seize
And chain him; thus to bring him quickly, nor
Take time to look again towards him, but
To hasten back. They spurred their horses—passed
Atâwâ, all the Lord's great works are good.
Those lines above are beautiful that he
Has painted — Lo a thunderstorm is here.
How will it pass? They to Naushera came.
And first a barber Jâmu met them. Straight
He told them all about the priest, the man
Who had been boy till just that morning, since
The boy had in a trice grown man, assumed
The form of age in the afternoon, and so
Was called old man — all in a single day
He reached the third stage — youth and middle age
He passed, and entered white old age. To talk
With calmness is the property of age
And wisdom: therefore said he calmly, 'Sirs,
Beware of harm. I do not seek to vex
Or injure you.' A soldier then approached
And said, 'Your servants we—Judge Dana calls
You. Fixed upon the bow the arrow lies:
It cannot miss you. If it does, 'tis ours
To throw again, to make it sure.' Disciple I
Have made this song. Repeat it. Asked the priest,
'What wants your judge with me? I have not bought

Na kuchh ôhdâ chukiyâ na churâ lêâê,
Na us zâmin hôkê sânnû dânê dalâê.
Tuhânnû sârî khabar hai tussîn uthôn âê
Rang sipâhî dâ uḍḍ'â, kuchh chârâ na challê.
Jichar kû vasdî ghar vich hôwaṅ tharthallê
Ik din na lagdî khâvand dî gallê
Gal thôn pakarkê kaḍḍhâ na kuchh banhdî pallê.
Uḍiâ rang sipâhî dâ, kuchh chârâ na challê,
Ihô vas sipâhî dâ (pîr jî !) kuchh mân nahî pallê.
Bâlê pîr dil vich dalîl guzârî
Pîr paikambar chal gayê â gayî sâḍḍî vârî.
Dhainsar hâṭê chal gayâ tarlôkê dê vâtî

His property; I have not stolen his goods;
He gave for me no pledge that I might have
Sufficiency of corn. What reason is
That ye have come from him?' The soldier's face
Grew pale; he nerveless grew, just like a shrew
That while she stays makes neighbours tremble, but
A day comes when rebellious she denies
To do her husband's will, and he grows fierce,
Rough seizes her, and casts her out disgraced.
So stood the soldier, (Praise the priest), abashed;

Mûsâ naṭhâ maut thîṅ chârê kûṭâṅ bhâḷîṅ
Ôṛak qabrê jâ pêyâ khâ gird pôhâḷî
Aidê aidê chal gayê maut kisî nahîṅ ṭâḷî.
Bâlê pîr dil vich phir pâî jallî
Akbar hâṭê chal gayâ, chhaḍ gayê nê Dillî
Eḍi jad paikambarâṅ jinhâṅ dhartî mallî

Rann pichhê laṛ môê nê, kôî mat na challî.
Bâlê pîr dî suṅî gayî dargâh-i-faryâd,
Likh chiṭhṭhî Rabb ghalliyâ phir kîtâ yâd.
Baiṭhâ tû kyûṅ Bâlêâ, phir hô nârâz,
Jô têrê khâss murîd nê vich bihishtâṅ vâs,
Phir chhattrê khâṅ nûṅ milaṅgê khâṅgê nâḷ mizâkh
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ kar ijij niyâz.

Jê Chûhṛêâṅ vichôṅ nikaḷkê baṅ musalli bahindê.
Bêîmâṅ muft dê dujjâ dôzakh jandê,
Pichhôṅ pachhôtânge jadôṅ agyê na jândê,
Chêlâ âkhê Musallîô, kyûṅ dôzakh nûṅ jândê.

Kôḷ Pîr dê bâlikâ Multânî Shâh dêyê huṅkârâ
Shâh Bâlê dâ bâlikâ laggê bahut piyârâ,
Aṭhâṅ kôhâṅ vich shahr hai kull sabbhô sârâ
Jhaṇḍâ taḷî tê dhar lawâṅ, na laggê bhârâ.
Pâṇî vaggê Râvî dâ, Pîr jî, kôî bêshumârâ
Har Râvî vich ôṛh sâṅ, ruṛh jâê sârâ
Vichhê Dânâ rûṛh jâê sharâ puchhaṅwâlâ.

Chêlêâ siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ kar aql niyârâ.

All shamed and helpless, of authority
Divested. Bâlâ priest thus thought in heart
'Both priests and prophets, all have run their race ;
Mine may be ended. Men like Dhainsar died,
And those that ruled three realms are gone. One ran
From death, even Moses — sought he hard to hide
From death in all the quarters of the earth,
But no, he fell at last in weariness
Into a grave. Such men have died and failed
To conquer death.' Then Bâlâ thought of God.
Great kings like Akbar died and left their state
And Dilli all behind. A great prophetic host
Have graves that fill the world. They fought once here,
Espoused a woman's cause, but perished ; all
Their plans were frustrated, but God did hear
Our Bâlâ's prayer. The Lord a letter wrote
To him. He summoned him, and thus he said,
'Why sitst thou there, O Bâlâ, why shouldst thou
Be so disconsolate and sad ? Be sure
Thy followers will enter heaven : for food
They shall have rams, yes, more than need demands.
They shall be fed to all satiety.'
'Twas his disciple made this song with all
Humility. Some traitors are that false
Desert the Chuhṛas, and become great knaves,
Musallis. Vainly thus they go, for nought
It boots, and then, besides, to hell they go.
Grieved will they be some day when from God's face
They are excluded. 'Why, Musallîs, why
Go straight to hell ?' the true disciple asks.
Multânî Shâh, disciple, stood beside,
A follower true of Bâlâ, much beloved,
Who said, 'The length and breadth of this good town
Is eight full miles — I will take up the flag.
It is not great beyond my strength to raise,
And then the Râvî will o'erflow its banks
And flood the town and judge. In it I'll drown
The town, and Dânâ, too, will perish with
The rest, because he dared insult our law.'

Pîr kêhâ Multânî Shâh, Phir Rabb thîṅ ḍarîyê,
Sai manâṅ dê jôr nâṅ ik sa'at jaṛîyê,
Rabb pâê nê muâmalê sir uttê dhariyê
Shahr rassê ammî jammî chal gallâṅ karîyê.
Bâlê pîr nahâkê pôshâk hai pâî
Bôk band amarî bâdalâ narma safêdî.
Zarî dôshâlâ pahiṅkê pag sôhṇî baddhî.
Bâhar âyâ pîr ji, lôg dêkhaṅ sêiji
Bâlê pîr chaṛhn nû ghôṛâ mangâyâ.
Uttê ghattîâṅ urdkâṅ zîn dôshâlê pôwâê,
Muṅh kanḍiyâḷê dêkê hath râgiṅ pâê.
Chaṛhê rikâbî lat dê, hath hanné pâê.
Chaṛhtal Bâlê pîr dî phir lìkhî na jâê.
Hundî sâriṅ akh na, sûraj lachkâê.
Jôṅ rât dêvâllî Hindûâṅ charâg jagâê.
Chêlê sûrat diṭṭhîâ, tâṅ sifat banâê.
Bâlâ pîr chaṛh pêyâ, jhagṛê tê ṭuriyâ.
Budhwâr dâ rôz sî mâh Bhâdrôṅ, chaṛhiyâ,
Dhuppê ṭurdê ôh vê jinhâṅ aukhiâṅ baṇiyâṅ

Ôhnûṅ sâyâ baddal hô gayâ phir pâṇî diâṅ kaṇîâṅ
Ṭhaṇḍê jhôlê vâ dê nâḷê sukhmaṇiâṅ.
Traê pîr dê bâlkê Rôshan Shâh tê Multânî,
Trîjâ Hajrat Kailêâṅwâlâ, Mihrôṅ bhar jawânî.
Chhinwêṅ karôṛ chaṛh sî nâḷ Dâdû Bhâgû giyânî.
Sabbhô hath bannhkê, phir 'arz suṇâî
Asîṅ tê têrî madad hâṅ, Pîr ji, tû kyûṅ nahâṅ jâṇê.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, paṛh nâm dhihâṇê.
Pîr kahê phir Bâlakêô, tusîṅ sabbhô hô munḍê,
Chîr âvê kisî nûṅ kauṇ pâṛâṅ raṇḍê?
Sâḍḍê thâṅ pakaṛkê Dâṇâ kinûṅ mangê?
Rang sôhṇê ôh nê, jihṛâ Mauḷâ rangê.
Paiṇḍâ âhê itnâ jêûṅ khiyâlé langhê,
Kitê kam Khudâ dê jihṛê hôṅgê changê,
Pîr Nishaurêôṅ ṭur pêyâ chaudhrî sî Gujrâṅwâḷê
Uhnûṅ jâkê dassiyâ Shâm barwâḷê,
Ôh pîr kitthê hai jih dê nâḷ baihndâ saîṅ dârê.

With prudent judgment the disciple made
This song. The priest said, 'O Multânî Shâh.
Let us fear God. Even though our strength could lift
A hundred maunds, we must show patience. God
Has sent this grief. Let us bear up like men,
And let the town live prosperously in peace.
We go to talk with Dânâ.' So he bathed,
And dressed himself to suit the interview.
A silken girdle donned he on a coat
Of velvet; vest of white, a silken shawl,
A turban beautiful. Thus from his house
He came. They flocked about him. Then he called
For's horse, caparisoned in gold — rich shawls
Were placed for saddle — bridled was the steed,
And Bâlâ caught the reins. He lightly placed
His foot in stirrup, laid his hand upon
The pommel — but in writing who can show
The grace of Bâlâ Pîr? Eyes could not stand
His glory — even the sun could not endure
To look. 'Twas like (the) Dêvâllî with its light
Of many lamps, which this disciple saw —
He therefore wrote this song. So Bâlâ rode
To this great controversy. Wednesday it was
Of the week, the month of August. They who make
A journey in the sun must needs have care.
A cloud o'ershaded him; small drops of rain
Began to fall, a gentle cool breeze blew
Refreshing. Happy was he; with him were
Multânî, Rôshan Shâh, and Hazrat of
Kailôânwâlâ — doughty wight was he
By grace of God, for ninety-nine crores
Of soldier angels, Dadu Bhagu too,
The bards, did follow him. With folded hands
They made petition to him thus, 'O priest,
We are your helpers, be assured.' This song
A true disciple made. O read and seek
With reverent heart the Name. The priest but said:
'O children mine, all young you are, untried;
If one receive a wound who then shall share
His pain? My capture and not yours
Will please this Dânâ. Only hues that are God made
Are beautiful.' The journey, though 'twas long,
Was quickly made. Whate'er the Lord does must

Uhnûṅ pêi sipâhî shara' dê, lê gayê sirkârê.
Chaudhrî uṭhôṅ uṭhiyâ hath hathâṅ tê mârê.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ paṛh nâm chitârê.

Jitnâ tappâ Sainsâriâṅ diâṅ ghôṛîâṅ sab mangwâîâṅ,
Muṅh kanḍhêâḷîâṅ dêkê uttê kâṭhîâṅ pôvâiâṅ,
Chaṛhê rikâbî lat dê hath vâgâṅ châîyâṅ.
Ghôṛîâṅ jât valâiyatî bhar lêṅ kalâîâṅ.
Aṭâvê dê munḍh jâkê wârhâṅ mîḷ âîyâṅ.
Chaudhrî uttê jâkê muṛ dê duhâîâṅ
Chaudhrî puchchê pîr nû Têrî ki sî salâh,
Âvôṅ tû anpuchchiyâ jâṅâ sâi khwâh ma khwâh.
Assîṅ tâṅ jaṭ gôwâr hâṅ kôî bê nawâ.
Dhâiṅ pândê gunnhê âṭê dâ gâh.
Ihô sâḍḍâ karm hai, pîr jî, dhakkê dâ râh.
Maiṅ tê baddhâ jândâ ṭôṛ Dillî dî râh.
Sipâhî âkhaṅ chôudhrî kyûṅ paindêṅ sauṛâ
Ôthê aiḍḍâ kam nahîṅ kôî lammâ chauṛâ.
Ajôî muṛ âvêgâ, nahîṅ dûr Nishaurâ.
Ôthê maslê dî bât hai kî matlab têrâ?
Pîr âkhê chaudhrî tu kachchî khâ layî
Dânâ khâtê pawêgâ têrâ pinḍ ujâṛî,
Kahnû bhannêṅ lûṅ nûṅ vich dharkê thâḷî,
Allah dâ kam vêkh khâṅ na kar tû kâhḷî.

Chaudhrî âkhê pîr nû varh nâḷê challê,
Panj sai mêrî ghôṛî hai kar pavêgî hallê.
Vârh pichhâṅ nû moṛ sâṅ mêrâ vas na challê.
Tê khâlî jê maiṅ muṛ giyâ kî karâṅgâ pallê

Be good. The priest had left Naushêra when
The headman came from distant Gujrânwâl.
Shân, village watchman, went and told him all.
'Where is,' he cried, 'the priest that used to sit
And talk with you within the rest-house here?'
'The minions of the law have seized him, Sir,
And taken him away to judge him.' Up
The headman sprang and struck one palm in grief
Against the other. The disciple made
This song, and thinks upon the Name. Forthwith
From all the land the Sainsârîs' mares were brought,
And bridled all and saddled, so forth rode
The Sainsârîs, firm grasping with their hands
The reins. The mares were good, of Afghan breed
And swift. So near Atâwâ met the bands.
With threats the headman faced the captors of
The priest, and to the priest, he said, 'Why did
You go and leave us? Say, what were your plans?
And why, if forced to go, you told me not?
All rough and ignorant are we, but fear
We know not, No. We bruize our flour when you
Do knead it, and we knead our rice when you
Do thrash it. This our way. O priest; our law
Is force.' The priest replied, 'A prisoner I
Bound hence for Dilli.' Quoth the soldiers, 'Sir,
Be patient. No great business calls him there;
To-day he will return — it is not far
From your Naushera. Only here we have
A slight dispute about religion. For you
There is no business there.' The priest said, 'Take,
My friend, no foolish step, for Dana will
Become your enemy, and ruin your home.
Why break a lump of salt in earthen plate?
Wait on the Lord, nor e'er impatient be.'
To whom the headman, 'We our band retain.
Five hundred horsemen have I, fighting men,
Without them what can I? And if I go
Without you to my village, what will then

Ik sipâhî daurke muṛ Dânê kôl jâê,
Jitnâ hâl hawâl sî sabh âkh sunâê,
Pîr pahilê pahar bâl hai, muṛ jawân hô jâê.
Ḍigar nâl zaîf hai, buḍḍhâ sadhâê.
Dihârâ langhdâ ik sî traê umar handâe
Nâlê sâyâ baddalâṅ, phir kaṅîâṅ pâîṅ.
Aggê têrî marzî jô izan farmâîṅ.
Shirkôṅ bâj â jâ, ik bhalî hai, bhâî,
Rûh Môhammad yâr dâ Rabb âp baṅâyâ.
Zamin tê âsmân kahndê Rabbe âp baṅâyâ
Na phir sâyâ baddalâṅ? Na kaṅîâṅ paê?
Jâṅ garbebandâ bâlikâ? Baddal châr dikhâi?
Jâṅ léâyâ ilm Bangâlôṅ, pêya umar vaṭâê.
Lôk âhndê auliyâ hai, Dânâ azmâê.
Kârîgar sab shahr dê, Dânê mangwâê,
Shahr dê vich bâôlî othê lê jâê.

Bharîân ohdîân pauṛîâṅ banêrê bhanwâê,
Kêi ambar kâgatâṅ Dânê rangwâê,
Uttê saṭṭê vâṅ dê bhâr kakh na châê,
Rakh qâ'bê nûṅ sâmhṅâ, mirâb baṅâê.
Kandhâṅ labbaṅ pakkîâṅ, pûṅî phirwâê.
Jitnê âshiq Rabb dê Dânâ châ likhwâê.
Hukm Dânê qâzî dâ phir kôi na môṛê,
Masît duâllê hûṅjiyê, iṭṭâṅ tê rôṛê.
Kêi phaṛ kastûrîâṅ Dânê cha rôṛhê.
Jihṛâ langhê kolḍôṅ oh dauṛâ jâê.
Bâlikê âhndê pîr nûṅ, suṅ murshid mêrâ,
Imminâbâd dis pêyâ, huṅ ê âgayâ nêṛê.
Dô ghaṛîâṅ nûṅ machaṅgê sab jhagṛê tê jhêṛê,
Paiṅâ vas mulvâṅêâṅ, hô jâṅ chauphêrê.
Paṛhê hôê Qurân dê, rivâiyatâṅ nê jêhṛê,
Qurân tê kitâbâṅ dê, pîr jî, maslê hain ukhêrê.
Sâḍḍâ lahû-khushk hô gayâ, aḍḍô aḍḍî bêrê.
Sânnû khôl suṅâ khâṅ, ki pallê têrê.
Ikkô sachchâ nâm hai, sahaiṅsî nâîṅ.
Rabb dittâ sî jôr Har Nâshak tâîṅ,
Usê apṅâ âp jupâ lêyâ, nikkê, vaḍḍê tâîṅ,
Ohnûṅ thammâṅ vichôṅ bauṛîâ, Rabb jâtâ tâîṅ.

My people say?' A soldier ran to tell
The tidings of the day to Dânâ, how
That coming this same priest was but a boy,
And, strange, at noon he was full grown, and
then
When evening fell an old old man was he.
And people called him Old Man — just a day
Had seen the changes three. And on the way
A cloud o'ershadowed him, and rain came
down
Refreshing. 'Do your will; you may;
command.
But do not spiteful be. It will not serve.
Muhammad's soul, God's friend, was made by
God
Himself. This heaven and earth proclaim.
But how
Did never cloud o'ershadow him, nor rain
From heaven refresh him?' 'Nay,' said
Dânâ, 'Nay.
A babe is he who's newly born. The clouds,
How could he summon clouds? As for his
form,
He may have learnt in Bengal arts for this.
The people say he is a man of God.
I'll try him.' So he summoned artisans
And led them to a well within the town,
And gave them orders to fill up the steps.
To raze the higher part, and even it
Close with the ground; to dye great spreading
sheets
Of paper, which he laid on the well mouth.
So thin it would not bear a straw's weight.
Then
A paper mosque he made around it, with
Its *mihrâb* towards the Qâba, and its walls
So brick-like painted, and white-washed, with
names
Of God's most faithful written upon it. For
The will of Dânâ must be done, and none
Dared disobey. He caused his men to sweep
The court, remove all dust, and handfuls sweet
Of fresh *kastûrî*[35] throw, that passers by
Might tempted be to enter. To the priest
A follower said, 'O hear us, teacher mine.
In sight is Imminabad, quite near; soon will
Disputes arise. The *mullas* will with zeal
Surround us. The Qorân they know. They
know

[35] Mask.

Traditions also — intricate and deep
Their doctrines are — our blood is dried for fear —
We tremble. Tell us plainly if you have
The gift of superhuman power.' Said he,
'I have the One True Name — which has in the world
A thousand different forms. God gave great power
To great Har Nâshak, him who caused all men
To worship him in place of God. Polâd
Obeyed him not. He bound him fast in chains;
From red hot pillars God released him. God
Was then believed in, and even now He will

Ôhô aukhâ vêlâ assâṅ tê, Rabb baurê sahaj subhâîṅ,
In this great trouble aid us in His own
Good time.' Then the disciple, 'Bâlâ priest

Bâlikê âṅhdê pîr nûṅ, tû Bâlâ pîr sadâṅdâ,
Art thou. Thou goest to the house of God

Aṭṭhîṅ pahrîṅ rôz tû dargâhê jâṅdâ,
Once every third hour of the day. One God

Kalma paṛhêṅ Ôh Ik dâ, kam karêṅ kamâṅdâ.
Alone thou worshippest and wonders dost.

Gallâṅ karêṅ Janâb nâl, sânnû azmâṅdâ?
The Most High is thy friend: thou triest us
To prove us true.

Lôî bhagat Kabîr dê ghar sâdhû âê,
Once on a time the Sâdhs
To Lôî came, the wife of Saint Kabîr.

Ghar ann na sujjê paṇîâṅ, bhukhê trihâê,
She had no food or water in the house
And they were hungry, thirsty all, so she

Lôî nê dêh gahṅê ghatkê chha sâdh rajâê,
To feed them sold herself, and then at last,

Ôṛak qarza dêûṅâ, baṇiyê kôl jâê,
As debtors must, she went to pay, and he,

Aggê baiṭhâ bâṇîyâ phullâṅ chhêj vichhâê.
The Bâniyâ creditor already had
With flowers prepared his bed, but Lôî quick

Lôî ḍhil na rakhiyâ chaṛh chhêjê jâê.
Ascending straight the couch, God heard her prayer,

Ihḍî kâhlî Rabb nê shitâbî jâê.

Sainat kar gayâ Dhauḷ nûṅ, dhartî hilâê.
And made a sign to Dhaul to shake the earth.

Baṇiyê dê man vassiyâ muṅh mammâ pâê.
He touched the Bâniyâ's heart, who like a child
Began to suck her breasts.

Tê Lôî vâṅgaṅ baurê Rabb ḍhil na lâê,
As God helped her,
He will not then delay to succour me.'

Imminâbâd shahr dê dis pêyê munârê,
The towers of Imminâbâd were now in sight,

Âê lôk hamâkê ziyârat dê mârê,
The people came in crowds to see the priest.

Bhannîâṅ jâṅ kôvârîâṅ var maṅgaṅhârê
The maids to get good husbands made request,

Var dêô pîrâ bandê laggaṅ bahut piyârê.
'O priest, a blessing seek we — husbands good
Whom we may love.'

Pîr murâdâṅ dittîâṅ har arz natârê.
He granted their requests
As they preferred them one by one.

Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, paṛh nâm chitârê.
These songs
Of praise the true disciple made; he reads,
And still he glorifies the Name.

Jitnê qâzî mu'tbar Dânê lêyê sadâê,
Resume
We Dânâ's story. Priests and lawyers all

Sabbhô jâkê bah gayê masît dê duâllê,
Sat round the mosque on rugs and carpets spread

Hêṭh bichhâîyâṅ shutranjîâṅ galîchê nê ḍâlê,

Sâmhṅê hôkê bah gayê pîr dêkhaṅ dê mârê.
All in the open field, a great concourse,

Qâzî kôl masît dê baiṭhê mall maidân,
Desiring they to see the priest. The saint

Matâ pakâyâ qâzîâṅ Shâh Sandalwalî makân.

Tainûn sârî khabar hai, zémîn té ásmân.
Pîrî ihdî vékh dé phir karké dhiyân,
Sandalvâlî pîr dâ jâ karé dîdâr,
Rabb térîân qudratân tu apar apâr,
Ih miyânôn bâhar hai sân charhi talwâr,
Té Dâné dé karm hîné hô gayé karmân dittî sû
hâr.
Qâzî Sandalvâlî nûn lêké, bahn durâddé.
Ki kuchh âyâ vékhké, das aggé sâddé,
Jhuthâ makr pîr dâ ki dîvâ jâgé,
Bann hathiyâr lurîgâ ki aggé bhâgé,
Sandalwalî âkhdâ phir nâl îmân,
Jhuth main nahîn âkhnân, janâ chhad jahân,
Ih khambânwâlâ sap jé, udd charhiyâ âsmân.

Kaun banégâ mândrî, kaun patârî pâû.
Âkhé méré lag jâô, na banô aiyân.
Salâm kar dêô sir o pâ, tû kar dê dân.
Qâzî gussé hô pîyâ, rat mathé ghatté,
Téré jéhé darindé ghallîyé phir chér uchakké,
Tû bî Imminâbâd dé tukré hain chakkhé.
Sach nahîn tû âkhdâ, phir hâl hai zâhir.
Main garîb faqîr jé tukré mang khândâ hân
chân,
Bhâvén kaddh chhad bhâin shahrôn bâhar vâr,
Vâng batéré taraph dêô bun jâl taiyâr,
Maté laggé âûké na jhaggé jute,
Qâzî karn akâhân, pîr nâl oh puthé.
Sharâ tudh nahîn samajhiyâ kyân chhattré
kuthé?
Sharâ uttón sir vardé, pêô puttr nû puchhé.
Murdâr khânwâléân chhattre nahîn parwân.
Harâm âkhé murdâr nûn phir kull jahân.
Shamas Tabrez pîr si phir vich Multân.
Sharâwâlé usdî ultî khall lâhân,
Pîr jô âkhéâ Danéâ, chîzân châr harâm.
Khândéân mar jâiyé, mahrâ ik harâm.

Shâh Sandal they addressed, 'Thou knowest all,
In earth and heaven. Try this man's right to be
A priest by insight spiritual.' He went,
And seeing the priest he cried, 'O Lord how strange
And wonderful Thy works! This is a sword
Outside its scabbard, whetted, ready drawn;
The fate of Dânâ now is sealed; 'tis clear
That fortune is against him.' Leading then
Aside Saint Sandal all the lawyers wise
Interrogated him, 'What hast thou seen?
How can the lamp of falsehood of this priest
Keep on to burn? Say, will he fight or flee?'
But Sandalwâlî said, 'No lie speak I.
As sure as death is sure, he is in truth
A winged serpent. He can fly aloft
And touch the sky. There's none can charm him
And dump him in a basket. My counsel hear,
Be not like children — yield obeisance meet,
And give him gifts.' The Qâzî straight grew wroth.
He said, 'Away with such as you, you thief,
You rogue! For nought you eat your share of food
In Imminâbâd. You lie. You seek to save
This priest from shame.' But Sandalwalî said,
''Tis plain. I am a poor *faqîr*; I beg
My four poor bits of bread from door to door.
Expel me if you will, but know that like
A quail you're fluttering — the net is spread,
And ready for you.' So the Qâzî did
Not dare to meet the priest in argument,
But trifled with him, saying, 'You have no law.
Why did you slaughter sheep? Men give their lives
To uphold the law; a father for it will
Behead his son. And those that eat the dead
Must not kill rams. The dead, as all men know,
Are food unclean. Even Shams Tabrez the priest
In far Multân was hanged and flayed, because
The law abiding willed it.' 'Dânâ,' said the priest,
'Four things unlawful are; poison that kills,

Dujjâ paisâ dhî dâ, trîyâ gussa harâm,
Tê murdâr khâkê mukarnâ chauthâ tû harâm,
Panjwaqt namâz guzârdâ bah andar paṛhdâ,
Talâsh karêṅ Qurân dî kitâbâṅ paṛhdâ
Murdâr akhîṅ nazr jô âwê us wal qadam nahîṅ dhardâ,
Wâz karêṅ Rabb dâ muṅh thîṅ kalma paṛhdâ.
Dânêâ, kalma paṛhnâ mûṅh thôṅ tuddh Rabb nahîṅ yâd,
Murdâr aṭṭhê pahar khâkê lêindâ rahêṅ swâd.
Sîra khâêṅ sâtê dâ vaḍḍâ bhar rikâb,
Murda dabbaṅ tâṅ dêṅṅdêṅ jê lê lênâ askât.
Ih farmûda Rabb dâ murdêâṅ nûṅ kaḍôṅ kadî lagî zakât.
Kêhṛî gallôṅ Dânêâ, murdâr thîṅ hôṅdâ tû pâk?
Ḍânê nû pata lag gayâ murdâr dâ tôlâ lishkâṅdâ.
Chûhrêâṅ dâ pîr hai, kôî baṛâ saiyâṅâ.
Gallâṅ karê Janâb dîâṅ, vêkhô Rabb dâ bhâṅâ.
Paṛhiyâ kisî masît na, na vaid sujâṅâ.
Pîr âkhêâ, Dânêâ, hath Rabb dê bâzî,
Zâtîṅ Rabb nahîṅ rîjhiâ, bhagatâṅ tê râzî.
Aiḍê aiḍê maulavî, kitthê ḳhângâh tusâḍḍî,
Pichhôṅ dassâṅ khôlkê, girâfât tusâḍḍî.

Tarḳhâṅâṅ dê gharôṅ kaḍhkê tussâṅ ih paikambarî sâzî.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ kar himmat bâzî.
Dânê âkhiyâ pîr nûṅ, "Parâṅdûr hô jaîṅ
Gussa baṛâ harâm hai, mat kuchh qahr karâîṅ
Mihṅê dêvêṅ sirê dê, paikambarâṅ nûṅ tarḳhâṅ baṅâêṅ.
Tainûṅ tâṅ chhaḍ sâṅ, patâ lâkê dikhâêṅ
Âdar Hindû lôk sî, nit nâm dhiâwê,
Qasab karê tarḳhâṅ dâ, ṭhâkur nit baṅâwê,
Shahr vich khaṛ vêchdâ, nit rôzî pâwê,
Ohdâ putr Ibrahîm sî, ik din bêchaṅ jâwê.
Ṭângîṅ rassâ ghattkê dhur bâzâr lê jâwê,
Qîmat lêâwê ḍêoḍhî, lâh khaṭ lêâwê
Ihdû aggê paikambarî kôî paṛh suṅâwê.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ paṛh nâm suṅâwê.
Chaudâṅ ṭabaq jâohkê Rabbê âp baṅâê.

A price paid for a daughter when she weds,
An angry outburst, and the use of food
Unlawful. Carrion you eat and straight
Deny, for five times in a day you pray,
You read; you search your old Qorân; you read
Your books, and will not even look towards
A creature dead. You preach; the *kalma* too
You oft repeat, but only from the lips;
Heart of godliness you know not. Carrion
Is sweet to you the whole day long. You love
The taste of food that's given the seventh day past
A burial — a full dish you devour, nay
Interment you forbid unless the fee
Is paid. Is this God's will? Who forced a tax
Upon the dead? Is this not proved to be
To eat the dead? Speak Dânâ.' Dânâ learned
What real carrion is — he saw the priest
Was wise, and in his heart he said, 'He speaks
Of godly things — how wonderful the ways
Of God are. See this man has never learned
In mosque, or been to school to any wise
Philosopher.' 'Dânâ,' the priest said, 'Learn
That he whom God gives victory will win,
He hates our castes, and worship true he loves.
Great teachers ye, but where are seen your shrines.
I tell your errors, those that lived before
Your prophet, made them idols false just like
Your carpenters. That's where your prophetship
Arose.' The true disciple without fear
Composed this song. Said Dana to the priest,
'Begone! Excite me not to sin, for rage
Is sin. You taunt me with the gift of food,
My right to the interment of the dead.
You call the prophets carpenters. You must
Full satisfaction give.' The priest replied,
'Adar, a Hindu, once addressed the Name.
A carpenter was he, his work was sale
Of idols, which he made and hawked about
The streets. His son was Ibrâhîm, who went
One day to sell his idols. He tied a rope
To the idol's leg, which dangled from his arm,

Khwâhish nabi paikambar di muṅh thîṅ farmâê
Ôh dâ rûh rêhâ vich kutab dê, duniyâ tê pichchôṅ âê
Paikambar vaḍḍê tussâṅ thîṅ kôi paṛh suṅâê,
Dânêâ, na zamîn âsmân sî na qalam siyâhî
Âdam paidâ karn di Rabb khwâhish pâî.

Hôyâ hukam firishtêâṅ, miṭṭi aṅvâî.
Aql challî phir Rabb dî unhâṅ gô baṅâî,
Sêhnâ but baṅ gayâ, chihra bandâ nahîṅ.
Aggê pâk Janâb dê, unhâṅ arz suṅâî.
Allah Ta'âla âkhiyâ phir apnî zabânî
Pâṇî vallôṅ vêkhô khâṅ kar shishṭ nishânî.
Pâṇî firishtêâṅ ḍiṭṭhiyâ Bâlâ pîr dî pêshânî
Râzî firishtê hô gayê, kam hôê asânî.
Chûhṛâ aggôṅ milaṅ dî ih pakkî nishânî.
Paikambar vaḍḍâ pêyâ âkhnâ êṅ, phir apnî zabânî.
Nindiyâ karêṅ paikambarâṅ haiṅ ummat nishânî,
Jinhâṅ dittê aggê Rabb dê putr qurbânî.
Kar kuṭhê qiblê; sâmhnê kaḍh kard miyânin.
Allah dumbâ bhêjiyâ kîti mihrbânî."
Pîr jî âkhê, "Dânêâ, hai baṛâ îmânwâḷâ.
Jâṅ tâṅ masla âkhnâêṅ, vich rakhêṅ âlâ
Trakkaṛ dharkê tôḷiyâ Rabb nê sidq paikambarî dâ sârâ,
Paikambar akhîṅ badhîâṅ, putr lagô sû piyârâ.
Kâhdâ rah gayâ Rabb dâ oh bhagat piyâra?
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ kar 'aql niyârâ.

Bâlâ nûrî pîr sî Lal Bêg dê autâr.
Rahndâ taraf Kashmîr di kôî vich ujâṛ.

As to the market place he carried it.
The price rose twofold and the boy made more
Of profit than his father. Tell me now
Was ever greater saint than Ibrâhîm?'
The true disciple has compiled this song
To praise the Name. The fourteen spheres God made,
One half the earth, one half the heavens. He made
Them all in wisdom — so the prophet wished
God said and it was done. The prophet's soul
Was then in Polar star so high. It came
To the world. A greater prophet let us name
Than yours. O Dânâ, neither earth nor heaven
Existed then — nor pen nor ink was there
When God made Adam. Angels at his word
Brought earth, and fashioned it: the face they could
Not make. Therefore to God himself they went
With a petition. Then the Most High God
Spake thus himself, 'Look into water pure
And steady look.' They saw great Bala's face.
With joy the work was all completed. This
Is why, when anything that's great must needs
Be done, a Chuhṛa's face is omen good.
You call your prophet great, but only great
Because you say it. Said Dânâ, 'You speak ill
About the prophets who have children still
Among us. Gave they not their sons to God
In sacrifice? Unsheathing knives they gave
Their sons to God with faces Mecca-wards,
But God in mercy sent a ram instead.'
The priest said, 'Dânâ, good and faithful, you
In such discussion keep a window in
The wall. You err. God has with perfect scales
Weighed prophets' faithfulness; a bandage
On his eyes did Ibrâhîm the prophet place,
Because his son was dear to him. Was this
Done like God's lover true? Ah, no.' 'Twixt right
And wrong the true disciple makes, with care,
A difference. He sings God's praises. Priest
Of light was Bâlâ, who became Lâl Beg
Incarnate. Lived he in Kashmir, among

Dôvê usdê bâl sân, rahin mâtâ nâḷ,
Nau dânû panj dêvtê Rabb lai layê nâḷ.
Matthê ṭikkê lâkê vês unhân dhâḷê,
Jinêu mâlân pahinkê dhôtî parnâ laê,
Ḍêrê Bâlê pîr dê, jâ karn sawâl.
Tu Bâlâ pîr bhagat hai, sâḍḍâ vart ûpâr
Jô ghar dî jâêdât sî, pîr sabbhô lai vaggê.
Shahr varê jâkê rakhê bânîyê dê aggê.
Vêchî nâḷ lifâde hath dâṅô laggê,
Pîr partiyâ kahḷ nâḷ, ghar jag suraggê.
Bâlê nurî pîr nê chhe chakkî chuhâi
Pîr âhndâ kâfḷi nû mêrê sâdh rajâiṅ
Lôh Mâî mâtâ dhar ditti, parsâd pakâi.
Ann pakkâ par ḍhêr sî, rahî kamî na kâi
Aô rasôî jiêuṅ lô, mêrê Ṭhâkur sâiṅ.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ, paṛh nâm suṅâiṅ
Sâdh khâṅ nûṅ â gayê karkê Rabb di âs,
Rôṭî khâṅâ vekhkê nâḷ rîddhâ nahîṅ mâs.

Assâṅ tê Bâlâ pîr samajhêâ sâhî kôî Rabb dâ dâs.
(Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛdâ hô bê visrâs)
Assâṅ tê suṅiyâ sâêṅ bhagat tû kôî Rabb dâ bhâṛâ.
Airêṅ vaḷ bahâôî kî kîtôî kârâ.
Huṅ tâṅ jâkê mangdê, kôî râj dirârâ
Mâs pakâkê khuâ kâṅ, jag kar khâṅ sârâ.
Sâdh challê ruskê kauṅ manâuṅhârâ.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ kar 'aql niyârâ.
Bâlâ nûri pîr sî manâwaṅ jâiṅ
Miḷiyâ jâkê sadhûâṅ lammê qadam chalâi,
Miḷiyâ jâ ujâṛ vich us arz suṅâi,
Bhukhi duniyâ ḍhêr hai, phir vich lukâi.
Mêrâ kuṅkâ chalêô chhaḍkê kî dil vich âi.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ, paṛh nâm suṅâiṅ
Sâdh aggôṅ partkê phir sukhan suṅâi,
Dô têrê ghar bâl nê chîr dêghê pâiṅ
Jê sat vârî khwâhish hai tâṅ mâr lê jâiṅ.
Jê Rabb piyârâ tudh nûṅ tâṅ bâl khôvâiṅ.
Pîr manâkê sâdhûâṅ muṛ ghar val âyâ,
Bâlak dôvê khêḍdê bâhrôṅ mangwâê.

The ruins there. Two sons he had, Mahin
Their mother lived with them. Nine genii
And angels five God took with Him. They
had
The sacred marks upon their foreheads —
Threads
And rosaries they had, and garments used
By holy men. All in this guise they came
To Bâlmîk's house. They said, 'A priest of
God
Art thou, O Bâlâ, give us food our fast
To break.' The priest took all his house-
hold goods
And sold them in the town to purchase corn
Enough to satisfy them. Home he came,
And set six mills agoing. 'Kafḷi, see,'
Said he, 'the men of God be satisfied.'
Then Mother Mahin cooked their food upon
The fire. Enough there was and more. 'Now
come,'
Said Bâlâ, 'dine, ye men of God, my friends.'
This song the true disciple made — tell forth
The glory of the Name. Those godly men
Sat soon to dine, with hope in God. 'It is
But bread,' they cried, 'There is no flesh,
We thought
That Bâlâ was a servant of the Lord.'
(Without a fear the true disciple sings.)
'We heard thou wert a mighty man of God.
And hast thou entertained us with such food
As this is? What is this that thou hast
done?
At some king's door we might have begged
for alms.
Cook flesh and feed us, make a sacrifice
Complete.' They rose dissatisfied. Who
could
Restrain them? Reason's eyes had then the
true
Disciple when he made this song. A priest
Of light was Bâlâ, therefore ran he quick
To plead with them. He met them in the
wilds
And made request. 'There are a many men
That wander in the world. Why did you not
Taste my poor offering: what thought kept
back
Your favour?' The disciple framed this
song.
They answered him, 'Thou hast two sons at
home,

Pâṇî garm karâkê phir jhôl nuhâê,
Kar kuṭhê Allah sâmhṇê Shâh kard challâê.
Mahin mâtâ kôl rêkhdî, jis gôd khiḍâê,
Naiṇâṇ nîr na phuṭiyâ na gairat khâê,
Bâlak haiṇ Rabb dê, ohdê lêkhê lâê.
Chêlê siftâṇ jôṛiâṇ paṛh nam suṇâê.
Laṛkê chîr chârke dêgâṇ âṇ dharâîâṇ
Lûṇ visâr dôdhiâṇ vich marchâṇ pâîyâṇ
Jâṇ dêgâṇ sâṇ riddhîâṇ châ hêṭhâṇ lâiyâṇ
Aô rasôî jiêuṇ lô, mêrê Thâkur sâîâṇ.
Gurzâṇ sâḍḍiâṇ chuk lê, chal khâîyê chhândâ
Rahdârî dâ thâṇ hai, mat kôi chuk lêjândâ.
Chor hôwê aggâṇ pichhâṇ man pachhôtândâ.
Ghar apṇâ sambhâlîyê kauṇ chôr sadândâ.
Pîr sâḍḍê nû Dânêâ, Rabb âp azmândâ
Chêlê siftâṇ jôṛîâṇ paṛh nâm suṇândâ.
Gurz ik maiṇ pakaṛkê lê chalnâṇ ḍêrê,
Jâṇ maiṇ itthe laiṭhṇâ tuhaḍḍê pâs valêrê,
Kis khôâê Rabb nû puttarâṇ dê bêrê,
Chêlê siftâṇ jôṛiâṇ paṛh nâm radhêre.

Gurzâṇ sâḍḍiâṇ chaudah chuk êk sî vârî,
Chukkê jandê nûṇ rêkhsî phir parjâ sârî,
Jag sapûran hôwêgâ gal hôwêgî niyârî
Sôhbâ têrî hôwêgi khalaq Allah sârî.
Pîr gurzâṇ karkê ikaṭṭhîâṇ karê nazr dhiyân
Maiṇ nûṇ pâîyâṇ nêṇ chukṇîâṇ ih Rabb dâ fârmân.
Ghat bâiṇ bal chukîâṇ chhâtî gayâ trâṇ
Nau dânû panj dêrtê vêkh hôê hairân
Is chukkîâṇ nê chaudâṇ, sânnûṇ ik nahîṇ mâṇ

Them dress and boil if thou in truth dost wish
To take us with thee. Prove thy love to God,
And feed us with thy sons.' The priest consents
And leads them back. The boys were sent for from
Their play: hot water straight was brought; the boys
Were bathed: in sight of God the Shâh himself
Did kill them; Mother Mahin, who had held
Them sporting in her lap, was standing by,
Nor ever shed a tear, nor sorrow felt,
Her sons were God's, His gift. This song
The true disciple made and of the Name
He sings. The boys were cut in pieces, and,
The pans being set on the hearth, they were with salt
And yellow dye, and liquid spices, red
Hot pepper too, well-cooked, and set before
The strangers. 'Come, my friends, ye men of God,
And eat,' said Bâlâ. 'Lift,' said they, 'our clubs
Of iron. We will go to dine. We need
To careful be, for if some one should steal
Them, we should grieve, and some one would be called
A thief.' Give heed, O Dânâ, thus our priest
Was tested by the Lord himself. To sing
The Name the true disciple made this song.
'I can,' said Bâlâ, 'lift an iron club,
And home convey it, or to guard your clubs
I'll sit beside them.' Who has given to God
The flesh of his own sons to eat? This song
The true disciple, thinking of the Name,
Has made. 'We have,' said they, 'clubs fourteen told,
Uplift them all, the world will see thy might,
Thy sacrifice will be complete; thy griefs
Will end. All men will praise thee.' So he made
A bundle of the iron clubs, and said,
'Lift them I must. 'Tis God commands.' He put
His hands about them, then with effort strong

(*To be continued.*)

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE PIPRAHWA VASE.

BY A. BARTH, MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT.

(Translated from the French by G. Tamson, M.A., Ph.D.; Göttingen.)

[THE original article, of which a translation with the author's permission is given here, appeared in the *Journal des Savants* for October, 1906, p. 541 ff. M. Barth, who some eight years ago, almost simultaneously with the late Professor Bühler, first translated the Piprahwa vase inscription, has examined in it the interpretations which were afterwards given of that interesting document by other eminent scholars; and a translation of his paper will be sure to be welcome to all to whom the French Journal is not readily accessible. Those who are interested in the matter must be aware that the discussion on the meaning of the inscription has been carried on by my friend Dr. Fleet, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, p. 105 ff. — F. K.]

THE Academy of Inscriptions was the first to be made acquainted with this short but interesting document.[1] I had the honour of laying it before that body[2] more than eight years ago, when the steatite vase on which it is engraved had just been discovered. The vase was found under a large Stūpa, near the hamlet of Piprahwa, at the north-eastern extremity of the district of Bastī, still in [542] British territory, but only about half a mile from the Nepāl frontier. The following is the text, which I reproduce as I then received it from Dr. Führer through M. Foucher, and as it was accepted till quite recently. I add the translation that Bühler[3] and myself gave of it immediately, almost at the same time and independently of each other :—

yanaṁ

iyaṁ salilanidhane budhasa bhagavate saki sukitibhatinaṁ sabhaginikanaṁ saputadalanaṁ.[4]

"This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha (*is the pious gift*) of the Sākyas, the brothers of Sukīrti (*or* Sukīrti and his brothers[5]), jointly with their sisters, their sons and their wives."

This short inscription, of which more careful fac-similes that came in soon after had left not a single letter doubtful, and the sense of which also seems at first sight sufficiently clear, has since that time continually occupied the specialists and even been brought before a larger public; for, the daily press deigned to be interested in "the tomb of Buddha," and all that has been written on the subject would fill a volume. Yet, as all these controversies presented only solutions that, in my opinion, could not be accepted, and did not bring forward a single new fact, I for my part did not wish to re-open the discussion. But now a new fact has been disclosed, against all expectation. One of the scholars that have rendered the greatest services to Indian epigraphy, Dr. Fleet, has rectified the order in which the inscription should be read; and from the result thus obtained — a result which, in my opinion, strengthens rather than weakens the position taken up by Bühler and myself from the beginning — he has drawn a different interpretation and far-reaching considerations which his great authority, as well as the minute learning and the confident tone with which he has produced them, [543] might cause to be accepted as established facts. I have, therefore, thought it my duty to take up the whole question again and in some detail. I do not, however, intend to

[1] This article reproduces a lecture delivered before the *Académie des Inscriptions* at its meeting of 15th June 1906.

[2] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie*, 1898, pp. 146 and 231.

[3] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1898, p. 387 ff.

[4] The two syllables *yanaṁ* are engraved above the line. Of course, the words are not separated in the original, which forms a single continuous line.

[5] Three interpretations are possible: the two given above and "the Sukīrti brothers." In support of the second one I know of no other example in epigraphy. For the third we have the case of 'the three Vasubandhu brothers,' but it is only given in documents derived from China, in which misunderstandings may always be suspected. Thus, the first one remains, of which also there is no exactly similar instance, but which is supported by the analogous use of the metronymic replacing the name. It is at the same time the most natural one, and, upon the whole, the one I deem preferable. It must be assumed that the donors thought themselves sufficiently indicated by what was probably their common surname. — [Compare now also Prof. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 317, note 1. — F. K.]

draw up the bibliography of it, which would be too great a trial of the reader's patience. Of the numerous opinions expressed I shall examine only the principal ones, those that are the most characteristic and really original.

The first objection — first, if not in order of time, at least by the authority of him who raised it — came from **Professor Rhys Davids.**[6] The word *sukiti*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *sukīrti* and means "glorious, illustrious," instead of being the name of some unknown person, would in his opinion here denote **the Buddha himself,** and the Stūpa of Piprahwa would be the identical one that, according to the ancient account preserved in the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, the Sākyas of Kapilavastu, — here "the brethren of the Illustrious One," that is to say, the men of his clan, — had raised immediately after the Master's death over their share of his ashes. The Stūpa of Piprahwa, which is only about eight miles south-west of Rummindēī, the site of the ancient park of Lumbinī, the birth-place of the Buddha, was certainly, if not at Kapilavastu itself, in close proximity to that ancient city, the exact position of which has still to be determined. On the other hand, Professor Rhys Davids has learnedly demonstrated — and on this point I entirely agree with him — that we must not take too literally the legends that show us king Aśōka breaking open (with the exception of a single one, that of Rāmagrāma, which is not that of Piprahwa) the eight Stūpas among which the relics were said to have originally been divided, and distributing their contents among 84,000 new Stūpas, miraculously constructed by himself in one day at the four corners of his empire. The explanation, therefore, is a very attractive one; it is, at the same time, so natural that it must have presented itself to the minds of all who have dealt with the inscription. And, in fact, Professor Rhys Davids is not the first to whom this idea occurred: from various quarters and immediately after the discovery, it was brought forward in Indian newspapers. Nor have I any doubt that it was considered by Bühler, and at any rate I myself thought of it. If, nevertheless, we both of us set it aside, it may be supposed that we had our reasons for doing so.

Among those reasons I will not reckon the objection raised by Professor Rhys Davids himself, namely, that *sukīrti* is not a current epithet of the Buddha. The fact is that hitherto it has not been noted as such either in Pāli, or in Sanskṛit, or in the Prākṛit of the inscriptions; nor is it found among the 81 appellations collected from the *Mahāvyutpatti*, nor among the 58 in the shorter list published by **[544]** Minayev. But we might readily admit that, after having expressly mentioned the Buddha, the author of the inscription should afterwards have referred to him by a simple laudatory epithet. Nor do I attach any importance to the fact that neither to Fa-hian, nor to Hiuen-tsiang, was any Stūpa shown containing relics of the Buddha, either at Kapilavastu itself or in its neighbourhood. But the two following considerations appear less easy to be set aside.

In the first place there is **the writing,** which is so perfectly identical with that of the inscriptions of Aśōka engraved in the same characters that it seems impossible to separate the two by an interval of more than two centuries. Bühler, who with good reason was ever on the look-out for any facts that might prove an early use of writing in India, simply declared that he considered the inscription to be anterior to Aśōka; but he died, without telling us by how much or why. I suppose that his sole reason was the absence of any notation of the long vowel. But, in addition to the fact that this notation is practised with a certain amount of laxity in the authentic inscriptions of the king[7] — (it is well known that in the other system of writing which reads from right to left it has never been in use) — it is entirely absent from one of the inscriptions of Rāmgaṛh-Hill,[8] which no one has yet desired to date before Aśōka, and it is equally absent from the copper-plate inscription of Sōhgaurā,[9] with one single exception. And it is this very exception that, as it would

[6] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1901, p. 397 ff.

[7] For example in that of Rummindēī. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1897, p. 258.

[8] *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* I. Pl. XV, *Ind. Ant.* II. p. 245. *Cf.* A. Boyer, *Journ. Asiatique*, III. (1904), p. 485, and R. Pischel, *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, May 1906, p. 494.

[9] *Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal*, 1894, p. 84. — [Now see also *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 509 ff. — ED.]

seem, ought to give us a hint as to what was the real state of matters. The simplest explanation clearly is to see in the general absence of the long vowel the result of an intentional simplification, and to regard the exceptional occurrence of it in the plate as a mere slip of the writer or engraver who at the very end and in this one case only reverted to a practice that came familiar to him, not, as Dr. Fleet wishes, as a sign of the still uncertain use of a newly introduced notation. In our inscription, on the other hand, there is no similar inadvertency; here the simplication is a consistent one, and is moreover justified in this kind of graffito, where the characters, slender and somewhat cursive, are traced distinctly but very slightly, as if cut with a knife, but yet without presenting either in detail or in their general aspect any trace of those modifications that usually reveal a difference in time. It is certainly rash to judge of the age of a document [545] from simple palæographic analogies. But when, as is the case here, there is a complete identity, not only as to the component parts, but also as to the style, with memorials of the same origin, hesitation is no longer permissible. It would require an incontrovertible proof to make us separate our inscription from the neighbouring ones of Niglīva and Rummindēī by two centuries or more.

This argument concerns only the age assigned by Professor Rhys Davids to the inscription. The following one touches the very core of his interpretation, namely, **the description of the Sākyas as "brethren of the Buddha."** In Sanskṛit, as well as in Pāli, the word that here occurs in the Prākṛit form of *bhati* properly signifies "brother," and in the present case, where it is immediately followed by the words for "sister, son, wife," there is, *a priori*, every probability that it has been employed, like these, in its proper sense. In certain cases it can also be used, by extension, for a very near relative, such as a cousin. Now we do not know of any "brothers" of the Buddha,[10] and the cousins whom we know he had have nothing to do with the matter in hand. For more distant degrees of relationship we have *jñāti*, *vaṁśya*, *bandhu*, *sagōtra*, and others, but never *bhrātṛi*; at most, this word might be employed in such a sense in direct address, but in that case with a shade of familiarity which would be absolutely out of place here. Even spiritual brotherhood does not admit the use of this term; we find *Buddhaputras*, *Sākyaputras*, "sons of the Buddha, of the Sākya," but the religious language knows of no "brethren of the Buddha." When ascetics meet, they address each other as "venerable one," or with *āyushmat* (equivalent to "may you live long"), never as "brother" and when a monk accosts a nun and calls her *bhagini*, "sister," it is in a very different sense, so as distinctly to mark the purity of their relations. All the more would pious laymen have scrupled to use, in an authentic document, the familiar term of "brother" in connection with Buddha Bhagavat, "the Saint, the Blessed Buddha," the exalted being who in the oldest books of the sect is called "the Master of gods and men." Even for the period contemporaneous with that of the Buddha the supposition appears to me improbable, and I may add at once that it would be still more so if the inscription were of a later date. Professor Rhys Davids asks himself if the sole reason of the sceptics, who feel doubts as to his demonstration, might perhaps be that "it is too good to be true." And, indeed, there is something in this, but there is something else besides.

Professor Pischel has arrived at the same conclusion as Professor Rhys Davids, [546] but by another way.[11] He objects to the word expressing the idea of gift or of pious act being understood, although the case frequently occurs, perhaps in one out of every three similar documents,[12] and even though in the present case the word need not really be understood at all. It is so, in fact, only for us, in consequence of the requirements of our languages; in the original it is sufficiently expressed by *nidhāna*, "receptacle, repository," this *nidhāna*

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10 Tradition ascribes to him a half-brother, Nanda, who became a monk.

11 *Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Beilage*, 7 Jan. 1902; *Zeitschrift der deutschen morg. Gesellschaft*, LVI. (1902), p. 157 f.; *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, July 1903, p. 710, and May 1905, p. 526.

12 A quite similar ellipsis is the rule in inscriptions on coins and seals, where the name of the king or of the owner is simply put in the genitive, without a governing word.

being that of the Buddha whose relics it contains, as well as that of the Sākyas, whose work it is. Professor Pischel, nevertheless, seeks for this superfluous word, and finds it in *sukiti*, which, according to him, stands for the Sanskṛit *sukṛiti*, "pious foundation." No one will deny either the sense of the Sanskrit word or the possibility of the Prākṛit equivalent, although according to the analogies of the Pāli and of the Māgadhī of the inscriptions one would rather have expected *sukati* or *sukaṭi*. But all the same the expression is found nowhere in the numerous inscriptions of that period, which are nearly all deeds of gift or of consecration and in which stylistic formulas abound; so we find in them *dāna*, *dānamukha*, *dēyadhamma*, *dhammadēya*, *dhamma*, but nothing resembling *sukriti*. However, passing by these objections, which certainly make one suspicious, we have the translation: "This receptacle of the relics of the blessed Buddha is the pious foundation of the Sākyas, of the brothers with their sisters, with their children and their wives." In this translation we at once feel the halting character in the original of the construction proposed by Professor Pischel. The genitive *bhatinaṁ* stands in the air. We are not "the Sākya brothers," any more than we are "the French brothers" or "the German brothers;" we are "the brothers of somebody." It is necessary that this genitive, striding not only over *sukiti* but also over *sakiyanaṁ*, should go on to attach itself to *budhasa bhagavate*, where it has not even a grammatical connection, — a kind of verbal gymnastics perhaps admissible in the artificial style of the poets, but one which would be surprising in this language of the inscriptions which, though often elliptical and involved, is always direct. For surely this is how Prof. Pischel takes the matter: these Sākyas are the brothers, that is to say the distant relatives of the Buddha; and as he is accustomed to speak out plainly, he asserts as an established fact that the Stūpa is "the very tomb of the Buddha," and that the inscription, the most ancient hitherto found [547] in India, was engraved immediately, or shortly, after his death, exactly in the year 480 B. C. After what has been stated above, namely, that there is little suitability in this fraternal relationship and that it is practically impossible to date the writing so far back, I hardly need add that Professor Pischel's interpretation appears inadmissible to me.

Professor Sylvain Lévi, too, has turned his attention to this patient, so obstinate in not allowing himself to be cured.[13] Pursuing the course of investigation started by Professor Pischel, he also sets upon the word *sukiti*, but he makes it an adjective corresponding to the Sanskrit *sukritin*, "meritorious, pious," and qualifying "the brothers." From the point of view of the dictionary, nothing could be more legitimate; what is much less so is the joining together, in a compound, of this adjective with *bhatinaṁ*. For, in this language of the oldest inscriptions, an adjective which is simply used as an epithet does not ordinarily compound with the substantive it qualifies, unless the two together constitute a standing expression. These "Sākyas, pious brothers," then, are naturally the brothers of the Buddha, which produces another difficulty to which I need not return again. I shall only remark that Professor Lévi, who points out the "awkwardness" of Professor Pischel's construction, proposes another which also is not very good, for with him, too, *bhatinaṁ* is separated in a most untoward fashion from the word by which it is really or logically governed. Professor Lévi gives us the choice of two interpretations. According to one we should have the relics of the Buddha consecrated by the Sākyas, his pious brothers, together with their families. This, on the whole, is the conclusion of Professor Rhys Davids, with a less easy construction, and I think I have explained why I cannot accept it. In one point, however, a single one, Professor Lévi has improved it: he has clearly seen the difficulty of dating back this writing to the time of the Buddha, and he has not failed to warn us against the robust faith that allowed Professor Pischel to set it aside. He therefore supposes that the inscription merely recalls a more ancient consecration, and that it was probably cut on the occasion of

[13] *Journal des Savants*, 1905, p. 540 ff.

a reconstruction of the Stūpa, such as tradition ascribes to Aśōka, and, who can tell ?, perhaps by order of the king himself. Out of discretion, in which I have little faith, the promoter of the new consecration would have withheld his name. The improvement is a welcome one; but all the other difficulties continue to exist: one of them, the epithet of brothers bestowed on the Sākyas, happens to be even increased, as this qualification was no longer conceivable at a time when the Buddha, in the eyes of his followers, was invested with all his superhuman dignity.

According to the second interpretation, which Professor Lévi prefers, [548] we should no longer have to deal with the relics of the Buddha, but with those of the Sākyas, his pious brothers, who, in the well-known legend, are massacred by Virūḍhaka, together with their wives and little children. The monument, no doubt erected afterwards, as the writing seems clearly to indicate, would perhaps be the Stūpa mentioned by Fa-hian, or one of the numerous Stūpas seen by Hiuen-tsiang on the field of the massacre. The explanation is certainly ingenious; yet I doubt if it will bear examination, on account of the many difficulties it raises. There is, first, the construction, which, this time, is decidedly defective: with the meaning proposed, *sukitibhatinaṁ* would have to come before *sakiyanaṁ* and immediately after *budhasa bhagavate.* Then there is the absence of all mention of the promoter or promoters of the consecration. The researches in the Stūpa have brought to light no trace of it; it ought therefore to be found here. On reliquaries this absence only occurs where the inscription, a very short one, is a mere kind of label.[14] For the moment, at least, I know of no other example of it in a formula so fully developed as this one. And the fact is easily explained. The recording of such names was certainly not a case of mere ostentation, on objects destined to be buried deep underground and never again to see the light of day. When we see how on the reliquary of Bhaṭṭiprōlu, for instance,[15] which presents so striking an analogy with ours, there is a long enumeration of names not only of the promoters of the foundation but of all those who took even the least part in it, — and, I will add, when we see how in our own case also, if the inscription is understood as it ought to be, the brothers of Sukīrti associate in their work their whole house, — we are bound to reflect that there was in this something more than a gratification of vanity, and that a mystic efficacy was attributed to the recording of such names. The invention of the "pious brothers" does not compensate us for this deficiency.

There still remains the erection of the Stūpa in honour of those Śākyas and the consecration of their relics. Professor Lévi calls it a canonisation, and so it would be, but a strange one. These Sākyas of the legend are by no means the innocent victims that Professor Lévi presents to us. On three occasions, we are told, the Buddha averted from them the vengeance that they had brought upon themselves by their arrogance and bad faith; on the fourth time, he calmly allowed their fate to overtake them. In general, and in spite of forced eulogistic amplifications, tradition does not deal tenderly with the Sākyas: it represents them as proud, obstinate, and quarrelsome; it by no means hides the fact that the Buddha had no reason, exactly, [549] to be satisfied with his people, and that, in his case too, the proverb was verified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country. That afterwards people should have been moved to pity by this catastrophe, real or not so, of Kapilavastu, and that Stūpas should have been erected in honour of the victims so as to indicate the traditional locality of the massacre, is most natural. The Chinese pilgrims saw these Stūpas, and the fact that in recent times Dr. Führer took upon himself to invent them anew and to manufacture for each of them a nice epitaph in Pāli, is not a reason for doubting their naïf testimony. But this is a long way from the existence of a worship of relics. For, what we find at Piprahwa is neither a tomb nor a simple commemorative monument; it is a veritable repository of relics. Even without any inscription, the objects discovered there would prove this,[16] namely, some pieces of bone mixed with *maṅgalas*, ornaments in gold, gold beads, pearls, small trinkets and images, &c., all that is usually found in similar cases. And these relics must have been

[14] As on those of Sōnāri; Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 317.

[15] *Archæological Surv. of India, Imp. Series*, XV. For the inscriptions, Bühler, *Wiener Zeitschr.*, VI. p. 148, and *Epigr. Ind.* II. p. 326.

[16] See the Report of Mr. Peppé, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1898, p. 573 ff. *Cf. Archæol. Surv. of India, Imp. Series*, XXVI. 1; Pl. XIII, XXVII, XXVIII.

of the very first order, for the Stūpa is one of large dimensions; even now, washed as it has been for so many centuries by the diluvial rains of that region, it presents a structure of considerable bulk, and excavations to a depth of 28 feet were necessary to reach the sacred repository consisting of steatite vases, two of which were large urns of the finest finish, and of a precious crystal casket of admirable workmanship. That this should have been done for laymen — to the number of 9,990 myriads according to the statement of Hiuen-tsiang — who never passed for saints, who, still for Fa-hian,[17] were only *śrōtaāpannas*, simple candidates for sanctity and such only *in articulo mortis*, appears to me, of all suppositions, the most improbable.

Such was the state of matters when, by a simple remark, Dr. Fleet put things in their proper light.[18] He informed us that, hitherto, we had all of us misread the inscription: that it does not begin with *iyaṁ salilanidhane*. To prove this, he had only to draw our attention to the fact that it must necessarily end with *sakiyanaṁ*, the last two syllables of which are engraved above the line. The inscription is written in a circle round the neck of the vase,[19] and, as the circle was completed before the inscription, the engraver was forced to add the end by placing it above the line. This is clearness itself. That it was not [550] perceived sooner, is owing in the first place to the apparent exactness of the first copies, and next to the fact that the faulty arrangement they gave raised no important difficulties. The copies which Bühler and myself had at first received, indeed, presented the inscription expanded into one or two lines; we did know, it is true, that it was written in a circle, like most epigraphs on reliquaries; but it was not till later that we learned that this circle was quite complete, and then the matter had taken its bent. For my own part, I might even plead an additional lame excuse: in my first copy the text began not with *iyaṁ*, but with the puzzling reading *yaṁ*: the *i* had been taken for a flourish and represented as such in the copy, and in my turn I was naturally bound to see in it one of those symbols often placed at the head of this kind of documents.

However this may be, Dr. Fleet's correction, though late in the day, is none the less certain; and what definitely proves it is that it removes the last anomalies and difficulties that might still have remained in the inscription. We have in fact now the following translation in telegraphic style: —

> "Of the brothers of Sukīrti, with sisters, with sons and wives, — this receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Śākyas."

Here, everything is in order: the string of genitives, which might have given rise to objections in the first arrangement, is distributed in an irreproachable manner: first, the donors or founders; then, the nature and object of the foundation, which is the normal construction; equally normal, as M. Senart reminds us by referring to numerous instances,[20] is the genitive plural at the end, *sakiyanaṁ*, to indicate the tribe or sect; applied to the Buddha, it is a development of expressions like *Śākyamuni*, *Śākyasiṁha*, "the hermit, the lion of the Śākyas." So the first interpretation, which Bühler and myself gave, has been confirmed, with the exception that the promoters of the consecration are no longer described as Śākyas. In their own time they were no doubt great personages: but, as in the case of so many others, we know nothing of them but their name. The detail, however, is not without importance; for it is not very probable that, at the period indicated by the writing, *Śākya* should still have existed as an ethnical designation.

And, at the same time, there is an end of the other interpretations that I have just examined. The one least affected is still that of Professor Rhys Davids; but [551] it, too, is affected, and deeply; for *sukiti*, having again become decidedly a proper name, but now coming at the beginning, and being no longer an epithet used as a reminder, can no longer indicate the Buddha. Still more impossible are Professor Pischel's "pious foundation of the brothers," and Professor Lévi's "pious brothers," who would no longer be connected with anything. Except as a previously adopted

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17 Translation by Legge, p. 67.

18 *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 680 ff.

19 See the reproduction I gave of it, after a copy by the hand of Dr. Führer, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*. 1898, p. 232. In this reproduction the outlines of the letters are accurate, but the strokes are too thick.

20 *Journal Asiatique*, VII (190[illegible]), p. 13[illegible]

conclusion, there can be no longer any question either of "the tomb of Buddha," erected shortly after his death, or of relics of the Sākyas massacred during his life-time. These interpretations fall to the ground so completely that I might even have been dispensed from discussing them, if Dr. Fleet himself had not forced me to do so by his attempt to re-establish them, at least partly, by a new interpretation, in my opinion as untenable as the others. As it would have been necessary, in any case, to combat them, it was as well to do so in the order in which they were brought forward.

Dr. Fleet accepts, in effect, Professor Rhys Davids' now so improbable interpretation of *sukiti* as a designation of the Buddha; from Professor Lévi he takes over the latter's general conclusion that we have to deal with the relics of the victims of the massacre. But then the *sakiyanaṁ* at the end can no longer be an ethnical name, as "the Sākyas of the Buddha" would have no sense in any language. So he makes it an adjective, representing it as from the Sanskrit *svakiya*, "suus, proprius," with the meaning of "relations, kinsmen," which the word really has; and he thus obtains the following translation[21] which I reproduce while preserving as much as possible the order of words of the original :—

> "Of the brethren of the Well-famed One, with (*their*) sisters, with (*their*) children and wives, this deposit of (*their*) relics — of the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One."

I shall not return to the weak points, already sufficiently discussed, which this interpretation has in common with the previous ones; I shall examine only those that are peculiar to it, the construction by which it has been obtained, and the manner in which it disposes of the ethnical *sakiya*.

And first as to the construction. By merely casting a glance at the above literal version, we notice at once that it is a strange one; that the first part of the inscription and the last one, which are in apposition to each other, are awkwardly separated by the medial clause, the mention of the reliquary. Neither in the Indian dialect nor in English is this clause in its place; in English this place would be at the beginning; in Indian it would be at the end. [552] And what shall we say of the tautology of the whole wording? After having indicated "the brethren of the Well-famed One," was it necessary to add that these brethren were kinsmen? And is it not as if the authors of the inscription had themselves felt the want of precision of the first designation? But then why should they have chosen it? This ancient epigraphic language, anxious to say what is necessary, and nothing but what is necessary, does not usually express itself in this redundant manner.

It will be seen that to bring to trial Dr. Fleet's construction is at the same time to bring to trial his interpretation of *sakiya*. I really do not know what he has against this ethnical term. In Sanskrit we find it under the form of *Sākya*; in Pāli we have *Sakka*, *Sakya*, *Sākiya*; the Prākṛits of the inscriptions show us *Saka*, *Sakya*, and here *Sakiya* which probably is not to be corrected into *Sākiya*. Of these forms, of which Dr. Fleet has drawn up a very useful list,[22] none is suspicious; they are all in conformity with what we are taught by innumerable analogies of the phonetic or simply orthographic variations of these idioms; moreover, they all enter into phrases which correspond without the least discrepancy. Why, then, should we expel this term here, where it fits so well, for the benefit of a substitute which the lexicon undoubtedly furnishes, but which fits so badly? Is it, perhaps, because the tradition gives various and fantastic etymologies of it? We should be carried a long way in following this track. If I correctly understand Dr. Fleet, — for his theory is somewhat complicated and is not easily summed up in a few words, — he does not deny the existence of a nearly similar ethnical term, but he will have it that all the forms in which the name occurs in epigraphy, and, with a single exception, in Pāli literature, arise from a misunderstanding, and should be referred back to the possessive adjective *svakiya*. By dint of calling the members of the community or of the clan of the founder *Buddhasya svakiyāḥ*, "the kinsmen of Buddha," they would finally have been called simply the *svakiyāḥ*. The hypothesis is ingenious, but I doubt if it will find many supporters. At least instances of the use of this prolific phrase ought to be produced, and hitherto, as far as I know, none has been cited, except the one in this very inscription understood as Dr. Fleet understands it.

[21] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1906, p. 149 ff. Dr. Fleet did not all at once arrive at this translation; another one will be found (*ibid.* 1905, p. 680), with the same interpretation of *sakiya*, which is still more improbable. I shall say nothing of it, as Dr. Fleet appears to have abandoned it himself.

[22] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 645 ff.

Yet on this frail basis Dr. Fleet would build an entire chronological edifice. In our inscription, which, moreover, does not mark the long vowel — (I have already stated what should be thought of this omission), — *sakiya* would still be taken in its original sense; **[553]** the inscription must, therefore, be anterior, by at least a full century, to that on the pillar of Aśōka at Rummindēī (the middle of the 3rd century B. C.), in which the notation of the long vowel is established and in which the designation of the Buddha as *Sakyamuni*, "the hermit of the Sākyas," shows that the possessive adjective has had time to change into an ethnical term. The inscription would, therefore, be far more ancient than any yet found in India. Dr. Fleet does not venture, positively, any further than about half way between the reign of Aśōka and the date generally accepted for the death of the Buddha: for he is too experienced an epigraphist to carry back this writing, without more ado, to the very time of the *nirvāṇa*. Yet he allows us to perform the rest of the journey at our own risk. On the other hand, he does not disguise his hope that, thanks to the light the document has now thrown on the true history of the name of the Sākyas, a methodical investigation into the use of the various forms of this name may lead to important results in connection with the chronology of the books of the Pāli canon. We may wish that such an investigation may be made; but we must give a warning against too hasty conclusions being drawn from it.

One word still as to the construction proposed by Dr. Fleet. I have already referred to the strangeness of it; I must add that this, but not the other anomalies of the redaction, would be more or less attenuated if the inscription were in verse. Now, quite recently[23] **Mr. Thomas** thought he actually recognised in it a very irregular **Āryā stanza,** which Dr. Fleet afterwards proposed to scan as an Upagīti [or Udgīti] almost as irregular. It is always difficult to recognise an isolated Āryā, especially when it presents anomalies as great as would be the case here. But the fact is that in Pāli and mixed Sanskrit some are found which are hardly better, and that, if such a one were met with among the verses of the *Thērīgāthās*, for example, to which Mr. Thomas refers, it would really have to be accepted as an Āryā. It is true that, in that case, there would remain the expedient, which we have not here, of suspecting the manuscript tradition. Without believing it very probable, I will, therefore, not absolutely reject the suggestion; but I wish to point out that it would in no way prejudice the meaning to be given to the word *sakiyanaṁ*. Whether the latter really corresponds to a Sanskrit *Sākya* or to a Sanskrit *svakīya*, it would still have its first syllable short; for, long ago Professor Jacobi has shown[24] that, if Pāli and Prākrit necessarily shorten the vowel in position, Pāli often and Prākrit still oftener do not restore the long quantity when position has been removed.

[554] In conclusion, I therefore believe, with **M. Senart,**[25] with whom I am happy to be in entire agreement, that we may admit the following as a definitive translation of our inscription:—

> "This receptacle of relics of the blessed Buddha of the Sākyas (*is the pious gift*) of the brothers of Sukīrti, jointly with their sisters, with their sons and their wives."

In short, we must be resigned: the inscription teaches us none of the sensational novelties that some interpreters have thought they found in it; it does not afford us any testimony contemporary with the Buddha, whom it leaves in his vague and legendary twilight, and whose "tomb" it will not allow us to visit; it in no way tends, even indirectly, either to strengthen or to weaken the accounts of the distribution of the ashes, or of their removal by Aśōka, or of the destruction of Kapilavastu and the Sākyas; nor does it supply us with materials for constructing a chronological system; it simply makes us acquainted, together with the name of an unknown personage, no doubt some local *rājā*, with the existence (after so many others, teeth, frontal bone, alms-bowl, hair, even the very shadow) of new relics of the great reformer, relics probably more ancient, and which we may, if so inclined, suppose more authentic, than any others. This is little; but a negative result is better than illusory data.

The relics are now at Bangkok, where, after so many centuries of oblivion, they once more serve for the edification of the faithful.

[23] *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1906, p. 452. [24] *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachf.*, XXIII. p. 594, and XXV. p. 292.
[25] *Journ. Asiatique*, VII. (1906), p. 136.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 105.*)

THE iudge answerd (ye Ld brought on tryall before him), we must iudg according to Law wch condems this fact. I tooke my iurney after this to Spawhawne [Ispahan], wch is 50 Leags. This Ld was sent to Spawhawne & Confest all before Shaw Sollymon [Shāh Sulaimān] Kinge & his iustices, & I saw him beheaded. He might [have] beene saued but was willinge to die. This was end Aug 1668.[25]

Att Spawhawne, ye court of King Sollymon, Empr of Pertia,[26] I did lodge at y Companys howse; 3 dutchmen, 4 frenchmen, Kinge Sollymons Sarvts, wth ye padreys caime to see me, I haueing lettrs out of India. We weere verry merry at ye English howse. The first 2 days I was in ye citty we kept wthin doores, the Kinge haueinge made a Crooke [*qūruq*][27] wth his Weomen & if any mankinde aboue Elleaven yeares old be abroad dureing the tyme of the Crook he is kild, [whether in the] Citty or Contrey for 2 leagues, for Notis is given ye day before he make ye Crooke. Its only to be merry wth his weomen, wch ride in all manner of habbits as they best fancy for Mirth. This was told me by ye Wife of a Engl surgion, One of them before she married.

The 3d day, about 3 clock in ye afternoone, ye Crook broke vp, y Kings 2d or adviser, Sheth Alley Cowley Cawne[28] [Sayyid 'Alī Qulī Khān], sent for me & demanded if I belonged to ye Company. I sd I was a poore Subiect of my King. What, sd he, is not ye Capt of ye company come, meaning Mr fflowers. I told him he would come in 4 or 5 days. Newes caime ye King satt out. He rose in hast to goe to Court. I took my leaue. He said, you must goe before ye Kinge. I went & made my Obeasience after ye Industan Manner & phraise, being in that habbitt, Sollam Alley [*As-salām alaikum*]. He Sd, Allegan Solam [*alaikum as-salām*], yts you are welcom. Wheere, Sd ye King, haue you lernt yt phraise being an Engl man, & laught. I said, I had served ye Magull Oram Zebb. Sd ye K., he is my enemy, soe you are welcom from him: ye Kinge out of his gate showed me some of his great Gunns wch lay disorderly, And two Mortars wch none in his Court knew how to vse. I told him I would charge them & show him ye vse of them. Sd he, are they to be discharge[d] wth stone shot. I Sd, wth a shell. Sd he, pray show me this, wch I did, ye King giveing ordr to ye Nasa [*nāzir*],[29] wch is Mr of all his Artillary, I should haue what desired. I cast 2 shells. In 4 dayes tyme I had them redy Coted

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[25] ? 1669. See note 19 on p. 103, *ante*.

[26] Shāh Sulaimān reigned from 1666—1694.

[27] "Kourouk signifies a Prohibition to all Men and Boys above seven years of age, upon forfeiture of Life, to be seen in any place where the Kings Wives were to pass, if he were in their company. All the ways are hung on both sides with such stuff of which they make their Tents, to prevent the Women from being seen. And notice is given to all the Men to retire home at such an Hour; besides that, the Guards at two Leagues distance round about, were ready to prevent any one from coming near the Places so canvast in . . . It is said, that during the five Months from the Coronation of the King till the year 1078 of the Hegira, which answers the Spring of our 1667, the King commanded no less than sixty-two Kourouks, going abroad with his Wives every time, and visiting the Places round about Ispahan." — Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 77, ed. 1691.

[28] For an account of "Hali-Kouli-Kaan's" restoration to favour on the accession of Shāh Sulaimān and of the various offices conferred on him, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 79 f., ed. 1691. See also Tavernier, *Persian Travels*, Book V. ch. VIII. p. 218, ed. 1684.

[29] "The Nazir or Seeer; Superintendant General of all the Royal Domesnes; and who also takes particular care of the Treasuries, Furniture, Buildings, Manufactures, Magazines, Stores and Servants." — Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 13, ed. 1691.

over all wth ye Carridges. The Kinge plact himself On a Hill wheere seats weere mad for yt purposs, And his Ladyes within a Roome wheere they might see. The King caime after nearer & demanded what should be don wth them, if A marke was to be set to shote at. I Sd, bringe men or sheepe, & ye Execution would show how to reveng himselfe On his enemis. Sheepe weere brought, And one of ye Shells fitted ye way we call hen & Chickens, wch shell does ye greatest Execution & made the kinge Amazed seinge it flie, & sd, it flies in the aire ; it will doe noe Execution.

I returned answer by yo Ld that brought yt word from ye Kinge, you shall psently se wtt Execution it will doe. It flew at ye hight 244 Minutes & fell amonge ye sheepe & kild 250 besides wt lamd. Immediatly ye King sent me a horss & rich furniture (the same horse & furniture was that day led before him), & said, Bircala [*baraku'llāh*], Well don.

The other shell fell amonge An other flock 230 paces of. The height it assended was 43 Minuts & fell & kild 132 sheepe. The kinge was verry Joyfull of this, for the Mortars his Grandfather had taken from ye turks, he driveing them out of Pertia.[30]

He cald me to him & bid me sit downe. I begd his pdon, being hote, weary & black, & desired leaue to refresh my selfe. I tooke leaue, ye ff [French] & Dutch accompaning me to y English howse. He Sent for me againe & I had the honor to eate & drinke wth him & weere verry merry wth Musique & Danceing weomen (one of these weomen toss vp 7: 8: or 12 balls & keepe them all in play aboue ground), & had wtt elce desireable. The Kinge desired me Serve him. I sd I could not, my King had Comanded me home. Sd he, yor kinge is my Brother & what service you doe me, he wilbe well pleased wth it. He vrged it noe more, but sd, lets be merry, & drank 3 small Gobletts One after an other, standing vp to ye King of England his Brother. I was to pledg out of a Golden ladell[31] qt [containing] a pinte & ½, and was to drinke 3 of them, wch I did, & all ye xpians theire, Abondance of Lds & other Courteers by ; & his weomen see vs, but we not them, from aboue. The Kinge danct amonge vs & some of y Danceing weomen.[32] Ye King would set his hands a side & laugh heartily, saying, spare me not, when tugg was or Cushings flyinge, I am at this tyme as one of you ; oure wyne mad vs equall. But none of his Lds drank a drop. This was in Supper tyme, dishes standing & tost downe. But they & the Carpetts then spred weere taken away & fresh Carpetts brought. After yt, he Commanded one of his ffrench sarvants to play on ye violin, And drinke in that tyme was plentifull wth ye ffranks ; ye Kinge did not drinke as we weere obliged as to ye Quantity.[33] Verry merry we weere, & ye King verry pleasant & iocouse. This french man yt plaid comes vp to ye Kinge 3 small tymes & tells him such a Nobleman was fitt to be his Genll. The king bid him sit downe, Sayeinge, I know how to make Genналls. This french man, Drunke, vrged it againe ; Soe ye Kinge Commanded him be ript vp & given to ye Doggs, wch is ye Death for offendrs in that Contrey, & others out of Christendome. But ye King gaue some privat notis yt he should Only be carried into an other Roome & stript, & soe stood naked for 3 howers, wch tyme we past in Merth, & mist not ye french man. The Kinge, seing vs farr enough in Drinke & Nodinge, caime and shoke me by ye Shoulder, & Sd, rise vp, its tyme to goe home. Wheeres yor Brother, & brought me his Clothes, & sd, carrie them to him. This was about 2 Clock in ye Morninge.

[30] Sulaimān's grandfather was Shāh Safi, 1629—1642. He did *not* drive the Turks out of Persia. On the contrary, Murād IV. recaptured Bagdad from the Persians, and its possession was confirmed to the Turks by a peace made between the two nations in 1639.

[31] See Tavernier, *Persian Travels*, Book IV. ch. XVII. p. 181, for a description of the Golden ladle in which he pledged Shāh Abbās.

[32] For the way in which Sulaimān gave himself up to drinking and dissipation, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, pp. 77, 78, 87, 88, 123, 129, ed. 1691.

[33] Chardin, writing of events in 1668, says, "the young Prince had forborn wine all the last year, by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat occasion'd by his hard drinking."— *The Coronation of Solyman III.* p. 130, ed. 1691.

Two days after, we weere sent for, & Mr ffllower being come home from Cammerroon [Gombroon], [who] had a p̄sent for the Kinge from the Company,[34] went wth me. Ye Kinge askt me what I had brought from India rare, & sd, theirs few travellers by land but bring rarities wth them. I Sd, Only my person. Sd ye King, we haue seene many french, but few Engl travell home by land, & ye french bring not only theire persons. I then told him I had a Stone [Bezoar] would Expell poyson. Ye Kinge desired to see it. I showed it; he sleighted it, sayinge this is but a stone, what vertue can theire be in it. I Sd, giue me wtt poyson you can, & then ye vertue will be showne.

One of his Capons [eunuchs] brought a Glasse of poyson. Mr fflowers then left me wth a looke as if he would [have] kild me.

One of ye Kings Cheife Docters gaue it to me. I dranke it, ye Kinge first desireing me sit at a distance & sd, freinde, if yu kill yor selfe I haue noe hand in it; haue a care.

I cald for a Basin. A Jarr of gold was brought. I then tooke my poyson stone & put it into a glasse of wyne qt [containing] ¾ of a pinte & kept ye stone in ye wyne a quarter of an hower or more. Sd the Kinge, his Nobles & Docter by, when I had dranke, He stumbles not at it. Sd the Docter, he hath as much as would kill Ten Ollyfants; he cannot live; Its the wyne makes him soe Curagious. With that I drank of my wyne & put ye stone into a little warme water (ye quantity I had dranke of wyne), & drank it. Immeadiatly I fell vommittinge. Sd the Kinge, now hes deade. I vommitted ¾ of an hower; yt don, I tooke water & washt my mouth and face & cald for a glass wyne. Now sd ye Kinge, I se yt stone hath vertue. Not, Sd the Docter, for a Kingdome would I doe soe much. I must, Sd ye Kinge, haue ye Stone, & what it Cost or yu will haue for it, I will give yu; But first purged me on my Oath wtt it cost me. I, on my Oath, told him it cost me 3000 Ropees, wch is 337li 10s Engl money.[35] He then said, ask a Gift. (Mdd. This was but a peece of A Stone.) In then comes my Cozen fflowers.[36] Sd the Kinge, yor freind is not deade. Sd Mr fflowers to me, now yu haue a good occation if yu vallew my honor or the Company, Ask ye Arreeres at Commerroon wch weere for 4 yeares. I was silent. Sd he Kinge, aske. I askt ye arreares. Ye Kinge granted it, & caused thee Accompts to be stated, wch caime to Two lack of Abasses, wch is about 50000 fifty Thowsand pounds Engl money.[37]

When ye Lds gaue ye Kinge this acct, The Kinge Sd to me, had yu not better [have] asked for yor selfe. A smaller thinge would [have] contented yu, But my word is past, & yors granted.[38] But will not yu, yor word beinge granted, be willinge to serve me. I replied, wth all my heart, but I must obey my Kinge. Give, Sd he, it vnder yor & Mr fflowers hand, if you come not, yu will furnish me wth 3 as good men. Mr fflower past it vnder his hand.

The King gaue me a Serpaw [*saropā*], that is Sash, cote & Girdle worth 300 Dollars.

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[34] This was Flower's second visit to Ispahan. In 1666, at the time of the Coronation of Shāh Sulaimān, he was sent by the President of Surat to the Persian Court. He had orders to keep an eye on the Dutch deputation and their "great present; to attend their motion and observe att Court, and learne what their business is, as also by his personale appearaunce checke the liberty which they would otherwise take in abusing you our Masters and the nation."—General Letter from Surat to the Court, *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2. On the occasion spoken of in the text, Flower arrived at Ispahan on the 9th Aug. 1669. Writing to Surat on the 5th Sept. (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 105), Flower remarks that "The King with his Court lately retired to one of his Gardens with purpose after 8 or 10 dayes stay to proceed towards Gundeman (not farr from Bussora) being Jealous for the Turks who are masters of it." Flower gives an account of his interview with the "Ettamon Dowlett" on the 3rd Sept. and of the minister's promise to "Acquaint the King with our Complaints," but does not say that he had any personal interview with the King, nor does he allude to Campbell. For Flower's first embassy to the Persian Court, see Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, p. 66, ed. 1691.

[35] *i. e.*, at 2*s.* 3*d.* the rupee.

[36] I have not been able to trace the relationship between Campbell and Flower. See note 19 on p. 103, *ante*, where Flower writes of Campbell as of a stranger.

[37] The author's calculation cannot be right. Sir Thos. Herbert in 1677 rates the Abassi at 1*s.* 4*d.* This would make the two lac amount to £13,333 6*s.* 8*d.*

[38] The records of the time make no allusion to any such concession by Shāh Sulaimān.

The Snowes beinge then in pertia, in y^{e} end of y^{e} Month August, & soe Extreame y^{t}, in o^{r} way to Spawhawne, my Sarv^{t} lost his toes, w^{ch} wth extremity of cold rotted of. Soe left him wth M^{r} fflowers, he being my Slaue (my other Hamstring^{d} in my voyage to Prester John[39] [and] haueing wife & Children at Bagganogare [Bhāgnagar, Hyderabad, Deccan], I gaue y^{e} vallew of 60^{lb} to carrie him home. He would not [have] left me but I Considered his wife & Children, soe p̃ted [parted].

Leaveinge Spawhawne y^{e} first day September 1668,[40] I wth my slaue, a black, A french Padre & 2 Dymond Marchants of Paris, One Monsier Jordan a protestant, & Monsier Rasin[41] Roman Catholic, tooke o^{r} Jurney homewards, Beinge Accompanied out of y^{e} Citty wth all y^{e} Eng^{l} french & Dutch, 2 Leagues, & after returned.

My Kinsman, M^{r} fflower,[42] knoweinge in part what Charge I had wth me, S^{d} to me, Woe is me y^{t} I cannot p̃swaid y^{u} against this iurney; y^{u} vndertake it against my will. Doe not y^{u} know S^{r} Humphrey Cooke, who y^{u} Conveyed out of India,[43] how he was served. He, imbraceinge me, told me, tho I caime not saife home to England, my service don to y^{e} Company & for his hono^{r}, w^{ch} y^{u} know Cozen y^{u} haue vnder my hand, shall be made good to yo^{r} father, Or vnkle Whitty; Soe we parted. The 2 dymond March^{ts}, I, My Sarv^{t}, & y^{e} Padrey I brought from Surratt in India, whose naime is Farre Capusena [Capuchin Brother]. The next towne from Spawhawne was 60 Leagues cald Pannuloe;[44] in 5 days wee Arrived theire, all in helth.

Theire we consulted whether we should goe by y^{e} way of Bagdatt Or Towreys [Tauris, Tabrīz]. S^{d} y^{e} Dymond March^{ts}, we desire for Bagdatt but haue a great Charge; Towreys is the surer way. We agreed to goe by Towreys, and all went wth y^{e} Cofflla or Carravan, w^{ch} consisted of 40000 feightinge men, y^{e} whole (horsses, Cammells, & asses), 100 000.

The next great Towne from Pannuloe to Towreys was 80 Leagues of, cald .[45] We, 8 horsemen, wth sarv^{ts}, left y^{e} Coffeloe & caime to Radie [? Rai close to Teherān], a verrie great Citty, in 9 days tyme; Thence for Towreys. In the way was noe Citty, only villages & Serays. Y^{e} distance was 172 Leagues, w^{ch} we went in 28 days, all comeing to Towreys in helth. Four days before we got to Towreys, theire was a french Docter y^{t} had cut 3 slaues for y^{e} Gouerner to make Coides [Khwāja, Coja, Eunuch] or Efnukes [in modern Greek] them to p̃sent to y^{e} Emperror of Pertia his Maister, Shaw Sollyman Kinge.

But y^{e} Condition of y^{e} Padreys or fryers in those parts, as elce where out Chrissen-dome, if not in, is y^{t} noe Man, how good an artist soever, should live wheere they are, they p̃tending to all arts, & by that meanes get into places & make prosolites.

A french Padrey in y^{t} citty went to y^{e} Gouerner & told him he could cut Cheaper & safer then y^{e} Docter. The Gou^{r} had giuen y^{e} Docter 40 Tomaines,[46] w^{ch} y^{e} padrey knew. Y^{e} padrey was r̃eed, w^{ch} y^{e} Docter knoweing, Left y^{e} Citty, takeing 2 Sarv^{ts} & 2 Mules, & tooke his way towards Smyrna, w^{ch} is cald in y^{e} pertian tongue, Cashmeer [Ismīr], & weere in the way buried in y^{e} Sands.

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[39] See Vol. XXXV. p. 177.

[40] Campbell must surely mean 1669. See the note on his departure from Gombroon, *ante*, p. 103.

[41] Monsieur Raisin was known both to Tavernier and Chardin, "Monsieur Raisin of Lyons, a Person of Very good Repute, and my Companion in my former Travels, embarkt himself once more in this sort of Trade; and though we differ'd in our Religion, Yet for all that we liv'd Peaceably and in Unity together." — Chardin, *Travels into Persia*, p. 2, ed. 1691. See also *Tavernier*, Ball's edition, Vol. II. p. 304.

[42] See *ante*, p. 127, note 35. On Flower's return to Gombroon he fell under the displeasure of the authorities at Surat on account of the involved condition of his affairs. He eventually satisfied the Company's demands on him, and, though he lost his appointment at Gombroon, he was, in July, 1671, ordered to "succeed in the Custom house of May him if Mr. Barton dyes" — *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 104, and *Miscellaneous*, Vol. 2.

[43] I can find no verification of this story. See the note on Sir Humphrey Cooke, *ante*, p. 103, note 16.

[44] Pannuloe may be the modern Kashan, but it is difficult to trace the route followed by Campbell.

[45] Hiatus in the MS. here. The town meant may be Kum or Kasvin.

[46] Fryer, in 1677, gives the value of a tomaun as £3 6*s*. 8*d*. See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s. v.* Tomaun.

The Padre Cutt 4; all Dyed. Newes beinge carried of it, ye padrey Kild himselfe, wch thing brought a p̃iudice [prejudice] to all frenchmen in yt Citty.

Next day caime a Coffeloe from Cashmeer [Smyrna], yt said they mett a Xpian, 2 Sarvants, 2 Mules, wth a horsse (wch was starved) by them, and all deade. The Gouerner, when Monsier Jordan & Rasin[47] went before him, told vs the aboue relation, demanding wtt we 3 weere. They Sd, they weere fr̃ [French] men. I Sd, I was an Engl̃ man. Sd he, all french men are Haram Zadds [*haramzāda*], Deceivers. For Engl̃ men I haue not to say of them, never haueing anie tryall of them.

Must not, Sd he to ye ffr. men, yor Padrey be cald to Acc. for ye men hes kild & himselfe, besides he, being to yu as our Casa [*qāzī*] is to vs, cannot answer it to God.

I am, Sd ye Gon̄r, not soe sorrie for him and ye Slaues As for the Docter, yt Goodman, who by his meanes I slighted, and is now lost.

Wee tooke our leaves & went to ye Seraie, But ye Padreys of that place invited vs to theire Convent, wch Monsier Jordan & Rasin did refuse by reason of ye Gōurs language.

4 Dayes wee staid in the Seraie; every day the Gour sent vs 6 dishes of Meate. Our Coffelo [*kāfila*, caravan] beinge gatherd to a heade, & redy to goe, we went to ye Gourr to take leave & p̃sented him wth some small gifts; but he refused them, & Sd, when yu come this way againe, bringe me so̅me Europe token. Soe we parted; & went thence wth ye Coffiloe 23 Leagues before wee caime into ye sands. 17 Days we travalled in ye Sands wth great losse of Men & Cattle, vizt Cammells, horsses, and Asses. In all ye 17 days, wee weere not hable to see or horss lenth before vs, or One an other, Or to open or mouths or eies; but when we would eate or Drinke, ye Sand got in like to Choake vs; yet we had Muffellers Over our faces.

They Stringe 100 Cammells together to follow One after an other, And every 100 haue a man On ye formost Cammell wth a howse in Wch he sits In, ye howse Coverd both day and night, And in it Is a light & a Compass to guid ye Cammell ye way, for ye sands drive soe wth ye wind, its not possible to see.

Wee haueinge 1 monts Jurney more to goe ere we should be Cleere of ye Sands, and or Cattell died soe as wee weere forst to put two loads on One Back, I said, letts turne back, And, Consultinge wth ye eminentest Marchant, an Arminyon, & ye 2 frenmen, Judged it best to hyer a guide to pilote vs or way an other way Towards Neneveigh [Nineveh], wch was a nearer way; & Leaueinge ye Coffeloe, we could goe in One day 3 times as farr as wth it. 15 Armynion Marchants (horssemen), ye 2 fr:men, my selfe, and or sarvants went, giveinge 11 Dollers a heade for Pilot money.

Wee had 140 Leagues to Neneveigh, neither pile gras, water or Ought elce in or way for refreshment but what we carried wth us. Our Guyde brought vs to Neneveigh in 23 days all verry weary. We staid theire 7 Days, and in that tyme refresht orselues verry well.

From Nenevey we went to Cornway in 12 Days, wch, at 20 Mile a day, I gess to be about 75 Leagues.

From Corneway we went to Kirkway [Kirkuk], ye fr: men & I then only in Company; we went it in 7 Days, wch is about 60 Leagues.

From Kirkeway to Bagdatt, 120 Leagues, in 13 Days. We arrived in Bagdatt in helth, but left or Boyes in Kirkway & tooke fresh horsses there, or Boys to follow to Bagdatt.

We had but beene 4 days theire, when ye 2 ffrench Marchants feel sick, it being soe hote, yt wth ye Brees of ye Sunn, it kild the Natives; & Many I saw, as white as Engl̃ men, kild immediatly & turnd as black as a Coale.

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[47] See *ante*, note 42 on p. 128.

I my selfe beinge at noone in the Sunn, a hote breese hath taken me & skind my face. Those y^{t} weere scoreth wth y^{e} Sunn, was of y^{e} Bashaws [Pāshā's] Soldiers, w^{ch} lay wthout y^{e} Citty, for y^{e} Bashaws of Bagdatt, Kirkway & Neneve weere goeing wth theire Armies in y^{e} Grand Senio^{rs} service agst Bassora, now in y^{e} hands of y^{e} Arrabs. This was in ffebruary thus hott, & in Spawhawne in August soe Cold as my Sarv^{t} in Pertia had his toes rotted of.

M^{dd} I went to old Babbylon w^{ch} is 12 Leagues from Bagdatt, and assended the Tower, & plumd it wth a line I carried for y^{t} purposse, & its iust 60 fathom from y^{e} top to y^{e} earth; but theires a great depth of earth aboue y^{e} foundation, w^{ch} depth is not knowne; its [48] foote broade at top. They are every day loading a way from it stones to Bagdat or new Babylon.

In Bagdatt I staid 23 Days, And On y^{e} 4th Day of ffebruary I tooke my Jurney for Alleppo, And in the way, the first great Citty was Hanna [Anah], A Citty wthin a ffort in y^{e} Middle of a River [the Euphrates] w^{ch} goes to Bossara, The River Tygrisse & it joyneing theire to gether, And on each side of the River a Citty, And is distant from Babylon 130 Leagues. This Hanna is in y^{e} Wildernesse of Arrabia.

The ffrench Padrey hyred a guide in Bagdatt, & had security by his wife & 4 Children & an Arrabian Marchant that this guide should bring vs saife to Alleppo & bringe vs every 2 days wheere we should haue water. All was On my charge, And I would not haue patience to tarrie till y^{e} Coffelo went. We tooke wth vs noe more then One days water, My Company beinge with my selfe, The padre & his sarvant, My Slaue, the padreys horss & sarv^{ts} Mule, My horsse & slaues Mule. All of vs beinge wthout water 2 days, I questioned y^{t} Guide, & he gaue me Crosse language: Soe I shott a pistoll at him to scare him, but after drubd him wth my stick. Y^{e} Padre desired me, for Gods sake, to let him alone, Now we are in y^{e} wildernesse & know not whether to turn o^{r}selves. I was vexed, being redy to Choak, Bound y^{e} Gayds hands behind him, thretned him & cald him naimes, and said, if wee die, we will all die together. This was about 7 Leagues short of Hanna. Wthin 2 Leagues of y^{e} place y^{t} I bound him he Cried, Aga [*Aghā*, my Lord], water. Give me, S^{d} he, my life & I will show y^{u} water. We had not rid a league & halfe, but he lights & S^{d}, heeres water, y^{t} Well impossible to be found but by y^{e} guide, for it was not a yard over, and Turft as if It had beene firme ground. These Guides Conseale y^{e} water, they geting theire liveinge for Conducting travellers & releivelnge them wth water in y^{t} Jurney throw the Wildernesse of Arrabia. The Guide drew out a line he brought for that purpose, and a sheeps skin [and] tyd y^{e} 4 Corners to gether [for] y^{e} Buckett. The line was 60 fathom Longe & would but iust reach y^{e} Water. I, Jealons [afraid] y^{e} Rogue would run away. I bound him againe. The Padrey & my slaue neere, both sick for want [of] water But, refrest a little, we mounted, & p̃sently I spied 7 horssmen, w^{ch} caime vp boldly wthin 500 paces of vs, On w^{ch} I fyred a pistoll. They then retreated back. The guide then addrest him to y^{e} Padrey to make his peace wth me for his liberty, Sweareing by his beard, his god & Mahommett, he would not run away. On y^{t} I unbound him, & we weere 5 days in gettinge to Hanna [Anah], y^{e} Padre & my Slaue sick, w^{ch} was y^{e} cause.

By perswation of y^{e} Guide we past aboue Hanna a league and a halfe On purposs to saue o^{r} head money. We past the Towne and caime to a river 5 Eng͠l miles beyond it, & theire sat downe & refresht o^{r} selves. S^{d} the Guide, heere are Rogues. S^{d} I, all Arrabs are Rogues. Before we could mount, caime 28 horsse and carried vs back to Hanna on foote, for that we had past y^{e} Citty indeav^{r}ing to saue o^{r} head money. It Cost me 144 Dollers & all y^{e} excuses I could make to y^{e} Gouerner. We staid at Hanna [49] days.

We had not left y^{e} towne 2 Leagues but 7 horssmen caime ridinge after me. I S^{d} to y^{e} guide, who are these. He S^{d}, Haram [*haramzāda*], Rogues & Robbers. S^{d} I, will y^{u} stand to

[48] [49] Hiatus in the MS. here.

me. Yes, Sd he, if yu will let me haue One of yor pistolls. Sd I, noe, yu haue bow & arrowes, & if I see yu stand not to it, thou shalt be ye first Ile kill, tho I die afterwards.

The guide answered (We seinge them Exercize theire lances), I was 4 yeares agoe Guide to Six Xpians, 4 dymond Marchts and two Padrees who went this way, & by fyering a pistoll, wch wounded an Arrabb in the thigh, was ye cause they all lost theire lives by haueing theire heads cut of. This is a great trewth & told me by ye padreys at Babylon, who advized me by noe meanes resist if we mett anie [bandits], And would [have] had me left my Armes & other things of Concernemt. I Sd I had not anie. Said ye two ffrench Dymond Marchants I left theire Sick, espetailly monseir Jordan, Wee know he hath a Charge[50] & One Dymond wch we haue beene all about & [? for] or Kinge, & could never attaine to it. Except he left it at Spawhawne, we are sure he had it.[51] The padreys did vrge me againe, & Sd, what ever I left wth them should be safe Conveyed to me to what place I pleased; but by noe meanes doe yu travell wthout ye Coffeloe wth a Charge. I denied yt I had ought. Sd they, if yu haue, it wilbe ye cause of ye loss of yor owne life & Company.

The 7 horssmen Caime vp againe. They had only lances; I wthstood them, haveing a cace of pistolls, bow & arrowes & a Cutlace. Ye Padre cried, for godsake haue a care wtt yu doe; if we resist not they will not kill vs. I was angry, & Sd, if he would not feight, I would kill him. He Sd it was not his Religion to feight. The Guide & he then run into ye enemy. The enemy Cried, surrender yor selfe & you shall haue noe harme. I would not. Ye Padre cald to me, yu had better Surrender; if yu doe not, yu will loose yor life; I haue saved mine. I told him, in ye Portugall tonge, I had some Consernmts about me.

I left him wth ye Rogues & past forwards, faceing about everie Minute for ye lenth of an Engl Mile. They followed me, & when they se they could not pvaile, they returned ye padre & Guide. My horss beinge weary wth faceing them too & againe, I went a League further, & by a river side refresht or selves; on thother side of vs was a Bogg, and but One way to come to vs, soe as One Man was as good as 20 in an other place.

My Guide Sd, these weere noe rogues but only tried wtt xpians weere; they had noe Sadles On theire horsses.

After 3 howers stay, ye Padrey haueing got a napp, Sd to me, those weere Rogues, & my heart [mis]gives me they will follow vs; what yu haue, berry heere or give me. I had sent ye Guide to get grasse for or horsses, for, in ye Wilderness of Arrabia, is grass in most places vp to ye Belly, but noe rode but wtt Deere make or Wyld Beasts.

While ye Guide was gon, I tooke out my things out of ye Padd of my Sadle & gaue ye padrey some, & some I kept my selfe. When ye Padre see them, he Cried & Sd, these wilbe ye Death of vs both. He had:—

- 3 Dymond stringes wth Crosses
- 2 Stones yt Expell poyson [bezoar]
- 2 Great Dymonds
- a Blood Stone
- a greene stone
- 120 Saphers
- 4 Dymond Ringes
- 3 spetiall Rubies

Kept by my selfe, vizt — a great dymond wth Kings arms on it, 8 other great Dymonds.

In ye meane tyme comes ye Guide wth grasse, &, packing vp ye things those I had in a litle purss, [I] ty'd them about my members. About an hower after, we see 14 horsse men, 7 of them

[50] This does not agree with Campbell's condition of destitution as described by Flower. See note 19 on p. 103, *ante*.

[51] For the diamond with the King of England's arms engraved on it, see *ante*, Vol. XXXV. p. 133.

yt had beene wth me in ye Morninge. This was 3 Clock in ye afternoone. We see them before they could see vs. Sd ye padre, we are betraid. I askt ye gide who these weere. He Sd, men goeinge to ye next great towne, soldiers. Yu lie, yu Roogue, sd ye padre; yu haue betraid vs.

I was at a stand, consideringe what to Doe best. Ye Guide Sd, lets goe. Noe, Sd ye padre, lets stay heere till night. Did not yu, Sd ye Guide, agree wth me in Babylon, wch I haue given security to performe, & yu are to march when I say goe & to stay when I say stay. I replied, will yu beare vs harmless. He sd, yes I will. Wth yt he went out, p̃tending to see if ye way was Cleere & staid from vs ¾ of an hower, & returninge, he bridled or horsses & Sd, vp, ye way is cleere. We had not rid a League, but we spied yo 14 horsmen in ambush in a valley. They let vs pass till we caime to ye top of ye hill, & then spred them selves. 4 caime One way, 4 An other, 4 the 3d & 2 more, all wch Compassed vs about. I had made my bridle fast to my horse legg & made my bow & arrowes redy, but they caime poothering soe fast, yt all theire lances was about me in a trice, & Sd, we haue now got Gunns, fyer if yu darr, for if yu either fyer or shoot arrow, yu are a deadman, & ye rest.

The Padre cried, do not shoote. In ye meane tyme, they struck in wth me & stript me Naked, all saue my boots, wch saued me some thinge. They weere all muffeld vp; I could only see theire eies. Some few Dollers I had about my Midle, wch they p̃sently eased me of, And, starke Naked, made me lead my horse to a valley. I went not fast enough, Soe One gaue me a push wth ye butt end of his lance, wch put me on my Nose. In that fall he spied ye pursse & Snatcht it away: I was affraid all had gon together. Beinge in ye Valley, made me sit a side till they parted my things, vizt. My wearinge Clothes & Lynnen, 3 Serpaws [*saropā*, dress of honour], One Prester John gaue me, One Oram Zebb ye Magull from his owne boddie, & One Shaw Sollymon King of Pertia,[52] wth other things of Vallew. The Rogue Guide, after Devided, Cast lotts who should haue this & who that Share. Besides these, there was 3 of his Matties Great seales yo Magull gaue me, being had On ye occation before Exprest.

They caused likewise ye Padrey to be stript, & set downe likewise, & set us both downe to cut of or heads. Sd ye Guide, my wife & Children is pawne for yo padre;[53] Cut of ye head of ye other. They gaue ye Padrey his Coate againe, Settinge me by my selfe wth a lance at my back & 2 swords Over my heade, sayinge, take yor leave of yo world. I desired them suffer me to say a few prayers, wch they did, & in that tyme they tooke Councell, And mutined amonge themselues. 3 went one way, & sd they would goe & complaine; 3 followed them to bring them back. He wch tooke my Jewells from my members, said, Is it not enough we haue taken his goods, but we must take his life; Theires a God. They made me come to them, & fall downe & Kiss every One of theire feete, & say they had don well in takeing away wtt I had, & to say God blesse them for it, And houe me a Cammeel Coate, showeing vs the way. I would [have] gon ffor Babylon but they would not let vs goe that way.

Wee had not gon an Engl Myle, but two of them caime after vs, & comeinge vp to vs, demanded my slave (wch was a Black as Those Arrabs are), & tooke him and My Mule, sayinge he was not to travell that way.

Wee travelled all that night, & next day, weary, haueing neither mans meate nor horssmeate, And haueinge lost our way, we caime to a den at whose mouth lay about 20 dead sheepe. It was about 3 Clock in yo afternoone. Sd ye Guide, wee are all vndon, iudgeinge it a Denn of Lyons Or Tygers; But we see noethinge to hurt vs. Att 12 Clock at night, we, redy to die and our horsses quite tyred, we caime to a River cald Olson, wch runs into Tygris. Then weere wee from anie inhabbitant 9 (Nine) days iurney & had noe p̃vitions. By Gods providence caime downe the River Men vppon Rafts of Wood wth tents vppon them, Goeinge for Bossera. Wee weere affraid, but or nessessity sent ye Guide, who spooke Arrabb, to haile them, The whilst ye

[52] See *ante*, p. 127.

[53] See *ante*, p. 130.

Padre & I sculkt. The Guide got of them 40 Cakes of bread, Cost 2 Dollers, wch served vs to an old Citty cald Tyabe [Taiyibeh, Taiba]. We travelled 14 days, day and Night, ere we could reach it, and iudge it from Hanna 130 Leagues, for ye Certan Leagues in that Contrey is not knowne, but they recken days iurney accordinge as they & horsses are hable.

When wee caime to Tyabe, theire weere we heart broken, haueing neither meate, money, nor freinds, And must pay head money, 10 Dollers a heade. ffor want of it, we weere put in preson & weere 3 Days theire, but they sent vs meate, & cared for or horsses. The 4th day caime A merchant from Alleppo, And crime to vs, & askt me wtt I was. I sd a Christian. Sd he, theire are of That Cast seuerall, As Ittall [Italians], Spanyards, ffr: [French] and others, of wch are yu. I Sd, An English man. Sd he, give me a note vnder yor hand & I will give yu ye Money yu desire, wch was 24 Dollers, & take it Att Alleppo. I tooke ye Money & gaue ye Note as he desired. Wee pd or (paid our) heade money And tooke Our Jurney ffrom Tyab towards Alleppo, esteemed 40 Leagues or 4 days Jurney. Its all a hard sand. In the Midest of or way Mett vs a partie of Arrabs, wch fyred at vs before we caime wthin shot of them. Wee sent a yong man, wch caime from Tyab wth vs (ye Marchants sarvt yt lent me ye money). He returning, Sd, they are Rogues, yu haue nothing to loose but yor horsses, & if yu will give me 2 Dolls a man, I will secure them. We did, by parroll.

These Arrabbs had taken a Caffeloe of 16 or 17 Cammells and some 20 small assenegers[54] of theire owne Contrey mens. Wee askt the reason why they robbd theire neighbors. He Sd, theire was an Arrabb Kinge in the Hills yt the Marchants had agreed to give him soe much pr Cammell for fre passage, but had not pformed: Soe he made bold wth ye first he mett. Its common to agree thus in those parts for every carrier, wth ye Arrabbs that lie in his way, ffor they say, when Jacob had gott all the blessings, Esau caime & askt; soe his father told him he had given Jacob all & he must take what he could get. They owne them selues of that race, and Soe soone as vp in ye morninge, doe pray a good prize may come in theire way, as we doe for our dayly breade, & take it wth as much fredome as if really it had beene sent them.

The first towne we caime at from Tyab was Sallammity, Two Leagues from Alleppo.[55] We rested theire a night. Sd I to ye Padre, now we are out of all Dainger. But ye people where we lay had sent to ye Kinge of the Arrabbs, not far from them, and told him for [56] Dollers they would Deliver two Xpians into his hands. We had not gon a league but we Overtook a drove of Laded Oxen. Sd ye Guide, come lets put on; Now wee are out of Dainger. We put a head of these Carriers or markett people, Arrabbs too, and psently I espied twenty (20) horssmen comeinge easily downe a hill. When they see vs get a head, beinge 4 horssmen, They caime poweringe downe vppon vs. Sd I to ye Guide, who are these. Sd he, Rogues. We made all speede back we could, to gett amongst the Oxen, But they weere vppon vs. I left my horsse and [ran] into the thronge of ye Carriers, & gott behinde an Old Arrabb weomen for shelter. She Cald them Rogues, and railed at them for hindering travellers, but Carried I was to theire Kinge, but did not part wth my Old Arrabb weoman. Comeinge before him, ye Kinge askt what I was. I said, a pooreman, Robd comeinge from Babilon. Well, Sd he, thou lookest like noe richman. He caused ye weoman, by whome I held by, to serch me. Fyndeinge noethinge, Sd he, my luck is nought, yt I mett not wth yu before yu weere Robd, And askt me wheere I had yt horsse. The weoman Sd, he is mine. I haue lett him ride, he beinge foot sore. He Sd in Arrabb, Gome Gidde [*gūmī jiddah*][57] wch is get yu gon, yu Cuckold. Att last we pted, & I gaue ye poore weoman a Doller, wch made ye teares start out of hir eies for joy of it.

Att 12 Clock the [58] day of August 1669 I caime into ye Consulls In Alleppo, Rich. Bell[59] then at Dinner wth him, & saw in wtt a Ragged & weather beaten Condition I caime thether in; And of or [? after] Examition of or Guide, whose life I had offerd me by ye Caddie [*qāẓī*] in

[54] *Asinego* (Port.), a young ass.

[55] This place does not appear in the modern maps.

[56] Hiatus here in the MS.

[57] *Qūmī jiddah*, vulgarly pronounced *gūmī giddah* = get up grandmother, and was addressed to the old woman.

[58] Hiatus in the MS. here.

[59] This is the *first* mention of him, although he figures as the author of the MS.

Alleppo, but reserved him to bring out ye things I was robd of, I depossited him into the hands of Consull Delakoy [De Lannoy][60] & parson Frampton,[61] wth whome I left full power to ackt on my behalfe, [they] p̃tending great kindenesse, not only for my sake, but theire Deere frend, Mr. John [? Stephen] ffllowers at Spawhawne.

The Padrey I had brought out of India wth me, 3 dayes after I had beene in Alleppo, caime to see me, & askt me when he might waite On the Consull & Minister. I askt, & gaue him a tyme, but was in hopes, when I see him, he had saued some thinge & was come to bring me them; for, from the tyme I was Robd, he never told me he had Saved ought, nor did I aske him; But he see me weepe frequently & tooke notis of my heavy & disquieted spirrit, but gaue me not ye lest hopes to expect ought I had given him; Soe yt wt I had, I was to thanke my Bootes for.

But the next day comes The Padrey, wth ye Padrey Gouernedore of ye Scotiety of ye fathers ffrench in Alleppo, And askt me if it weere seasonable to vizitt ye Consull and Minister. I carried them In, & left them All together. Sd the Padre Gouernedore, One of yor nation, now in yor howse, hath beene at Greate Charges wth this ffather of ors, And to show to yu or honesty And thanks for his charge & Loue, We come to give him what is his, he trusting or padrey (& he hath saved them for him), & tooke theire leaue, leaueing the jewells on the table.

I was cald in, & noe sooner in the roome, I se what I knew well, & laid at first dash my hands On them. Sd ye Consull & minister, yu said yu weere Robd. Heeres more than anie Kt in England hath. Besides we haue advice Mr ffllowers hath returned to yor father for yu 2700 pounds,[62] wch if yu had noe more, is enough for anie honestman to live well on. Yes sd I, I was robbd, wch the padre witnessed & swore to, as before related.

I began to put vp my Jewells. Sd ye Consull & Minr, If yu please, we will lay them by for yu, wch I refused. Then, sd the Minister, theires a stone ye Consull thinks wilbe a fitt p̃sent to his wife in England, & would by it. I said it was at his service; but, said he, he will not haue it a gift, but will buy it; make yor price. Sd I, it cost me in India 2000 Ropees,[63] besides ye hazard yu know & loss I haue had in getinge it hether; But he shall haue it as it Cost me first penny. They told me out 100 Lyon Dollers, wch is 20lb English money. I looked coldly on it. Come, sd ye Consull, I will put him to it 50 Dollers more. I was ill pleased. Sd then the parson, can yu denie the Consull; he is yr freinde & canbe serviceable to yu, & yu haue enough and more. Yes, Sd the Consull, besides what Mr ffllowers hath writt. (Harry, bring my papers) Sd the Consull, he hath 20lb pr an [per annum] his father gaue him, & 50lb pr an left him by his vnkle Whitty; And soe bated me, yt I was whedled out of my Jewells.

They gaue me 60 lb for what was worth 200 lb, & gaue me a Bill payable by One Mr Chillingworth at Legorne, wch he could not pay; But I haue both theire hands & seales for it. And this theire vnkindness to me in ye tyme of my Anguish for my loss hath disobliged me, & I haue revoked ye trust I gaue them, & put it into the hands of Mr John Shepperd, Marcht in Alleppo, by writeing, the 2d Jany 1669.[64]

Dated from Roome [Rome], & witnessed by

Rich. Bell & Joseph Kent

in

Roome.

(End of Part I.)

[60] Benjamin De Lannoy was Consul for the Levant Co. at Aleppo at this time.

[61] Robert Frampton was appointed as Chaplain at Aleppo on the 30th August 1655. He held the post till 1670. He was the seventh to fill the office, and was chosen for his "extraordinary merit." He paid a visit to England in 1666, when he gave an account of the abuses suffered by the English at Aleppo. After his final return from the East, he became Bishop of Gloucester. In 1691 he resigned his see as a nonjuror, and died in retirement in 1708. For a fuller account, see *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains of the Levant Company*, by J. B. Pearson.

[62] If Campbell were really as destitute as Flower describes him to be (see note 19 on p. 103, *ante*), it is difficult to understand how he could have acquired so much property in a few months.

[63] *i. e.*, £225, reckoning the rupee at 2s. 3d.

[64] *i. e.*, 1669-70.

THE CHUHRAS.

BY THE REV. J. W. YOUNGSON, D.D., CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MISSION; SIALKOT.

(Concluded from p. 116.)

Ih sattân zîmîâṅ dâ bhâr hai, sattê haiṅ âsmân,
Pichhê chuksâṅ Hajrat Shâh sâṅ, oh baṛâ jawân.
Us gôḍêâṅ tîkar âṅdîâṅ sab ṭuṭ gayâ samân.
Kumb karn Daiṅsar ajêhê jinhâṅ dî chôṭî dhur âsmân,
Ih dhan Bâlâ pîr bhagat hai dargâh-ê-parwân
Pîr jô gurzâṅ chukkê lag aggê paindâ
Tâṅ us swâmî môṛkê muṛ ghar nûṅ ândê,
Swâmi mangê dachhṇâ, bhôjaṅ nahîṅ khândê,
Na unhâṅ lagî bhukh hai, na andar jâṅdê,
Khâṇâ kikar khâiyê tuddh hatteâ kîtî
Sakkâ nahîṅ aulâd dâ, gal burî âh kîtî.

Assâṅ tê kêhâ sî hasdêâṅ, gall ôhô kîtî
Bâlak tû jawâl lai jih bhagtî âh kîtî.
Na maiṅ kîtî bhagtî na kôî kamâî
Mêrâ sâḍhê traê hath vit hai, Rabb dhandê lâî.
Tû baṛâ bhagat mahâṅ balî hai, pur azmat lâî.
Tû Machh agasôṅ lâ laiâ dê dh mak kalâî.
Tû Nâmê bhagat nûṅ baurêôṅ mâe gaeî jawâî,
Sip salâmâṅ dhariyâṅ, biptâ kaṭwâî.
Dhaṅakh dharê sir sêhrê Sîtâ Râm malâî,
Tuddhê Râṇî Drôptî dîkâîâṅ kajwâîṅ
Tû jag gêôṅ Baldêv dê, taiṅ dê vaḍiyâî,
Daiṅîsar kâ sir kaṭiyâ Râm nê Laink luṭâî,
Tû rât Bhavîsar kaṭiyâ hôêôṅ sant sahâî,

He lifted them. The genii and gods
Did wonder. 'Fourteen clubs,' they cried, amazed,
'He's lifted; one's enough for *us*. They weigh
Seven earths and seven heavens. Once Hazrat Shâh,
The strong, did lift them, but even he could lift
Them only to his knees; then his great strength
Did fail him. Dhainsur, tall as heaven, could show
Such power, and only he. But Bâlâ, priest
Of God beloved, is great.' The priest marched on
In front, and so he brought the saints back to
His house. They ask for *dachnâ, sadhu's* fee.
They seek not food, they are not hungry, nay,
They even refuse the house to enter, saying,
'How can we eat thy food? Thou'st murder done.
Thy sons thou lovedst not; we but jested; wrong
Thou'st done. Raise now thy sons to life, if thou
Hast worshipped God.' The priest made answer,
'I have earned no merit. But three cubits and
A half my body is; and even so
It full of trouble is, God given.' They said,
'Thou art a mighty saint, with honours crowned.'
The priest replied, 'O God, thou once didst send
The fish, and from the heavens the bow: Thou didst

Têrî châr jugâṅ vaḍiâi hai châr Vêdâ gawâî.
Nâṅak, Angad, Amar Dâs, ral bhagat kamâî,
Têg Bahâdur, Gurû Govind Singh daswîṅ badshâhî,
Itnêâṅ bhagatâṅ baurêôṅ vâri mêrî âi,
Ihdê pardê kajṅê phir hô sahâi.
Bâlêâ, na zamîn âsmân si na kalan siyâhî
Têrâ rûh rêhâ vich sip dê, têri umar vihâṅi,

Na tûṅ khâdhâ ann si, na pîtâ pâṅî.
Tâṅ nâm mêrâ jap lêyâ kar amrit bâṅî.
Tâṅ qarzâî hôyâ maiṅ vaḍḍâ âṅi,
Bâlak tû jagâ lê, phir suttê jâṅî.
Dachchhṅâ maiṅ lê lêṅâ tâṅ rôṭi khâṅî.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ paṛh amrit bâṅî.
Dôâṅ jîâṅ nûṅ pakaṛ lê chal vêch bâzâr,
Jâṅ kôi gâhak sadlêâ kôi dassê kâr,
Dachhṅâ pûrâ karn nûṅ barôbar mâl,
Nâlê sâdhâṅ vêkh lêyâ sab hâl hawâl,
Râjî hôkê khâ lêyâ bah vart ô pâr.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ paṛh nâm chatâr.
Sâdh râzi hôkê ôh baiṭhê âṅ.
Bâlak dôvê âṅkê kôl khalôtê âṅ.
Sâdh bâlak vêkhkê hô rêhê hairân.
Ih baṛâ bhagat mahâṅ bali hai phir vich jahâṅ.
Ḳhalq Ullâh sârî vêkhkê, hô gayi qurbân,
Qurbânî hundi isturah, kar samajh bayân.
Chêlâ âkhê, Dânêâ, ih jag hi parwân.

Help Nâmâ once, thy servant, and didst raise
The cow to life again. And Balmîk's shell
Salaamed thee — Balmîk thou didst take from out
It. Janak once adorned fair Sîtâ's head
With flowers. Thou once didst send her Râm to be
Her husband. Drôptî too thou veildst, all
To hide her nakedness. Thon wentest once
A guest when sacrifice Baldêo made.
The glory thine. The head of Dhainsur thou
Didst lop, and helpedst Râm to plunder once
Ceylon. Bhavisar too thou stayedst a night
With. Helper always thou art to thine own.
In every age thy glory is. The Vêds
Give witness. Nânak, Angad, Amar Dâs,
United all to worship thee, and Têgh
Bahâdur, Gurû Govind Singh, the tenth
Great leader of the Sikhs, were all by thee
Assisted. My turn comes: 'tis thou that can,
Save me from all disgrace: now help thou me.'
God said, 'O Bâlâ, when there was no earth,
Nor heaven, nor pen, nor ink, thy soul then lived
In pearly shell for many ages. Food
Thou atest not, nor didst drink of water cold
A draught, but with sweet words thou oft didst take
My Name. I owe a debt to thee which I
Will pay. Now raise thy sons believing them
Asleep. My fee I'll take, and then I'll dine.'
In language sweet the true disciple made
This song. The priest caught up his sons, and straight
To the market place to sell them, or to hire
Them out to work, that he might have a fee
To give the holy ones in full. They saw,
They undertsood; they broke their fast and dined.
The true disciple has compiled the songs

Kahô, Dânêâ, paikambar Rabbê âp banâê?

Of praise. Now read — adore the Name! Were pleased
Those holy ones. They sat, they ate, and near
Them close the brothers stood to their surprise.
'A mighty devotee is this,' they said,
'And full of power in the world.' The people saw,
And loved. This Dânâ was, confess, a good
And proper sort of sacrifice. This sort,
The Chela says, is acceptable. Say,
O Dânâ, did not God the prophets make?

Lâ nazdîk banâkê Rabb pâs bahâê,
Ihnân paikamburân nâḷ Rabb bhâi chârê pâê,
Mûsâ rôṭî varjiyâ Rabb sad khôwâê.
Aiḍê aiḍê darsh nê paikamburân lâê.
Kauṅ rîsâṅ karangê, ammâṅ dê jâê.
Pîr âkhêâ, Dânêâ, hain Mussalmân,
Wâz karên Rabb dâ têrê vich nahîn îmân,
Maihmânî Mûsâ varjiyâ Rabb na kîtâ hai parwân.
Chhe mahînê ann pakkâkê phir hôr pakân.
Nûri jhubbâ pahinke, Rabb mangan jân,
Saṛiyâ manḍâ dêkê paikambar, magrôn dhakkê lân.
Magrôn maggarî Rabb nûṅ, phir saddan jân.
Saṛiâ manḍâ rikhâ dittâ sab ṭuṭ gayâ mân.
Gaḍḍî ann ladâkê, phir naldî lê jân.
Khâ khâ ann jê machchhiân gayâ samajh jahân.
Hoyâ jag sapûran na, vich dargâhê parwân.
Chêlê siftân jôṛiân sab khôl bayân.

God made them his own friends, and seated them
Beside Him. Moses once invited God
To dine. He went to call him. Such great things
The prophets did. Who are their equals? None.
There is no mother now to bear such sons
As they were. 'Dânâ,' said the priest, 'thou callst
Thyself a Muslim, preachest God, but faith
In thee there is not. Moses called the Lord
To dine. In vain he called. Moses cooked
For full six months, when God, enrobed in light,
A pauper came to beg, but Moses thrust
Him from the door bestowing on him one
Burnt cake. Soon after Moses went to call
His guest, but there, when showed the cake which he
Had given the pauper, greatly shamed was he
And carted all his fresh made cakes to feed
The fishes in the river. This the whole
World understood. The sacrifice was not
Accepted.' Thus the true disciple gave
In song a full account.

Shahr Dhanêsar vich sî, ik pândâ bhârâ.
Pustak jad ôh vâchdâ, dissê arsh munârâ
Shahri lôg uhnûṅ âkhdê jôtashî bhârâ.

There lived one time
A Hindu teacher in Dhanesar town
Who read wise books, and had great love. He was
A great astrologer, received no alms,

Dân nahîn ôh chukdâ uhnûṅ Râm piyârâ.
Jân ghar ê âwê pândhâ dalîlâṅ kardâ.
Kalêja mêrâ khâ lêô, jadôn main mardâ.
Aivên vich chikhân dê chêtâ saṛ mardâ

And loved great Râm. One day from thought he said,
'My liver eat when death comes; do not let
It burn upon the funeral pile — who eats

Jihṛâ khâêgâ kalêjâ pândhâ hai ghar dâ.
Jân ghar âwê pândhâ îh salâh pakâê,
Pândhâ bhârâ hôwêgâ, jô kalêjâ khâê.
Suṅkê gallân Jastrî nit kannîṅ pâê.
Tê vêḷâ hath Bhagwân dê jihnû Râm duwâê,
Gaṅê na khuṭê jôsiyê, â punnâ kâḷ,
Vêhî nê jind kaḍḍh lêî, sâhs nikḷê sô nâḷ.
Pêṭ châk kar lêô nê kalêjâ bhâḷ,
Chhikkê uttê rakhiyê vich kaj rumâl,
Mûṅhhâne suchchê ôh ṭur payê ôhdâ karn shishkâr,
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ paṛh nâm chitâr.
Jastrî us gal nûṅ nit pêi pukârê.
Us kalêjâ chhikkêôṅ lâh lêyâ muṅh rakh dô bârê,
Bâhar shahrôṅ ṭur gayî mûṅh rakh ujârê.
Chêtâ kôî ghar ê âṅkê, mat mainûṅ mârê.
Jistrî ṭurkê pahautîâ jâkê banbâs.

Ik lakh tapiyâ tap kardâ sî kîtâ niwâs.
Tapîâṅ kôḷ Jastrî gayi vâr ô vâr
Chhe mahînê labbhiyâ Bâlê pîr dê darbâr.
Jastrî Bâlê pîr de jâ sâmhnê baiṭhî.
Tû mêrâ hai bâp jî, maiṅ têrî hâṅ bêṭî.
Pîr jô âkhê Jastriyê, phir suṅ tû bêṭî
Bahnâ sôhnâ dharm hai, phir karmâṅ sêtî
Chuhṛêâṅ dâ maiṅ pîr hâṅ, tû Brahman bêṭî,

Jarm piyârâ, pîr jî, jihṛâ Rabb nûṅ bhâwê,
Maiṅ tapiyê âî vêkhkê kull sabbhô sârê.
Duniyâ dê vich tapî aê, pândhê mulwâṅê,
Lôkâṅ nûṅ das târdê âp dôzakh jânê.
Narak dê vich tapî haiṅ, pândhê mulrâṅê,
Maiṅ labbhiyâ hai bhâḷkê phir chhaḍ nahiṅ jânâ.
Pîr jô âkhê Jastriyê, suṅ bîbî râṅî,
Jô kuchh Bhagwân likhiyâ amrit kar jâṅîṅ,
Dittâ Bhagwân dâ khâkê, bah umar laughânî
Mâl sâḍḍâ châr khâṅ vich jâh bahânî,
Jastrî kailîâṅ chârdî, kôî bari aiyâṅî,
Kailîâṅ jâkê chugdîâṅ vich jûh niwâṅî.
Sârâ din ôh chârdî piyândî sî pâṅî,
Ḍêrê âwê pîr dê, jâd raiṅ rihâṅî.
Suṅkê gallâṅ pîr dîâṅ râzî bah bâṅî.

My liver will succeed me.' This he told
To all. 'Whoever will be teacher great
Must eat my liver.' Jastrî often heard
And well remembered it. She thought, 'In God's
Good time some one will have it. Death approached
The old astrologer, his breath grew short,
The angel of grim death took out his life,
He ceased to breathe, — they opened him, they took
His liver out — they hung it in a bag
Suspended from the roof and hidden in
A handkerchief. Then fasting, at the dawn
Of day they burned him. The disciple sang
These praises. Read and think about the Name.
But Jastrî well remembering his last
Bequest, took down the liver, swallowed quick
Two parts, and went towards the desert, for
She feared the people of the house. A lad
Of holy men were in the wild, 'mong whom
She lived. She went among them till at last
When full six months had passed, she found herself
With Bâlâ face to face. 'Thy daughter I,
My father thou,' she said. The priest replied,
'My daughter, hear. It is not right that thou
Shouldst sit with me a Chahṛa priest, and thou
A Brâhman's daughter. Go seek thou, my child,
Another.' But she said, 'That caste, O priest,
Is good that God loves. I have seen them all,
Hindu and Muslim priests that lead to heaven
And go to hell themselves — yes there there are
Both *pândâs* and *mulwânâs*; I have found
And will not leave thee.' 'Jastrî,' said the priest,
'My gentle queen, what God decrees, be sure,
Is living water; eat what He provides.
Here live, and tend our herds within this wild.'
A child she was. She tended his black kine
In pastures low. All day she herded, and,
At even she led them to the water. Then
At night she heard the words of Bâlâ with

Ḍêrê bahndê rât nûṅ karê nâm kahâṇî.
Jastrî sâdhnî lôk hai, Pîr Bâlê târî,
Duniyâ uhnûṅ yâd nahîṅ, maiṅ vihâî hâṅ ki kovârî,
Yâd nahîṅ uhnûṅ vêrvê, na jân piyârî.
Jastrî hô gayî sâdhnî, kôî Bhagwân nê târî.
Ik din kailiâṅ chârdî, pêî râh dê nâl,
Bhannê jandê lôk nê, kôî bêshumâr,
Na kôî sâthî ik dâ na kôî dujjâ nâl,
Khalôtî Jastrî vêkhdî, aj kî hawâl ?
Phir Jastrî aggê pîr dê, â arj gujârî,
Bhannî jândî, bâp jî, aj duniyâ sârî,
Râh nahîṅ kôî vekhdâ, paê jân ujâṛî.
Aggôṅ nahîṅ maiṅ puchhdâ, sharmâṅ dî mârî.
Phir Jastrî nûṅ pîr dasdâ, sabh khôl bayân,
Bhalkê mêlâ kumb dâ vaḍḍâ ashnân.
Vich jiddê phir nahatêâṅ pâp sarîrôṅ jân,
Êhô mêḷâ kumb dâ, lôg bhannê jâṅ.

Jastrî âkhdî pîr nûṅ chalê chaliyê asîṅ,
Ajhâ nahâûṅ such dâ chalô nahâeiyê asîṅ
Râji hôkê ṭôr bâp jî, âvâṅ rât ajjô hî
Sunkê gallâṅ Jastrî, hô taiyâr khalôtî,
Kumb nahâuṇâ Jastriyê, phir êk palkârâ.
Us vêḷê kôî nahâ lavê, ôh dharm dôvârâ,
Uttê bahiṇâ ṭhâkurâṅ phir ik palkârâ
Us vêḷê kôî nahâ lavê, phir karmâṅ wâḷâ.
Jô vêḷâ yâd hai mâr paiṇḍâ sârâ.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ, kar'aql nahârâ.
Jastrî âkhdî pîr nûṅ, kar manôṅ vichâr,
Ṭhâkarâṅ dê bahṇ di nahîṅ mainû sâr,
Ajehâ nahâûṅ such dâ, chal mainûṅ târ.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛiâṅ, paṛh nâm chitâr.

Savâ pahr din chaṛhiyâ, Ṭhâkarâṅ dê bahṇ di vârî,
Maiṅ pâṇî bhar lêâvâṅgâ êk gaḍvâ kharî
Tû gharê hî bahkê nihâ lêṅ, paî pâp utârîṅ
Jâ tû vich ujâṛ dê, pêî kailiâṅ chârîṅ.
Ik Bâhmaṇ bâl umar sî, dêhî kushṭh satâṇâ,
Lôkâṅ uhnûṅ âkhiyâ, Bâhmaṇâ hô siyâṇâ,

Great reverence. She sat within his hut
And heard strange stories of the Name. A saint
Is Jastrî. Bâlâ blessed her. She the world
Forgot, nor cared to be a wedded wife,
Nor cared for life itself — a nun she was.
God blessed her. Caring for her cows one day
She saw great crowds of people run, and wondering
She asked the priest, 'O father, all the world
Is hasting to the jungle, shunning quite
The road. No questions dared I ask.' The priest
Explained, 'We have to-morrow morn the great
Kumb-mêlâ, when they bathe in Ganges stream.
At season opportune a bath one takes
In Ganges water washes all one's sins
Away. This is Kumb-mêlâ. People run
To it.' Said Jastrî, 'Let us also go
And bathe, or else send me, my father, I
Will straight return to-night.' He gave her leave,
And Jastrî in the twinkling of an eye
Will bathe before the world. All such as bathe
At such an hour are meet for heaven. The gods
Will sit a moment at the river's mouth
And happy he who bathes at such a time.
If you such fortune have, go all the way.
With wisdom has the true disciple made
These songs. Said Jastrî to the priest, 'Thou knowest
The time when gods sit; if indeed to bathe
Ensures such blessing, help me to obtain
It.' The disciple made these songs to sing
And praise the Name. The priest said, 'When one
And one full quarter of the morning watch
That sees the sun has passed the gods sit. Stay
At home. A basin full I'll give thee. Bathe.
It is enough to wash your sins away.
Then herd your cows again.' A Brâhman was,
Who once became a leper. People said,
'O Brahman, wisdom learn, to-morrow is
The bathing day.' So he prepared his flour,
And grain, and when they asked him whither he
Was going, 'To the Ganges,' said he, 'I

Bhalkê mêlâ kumb dâ, tû ôthê jânâ,
Pallê kharch pâ lêyâ âtâ tê dâna,
Puchhan uhnâṅ lôg jad, Âhndâ main Gangâ jânâ,
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, mangê fazl rabbânâ,
Bâhmaṅ râhôṅ ghuskê pai gayâ ujâṛî,
Ohdê lêkh matthê dê khul gayê, kîtî mastak yârî,
Aggê Jastrî vich ujâṛ dê, pêî kailîâṅ chârê.
Puchchiyâ Jastrî, Bâhmaṇâ, têrî dêhî hai bhârî,
Jarm dittâ sî mâpêâṅ, dukh Rabb châ lâê,
Dânê pânî parâlabhat, taiṇûṅ âṅ milâyâ,
Nikkê vaḍḍê bhhrâ nê, phir sabbhô vihkâê,
Bhâbîâṅ sôvâṇîâṅ jinhâṅ bâlak jâê,
Main chaliyâ nahâûṅ kumb dê, Rabb kôṛh gavâê.
Kumb nahâuṇâ Bhmaṇâ, phir hai nahiṅ vêlâ,
Tainûṅ êthê jândêâṅ hô jâê ku vêlâ,
Pichchhâṅ nûṅ muṛ jâ khâṅ, ghar jâ savêrâ,
Bârâṅ barsî âô sî, phir ihô vêlâ.
Bâhmaṇ main anâth sâṅ, dukh Rabb châ lâyâ,
Dâna pânî parâlabhat, tainûṅ âṅ milâyâ,
Bâhmaṇ hath chchâ jôṛdâ, phir
Hath jôṛkê kharâ hôgayâ, sir qadamâṅ tê lâyâ.
Mihr â gayî man Jastrî, dil tarsâṅ âyâ,
I... sâḍḍê chal khâṅ, jekar pîr ê âyâ.
Jâṅdê Bâhmaṇ râhi nûṅ Jastrî yâ lîyâ bândhâ,
Jêṅ Hîr pattaṇ toṅ môṛkê, ghar Rânjhâ ândâ.
Jêṅ sassî pattaṇ malliyâ, ghar Punnû ândâ.
Jêṅ Sôhnî ḍubbî nîr vich, nit 'ashq satândâ.
Jêṅ Rôḍê mârâṅ khadhîâṅ kharê kurlândâ
Jêṅ magar Balôch dê bhannâ sî jandâ.
Jastrî âkhdî pîr nû, Tainûṅ karm rabbânâ,
Ih Bâhmaṇ hai anâth, dêhî kushṭh satânâ.
Mârêâ kôyâ kôṛh dâ, âhndâ main Gangâ jânâ
I... kâyâ sudh hô jâê, ih jag hai shahânâ.
Pîr ... dil tars âgayâ, man sû âgayâ mihr,
Ikkê gaḍvê pânî dâ, sânnûṅ trêhâyâṅ nûṅ dhêr,
Gangâ jal tû saṭkê, hath piṇḍê pher.
P... Bâlâ bauṛdâ nahiṅ lândâ dêr.
Pîr ... âkhê Jastriyê, chauphêrê vêkh chauphêrî.
Gangâ jal tû saṭ dêṅ, ih hath piṇḍê phêrê,
... ... phir kaṭîyê, ghar jâê savêrê,
Bâhmaṇ ... Jastrî jêṅ piṇḍê mêlê,

Must go.' The true disciple has composed
These songs — he seeks God's grace. The Brahman lost
His way, but fate marked on his forehead helped
Him — fortune him befriended. Jastrî fed
Her cows in the jungle. 'Why,' she asked, 'look you
So swollen?' He said, 'My parents gave me birth,
But God has smitten me. My bread, and fate's
Gift, water, brought me here to you. I have
Both elder brothers and some younger too.
But I an outcast am. My sisters have
Fair children. Now I go to bathe on this
Great Kumb day, that my leprosy my God
May cure.' 'O Brahman, now there is no time
To bathe in Kumb. Go home, and twelve short years
Will bring the blessed time again.' 'A poor
And hapless Brahman I! God sent this ill,
A water and my fate have brought
Me here.' The Brâhman stood with folded hands
Before her; placed his head upon her feet.
She pitied him. 'Come to the hut,' she cried.
'The priest may now have come from Ganges stream.'
She captured him as Hîr did Ranja when
She made him leave the boat-bridge on the stream;
As Sassi sat on the bridge and brought again
Her Punnu; just as Sohni for her love
Was drowned, being sick of love; as Roda cried,
Being beaten. He ran after the Baloch.
And Jastrî said, 'O priest, God-blessed art thou.
This Brâhman, leprous, goes to wash himself
In Ganges stream. If he is cured indeed
A Shahi sacrifice we see.' The priest
Was moved—a basinful of water was
A stream for thirsty souls. 'The Ganges stream
Pour on thy body; rub thyself.' The priest
Great Bâlâ helps, and lingers not. He said
'O Jastri, find a pond and straightway throw
The Ganges water in, and in it let

Jastrî utthê pôâiyâ hathân tê pâṅî,
Ih bî shagun tadôn dâ, phir jug kahâṅî,
Rizq môhârâṅ chukîâṅ, phir dâṅê pâṅî.
Chêlâ âkhê Jastrî, Bâhmaṅ lê jâṅî.
Chappṛî vêkhî Jastrî, bhannî tê gahrî,
Gangâ jal us saṭṭiyâ, ṭubhhê Bâhmaṅ mârî,
Ôhdî kayâṅ suddh hôgayî, jêuṅ lâl angiyârî.
Dujjî ṭubhî mârkê, phir dalîl guzârî,
Mêrê lêkh mathê tê khul gaê, phir mastak sârî.
Ih mêrâ Bhagwân hai, kôî kishan autârî,
Muṅh uttê hath phêrkê, Bâhmaṅ ṭubhî trîyî mârî,
Jastrî mang lain dî dil vich dalîl guzârî,
Us ôchhalleôṅ pâṅî saṭṭiyâ, lâî sû târî,
Bâhmaṅ puchchê Jastrîyê, Viâhî hai, kôvârî?
Bâhmaṅ âkhê Jastrîyê nâl mêrê jâiṅ
Pairiṅ kaṛîâṅ pâkê hamêl hanḍâiṅ,
Nath, ḍanḍîâṅ, ârsî, sir chauṅk châ pâiṅ.
Nâḷ mêrê ṭur paô, Bâhmaṅî sadâiṅ
Jangaḷ vich baiṭhkê, aithê kî banâêṅ?

Trêvar lai lai paṭ dâ bhûrî châ lâîṅ,
Jastrî âkhê, Bâhmaṅâ, ih gal hai kâṛî,
Maiṅ charnîṅ lagî hâṅ pîr dî, mêrî pai gayî pârî.
Na trêvar lêṅâ paṭ dâ, maiṅ nûṅ changî hai bhûrî.
Na ḍôlî chaṛhnâ shagaṅ dê, na khâṅî chûrî.
Tû jâkar kôî Bâhmaṅî, maiṅ hunîṅ hâṅ chûhṛî.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ, karkê manjûrî.
Bâhmaṅ aggê pîr dê, kîtî arzôî.
Tussî jangaḷ andar hô rahê, n ihîṅ ṭabbar kôî.
Ghar tuhâḍḍî Jastrî, kithôṅ paidâ hoî.

Him bathe, and whole return.' So Jastrî, just
As Hindu priests on Ganges' banks are used
To do, poured water on his hands. From thence
The custom rose in the world. 'Twas then her bread
And water took their rise. The *chela* says,
'O Jastrî, thee the Brâhman will take clean
Away.' The pond that Jastrî found was full
Of mud and stagnant water, so he poured
The Ganges water in, and forthwith dived.
His body grew like burning coal, quite whole.
A second time he dived and in his heart
Conceived a thought. 'Fate's impress on my brow
Has helped me — now my fortune's clear—the priest
Is like a God to me—he is for me
Krishn incarnate.' Once again he rubbed
His face in his hands, and dived a third time. Now
He firm resolved to ask fair Jastrî. Then
He splashed and swam, and said, 'O Jastrî, say
Are you a virgin or a wedded wife?
Come, Jastrî, come with me — I'll give you gifts,
Feet ornaments and necklace you shall have,
A nose ring, ear-rings, thumb ring, golden crown,
All these, and you will be a Brâhman's wife.
What have you here in this wild jungle? Put
You off your plaid, and you shall have a gown
Of silk.' But Jastrî said, 'O Brâhman this
Can never be, for I have humbly sat
At this priest's feet, and he has blessed me. I
Care nought for silken clothes. I love my plaid.
I care not for a palanquin, how good
So e'er the omens be. Rich food is not
My choice. Go wed a Brâhman girl. I am
A Chûhṛî.' With great pains these songs were made.
The Brâhman humbly made request before
The priest. 'The jungle is your home; you have

Chêlê siftân jôṛîân kardâ arzôî.
Main phir jaddî Bahmân hân, na Ḍûm na Nâî,
Têrê bûhê tê âṅké, main sêvâ hai lâî,
Jastrî mainûn châ dê, gast mandî sahî,
Jê phir Jastrî na dê ên, marân kaṭârî khâî.
Pîr jô âkhê, Jastrîyê, vêkh Bâhman bênavâ,
Hun jhûldâ dukh nûn, hun mangdâ viâh,
Nâl ihdê phir tur paô, sir khûn na chaṛhâ,
Vas mêrê phir kuchh nahîn, magar andôn ilâ
Jastrî aggê pîr dê, lâ baiṭhî chârâ,

Kyûn râh bhulâṅdâ haqq dâ, kî karnâ kârâ.
Magar mêrê pai gêôn, Bâhmaṅâ gawârâ,
Rannân phirnâ bhâldâ, ajê hun sâên duk hiyârâ.
Bâlê pîr Jastrî nûn, ik gal sunâî,
Sîtâ sî sat vantî, ghar Râm viâhî âî,
Harichand lârân lê lêiân, parî arshôn tôn âî.
Lôî bhagat kabîr dê ghar viâhî âî,
Kubjan dê ghar kâhn hôyâ, Bashdêv viâhî.
Jis Bâbâ Nânak jammiyâ, dhan hai oh mâî,
Kithôn vadhê pirmathî, gal bandî nahîn,
Chêlê siftân jôṛîân, paṛh nâm sunâî.
Chup kar gayî Jastrî, âyâ sharmân dâ vêlâ,
Bâhman dê nâl jâ khân, dân dêûn changêrâ.
Jad nau nêzê pânî vaggiya sî, asmânî ghêrâ
Têrî kuṭṭiyâ sukki rihî sî, pânî nahîn ghaṭṭiyâ phêrâ.
Tû bî sukhî rêhâ sâhên, karm kîtâ changêrâ.
Dêôtêân kêlôn mang lêâ, chand, suraj, zamîn hai têrâ.
Ôh dân dê khân, mang khân changêrâ.
Chêlâ siftân jôṛîân, kar 'aql vadhêrâ.
Bâlê pîr us vêlê siklaump kardî,

Chand grahn kâ dân dittâ phir Jastrî tâîn.

No wife; how could fair Jastrî be to you
A daughter?' This the true disciple makes
These songs with lowly heart. 'A Brâhman I,
No bard or barber, I sit at your doors
A suppliant — give her to me, a boon.
Or else I will with knife relentless take
My life.' The priest said, 'Jastrî, look at this
Weak Brâhman—but a moment gone he was
A sorry leper, now he wants to wed.
Go with him — let him not for your sake do
Himself an injury. And blame me not,
For you yourself did bring him.' Jastri then
Began to make excuse in presence of
The priest. 'Why send me hence away out of
God's way? Why should I take this step? Oh why,
O Brâhman, have you followed me? But now
A leper, you come women to pursue.'
The priest to Jastrî said, 'A virgin pure
Was Sita. Harichand did marry her
To Ram, the fairies in attendance. Once
Too Loî fair became the wife of saint
Kabîr. Kubjan gave birth to Kahn, the wife
Of Bashdev was she. Blessed was the one
Who bore great Baba Nanak. Thus the world
Was peopled.' The disciple made these songs,
Then sing and glorify the Name. So still
Was Jastrî, bashful grown. 'Go,' said the priest,
'This Brâhman wed. I'll give you dowry large.'
She said, 'When once a flood full nine spears deep
O'erspread the earth, the sky was dark with clouds,
Then thy house only stood as dry as dust
When all the world was flooded. Thou did'st get
A blessing from the gods — the moon and sun
Are witnesses. That blessing give to me.
The privilege of begging, which is good.'
The true disciple has compiled these songs
With wisdom. Bâlâ gave to Jastrî right
To alms and gifts at every eclipse

Bêṭâ têrê vichôṅ hôwêgâ, nâm Vêdvâ dharâiṅ
Chand grahṅ mang khâṅgê, rôz qiyâmat tâîṅ
Sâḍḍê dân dittê, Dânêâ, aj dêâṅ aiyâṅîâṅ tâîṅ,
Jhûṭhê maslê karkê, kisî Mussalmân nûṅ suṅâîṅ.
Dânê âkhê pîr nûṅ, Mussalmân hô jâîṅ,
Musalli karân palk vich, shartâṅ karvâîṅ,
Kalma paṛhê Muhammad dâ, mômin hô jâîṅ.
Mazhab 'Âdam dâ saddîyê, bihishtî jâîṅ,
Pîr jô âkhê, Dânêâ, suṅ sâḍḍî bât,
Na kadî rôza rakhiyâ, na paṛhî namâz,
Na 'Âdam dê mazhab dê vich haûṅ, na kalmê dê sâth,
Pichhâṅ dassâṅ khôlkê, sârî qurâjât.
Bâvê 'Âdam lêâ sî, vich bihishtâṅ vâs,
Us dâṅa khâdhâ kaṅak dâ, pêṭ bharvâs.
Ôrak mailâ âûṅâ, ih bhairî bâsh,
Hukm kîtâ Rabb bhêḍ nûṅ, us lêâ sû bhâsh.
Us tê sharâ challâî paikambarâṅ, mailê tê kîtâ na visvâs.
Kikar khâdhî, Dânêâ, bhêḍ, paikam barâṅ pâk,
Das, kadôṅ tû rêhâ sâêṅ vich bihishtâṅ rât ?
Kihrî ôthê diṭṭhî zâhî, ik Rabb dî zât ?
Us dâ kalma paṛhâṅgê, karkê iklâ's.
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ hô bê vasvâs.
Jê tê sharâ chalâî paikambarâṅ, ôh chîz nahîṅ makrûhât,
Mussalmân khâûṅî phir nâl ravâit,
Paikambar jîhṛî kar gaê, phir kull hikâit,
Assâṅ ṭurnâ usdê, phir nâl hidâit.
Pîr jô âkhêâ, Dânêâ, paikambarâṅ dî sabh jhûṭh kahâṅî,
Bhêḍ nahîṅ sî mailâ chaḍḍiyâ, tâṅ nahîṅ sî khâṅî.
Shartâṅ lnâ, dêô istrîâṅ dîâṅ, âkhdê Rabb dî farmâṅî,
Chaudah tabak kahndêô, nau qutb rabbânî,
Phir kikar dôhtrê mar gayê, phir bâjôṅ pâṅî,
Chêlê siftâṅ jôṛîâṅ paṛhê amrit bâṅî.
Na rôza na ashṭmî, na hajj 'îd guzârî.

Of the moon, and said, 'My child, from thee will spring
A people called Vêdvâs, who till the day
Of Resurrection will take alms, the moon
Eclipsed. O Dânâ, know that Vêdvâs take
Due gifts, this blessing being the cause. Repeat
False teaching to some Mussalmân.' 'Become,'
Retorted Dânâ, 'Mussalmân yourself.
Musalli I can make you in a trice.
The way I know — repeat the *kalima*
Of our Muhammad ; be among the true
The faithful. This is Âdam's faith, that will
Bring you to heaven.' The priest replied, 'Fasts we
Have never kept, nor offered Muslim prayer,
We know not Adam, nor the *kalima*
Shall I to you your history tell? Know then
Your father Adam lived in Paradise.
Where once of greed he ate a grain of wheat.
That in him caused corruption, which the sheep
At God's command did eat. All refuse is,
Therefore, forbidden. But the sheep you eat,
And it is all unclean. When did you spend
A night in Paradise? What caste was there?
His *kalima* I'll speak with all my heart
Who came from thence.' The true disciple made
These songs, being free from care. Dânâ replied,
'The law allows us ; we will eat such things
As history approves. The prophets gave
A perfect law — we follow them.' Then said
The priest, 'O Dânâ, false are all the tales
That are of prophets told: the sheep did not
Abstain from food forbidden. For your wives
You gamble, saying, God bade you. Fourteen parts
You say the world contains, with nine great poles
And all Muhammad's. Why then sadly died
His daughter's children without water?' See

Na 'Âdam dê mazhab dî lôr hai na kamlê dî vârî,
Tû bî khôlkê das khâh, apnî gur parnâlî,
Chêlé siftân jôrîân Rabb paij sawârî.
Pîr jô âkhêâ, Dânêâ, sun sâddîân bâtân,
Bârâ 'Âdam thîn hoîân nî, phîr sabbhô zâtân
Magrôn uttpati hôî hai Brahmê thîn jêun shâkhân,

Main jug chhatti rêhâ sân vich jal bhimb dê râtân.
Ôthê kalma parhiyâ us êk dâ, dujjâ kêhrâ âkhân,
Chêlé siftân jôrîân, khôl suchchiân bâtân.
Chaudhri Râm Chand tad âkhiyâ, sun Dânêâ qâzi,
Gallân kar kê munh nâl, na karin darâzi.
Pichhê Dillî dâ takht hai, chugattê Gâzi,
Ôthôn tikar jâugâ, charh ghôrîân tâzi,
Dânâ âkhê, Chaudhri, phir tû ki jânêâ,
Ath pakkiân khakê, pai rahên parchhâvên,
Singhâî lassî pîkê, hal tû pêyâ vâhên,
Is paikambar di shara nûn, assî jândê mulvânê,
Dêvi Dâs Khatri kôi mâyâ dhâri,
Us parvarish kîti pîr dî, kôi bêshumâri,
Paisâ ôhdâ vartdê, Khatrî hôth pasâri.
Parhê dê vich khalôkê us arz guzârî.
Sun tû, Dânâ qâziyâ, mat têri mârî
Assân tê ihdî vêkh lêi, auliyâî sârî
Assî jô Hindû lôk hân, patthar nûn sêvên,
Rôṭî dêndê hân khân nûn, lêô patthrô jêvôn,
Ṭikâ mathê lâkê sûraj nûn sêvôn.

The true disciple made in language sweet
These songs, and sings them. 'Fasts we keep not, nor
Do we keep Hindu days, nor go pilgrims
To Mecca, nor keep festival like you,
Nor Adam's faith we follow, nor repeat
The *kalima.* Speak of your own quite plain.,
The true disciple has composed these songs,
God victory gives. The priest said, 'Dânâ, hear
My true defence. From Adam sprang the castes,
And after him like branches people grew
Of Brahmâ. None else has there been. For six
And thirty ages floated I in deep
Dark water, where I the creed did say
Of him who is the Only One. Whom then
Can I call equal to him?' None. These songs
The true disciple made, and vindicates
The truth. Then outspake Chaudri Râm Chand, 'Hear,
Thou, Dânâ, teacher of the law, speak as
Thou pleasest. Use no force: in Delhî rules
A brave Chugatta. I will swiftly ride
To him.' Said Dânâ, 'What knowest thou, my friend,
To eat eight loaves, and sleep in the shade, or drink
Curd water, or go plough the fields. The law
We doctors only know.' A Khatrî was
Rich Dêvî Das, who showed much kindness to
The priest. So rich he was that other men
Did borrow from him. This man standing up
Amidst the crowd said, 'Dânâ, doctor of
The law, you have become a fool. We saw
The priest's strange powers, although I am Hindu
And worship stones, and offer bread and say
To idols, 'Eat;' the sun we worship, see
The marks upon our brows. We doff our clothes

Lîṭê duallôn lâhkê nahâvên tê dhövôn,
Dêvî Dâs âkhiyâ, Hindû mêrâ nân,
Main kadi nahîn gal chhapâî, hun chhapâundâ nâhîn.
Dîvâ bhariyâ pânî dâ, vich battî ih pâî,
Dîvâ dê chhaḍḍ bâḷkê, gal sachchî ih tâîn,
Dîvâ jêkar na bâḷiyâ sharâ jhûṭhî hai tâîn,
Dânê îkaṭṭhê kar lêyê sârê mulvânê.
Vaḍḍâ âp qâzîân, dâ tafsîrân jânê.
'Âlim fâzil maulvî ravaîyatân wâḷê,
Sabbhô jâkê bah gayê, phir dîvê dê duwâḷḷê,
Ôh dê hêṭh dharn Qurân bî, kitâbân vârn.
'Innâ tuainnâ kullôhu,' paṛhn, munh thîn paṛhkê pukâran.
Fazl Ilâhî mangdê, paṛh sahifân mâran,
Dîvâ pânî dâ baldâ nahîn, hath kannân nû mâran,
Jhûṭhê qâzî hô gayê, phir haṭh na hâran,
Bhâwên jhûṭhê hô jân, paê raulâ ê mâran,
Dânê qâzî âkhiyâ, Dîvâ Pîr Shâh bâḷê
Khalôtî hûî ḳhalqat hai, phir sabh duâllê,
Sabbhô mathâ ṭêkangê, raḷ qâzî sârê,
Phir sir ô pâ dêangê, lâ jâê duâllê,
Bâlê nûrî pîr nê Nâm Dhârî saddê,
Dâdû Bhaggû giânî, aggê hath nê baddhê,
Chôp rabbânâ sêkkê, Pîr Bâlê aggê,
Nâm jappô ḳhâh Dhâdhîô, phir dîvâ jâgê.
Bâlê nûrî pîr nê phîr nârâ vâhyâ,
Dîvâ bhariyâ pânî dâ Pîr Shâh jagâyâ
Ôhnîân Allah lajjân rakhîân âp madad sî âyâ.
Lâl ḳhân dâ pôtrâ Pîr Dhagânê jâyâ.
Dânê qâzî âkhiyâ, Tû sûrâ pûrâ.
Vich masîtî chal bahô ḳhân kaun tainûn âhndâ Chûhṛa,
Tû dîvâ pânî dâ bâḷiyâ kam kîtô pûrâ,
Asîn tân têrê chêlê hân, tû pîr hai pûrâ.
Sunkê pîr masît dî dargâhê jâê,
Jâ khaṛâ dargâh vich, jâ arz sunâî,
Lakh rupiyê lâkê qâzî masît banwâî,
Ôh dê ôttê parda pâkê, mêrî maut sû banâî,
Tuddhê pardê kajnê muṛ hô sahâî
Chêlê siftân jôrîân var Durgâ mâî.
Allah âkhê, Bâlêâ, tû pîr hai bhôlâ.

And washing don them. Hindu I, I speak
The truth and fear not. Here a lamp filled full
Of water stands — a wick I place in it.
O doctor, light it by a miracle.
We then shall know you true: unless you can
Your boasted law is proved a lie.' He called
The teachers all, did Dânâ, and he sat
With all the learned men around the lamp.
The book Qorân they placed beneath it, then
They ranged their books about it, while they said,
'*Innâ tuainnâ kullôhû*,' and breathed
Upon the lamp. They asked God's grace, they threw
Their verses at the lamp, but all in vain;
It would not burn, and they were ashamed indeed,
But still they kept their spite, and made a noise
In anger. Dânâ said, 'Let the Pîr Shâh light
The lamp. The whole assemblage will bow down
Their heads before him, and a robe we'll give
Of honour, which he'll wear and go.' The priest
Great Bâlâ, priest of light, sent for those that
Revere the Name, and Dâdû, Phaggû, who
Proclaim the truth, stood up with folded hands.
They warmed their wooden drum and sat before
Great Bâlâ, priest. 'O sing,' cried Bâlâ, 'sing:
Sing hymns in praise of that great Name. The lamp
Shall lighted be.' So Bâlâ, priest of light,
Did shout, and lo, the lamp with water filled
Burst into flame, and Bâlâ's fame was saved,
By God who helped him. This was grandson to
Lâl Khân, the son of Pîr Dhagânâ. 'Thou,'
Cried Dânâ Qâzî, 'art a doughty weight.
Sit in the mosque. Thou art no Chuhṛa, thou!
A wonder thou hast done — disciples we
Are henceforth. Thou art a saint.' When the priest
But heard the name of mosque he went into
God's presence, where he standing made request,
'This Qâzî here has made a mosque that cost
A *lâkh* of silver, and a curtain he
Has curiously contrived to kill me. Come,

Bhangûṛê lê lê gaib dê tê uḍḍan khaṭôlá,
Sail karîn masît dá na rakhîn rauḷá,
Rabb kisî nahîn vêkhiyâ, mâssâ ki tôḷâ,
Bâlâ âkhê Rabb nûn, dê pak pakâṅ,
Nâl mêrê ṭur paô, phir hôkê sach nâm.
Jadôn masît vaṛengâ lêîn aggôn vekh,
Main sâmnê hô khalôvângâ faqîrân dê bhêkh,
Rabb banâyê, Balêa, têrê uchchê lêkh,
Têrâ sânî nahîn kôî, hô dê haiṇ anek,
Bâlâ pîr partkê masît val jâêṅ,
Aggê khalôtâ Rabb sî, ôhde sâmnê jâîn.
Mathâ ṭêkê Rabb nûn Shâh sîs nawâî,
Chêlê sifṭân jôṛiân paṛh nâm sunâîn.
Bâlâ pîr masît vich, bâh arzân kardâ,
Nâḷê pîr kahâûndâ nâḷê Rabb thîn ḍardâ
Panj waqt namâz guzârdâ bah andar paṛhdâ,
Mang duâ Rabb thôn pîr pair bâhar sî dhardâ.
Pîr masîtôn nikḷiyâ, hô aggê nâlôn changâ
Kandhân ḍiggîân girrakê, khûn hô gâyâ nangâ.
Shahr sârâ sî vêkhdâ, lâ dil dî sangâ.

La'nat dêndê Dânê qâzî nûn, kam kîtâ nahîn su changâ.
Pîr masîtôn nikaḷkê, phir bâhar âyâ,
Dânê qâzî dil vich, hôr shugal jagâyâ,
Pîr rôṭî jâê khâkê sir ô pâ mangwâyâ,
Ihnûn jân na dêûnâ, pîr kadhî nahîn âyâ,
Kârîgar sab shahr dê Dânê mangwâê,
Ghêô âṭê khanḍ dê châ ḍhêr lagâê,
Kassan dumbê bakrê Shâh jab ghar âê,
Andrassê kachauriân kaṛâh banwâê,
Ghêô maidê môkê, pakwân kaḍḍê,
Bâsbattî tê mushkanâṇ, châwal mangwâê,
Tarkê laggan pulâô nûn ḳhushbôê jâê,
Chêlê sifṭân jôṛîân paṛh nâm sunâê,

And help me, save me from dishonour.' The
Disciple has composed these songs, by help
Of Durgâ, goddess eloquent. God said,
'O Bâlâ, thou art simple, take for me
Strange vehicles unseen, and flying beds,
And move about the mosque unharmed. Let not
This thing remain disputed. None has seen
God, nor does any know what weight or size
He is.' So Bâlâ said to God, 'Give bread,
Even holy bread to me, and with me be
A true Name.' 'When I enter look on me:
I in the garb of holy man will stand
Before thee. God made for thee, Bâlâ, fate,
Good fortune. Second hast thou none, although
Pîrs there are a many.' Bâlâ Pîr returned
And straight advanced towards the mosque. God there
Was standing. Bâlâ went to Him, and bowed
His head. The true disciple has composed
These hymns, and reads them to proclaim the Name.
Within the mosque our Bâlâ sat and prayed
To God. A priest was he and reverent.
Five times he prayed, and then appeared unhurt
Without the door, when crash the *masjid* walls
Fell flat; the well lay there exposed to view
Of all the world. The whole town saw and stared.
They cursed the Qâzî Dânâ, saying, 'Thou
Hast meanly done.' But Bâlâ stood before
Them in the open. Dânâ planned again.
'We'll feed the priest,' he said, and sent for him
A robe of honour. 'We'll not let him go.
We'll say he never came.' And so he called
The cooks most skilful of the town and loads
Of *ghî* and flour prepared, and said, 'I will
Kill rams and goats when Bâlâ comes to be
My guest.' So cakes and rice and all things good
He had — the flavour spread afar. These songs
The true disciple made, and sings them for
The Name. So Dânâ thought, 'This priest shall not

Dânê qâzî dil vich dalîl daurâî,
Pîr aivêṅ ṭur na jaêṅ, phir bâz azmâêṅ,
Ghar dî kuttî billî ôh zabh karâê,
Kimiyâ khûb baṅâyê, phir sômpî nâî,
Ihnûṅ ghêô vich bhunnâ, pâṅî mul na pâîṅ
Rinnhîn khûb baṅâkê, muṅhôṅ parda na hatâîṅ
Ih khâṅî Bâlê pîr nê, sânnû dujjî pâîn.
Chêlê sijtâṅ jôṛiâṅ paṛh nâm suṅâîṅ.
Kuttî billî suṅkê pîr dargâhê jâê
Jâ kharâ dargâh vich, ja arz suṅâî,
Kuttî billî rêkh lêî chaṛh riddhî hôî,
Pîr paikambar auliyâ nahîṅ khândâ kôî,
Muṅh bismillah paṛhkê, hath chuk pâîṅ thâl,
Kuttî billî uṭhêgî, hukam mêrê dê nâl,
Paihlôṅ kuttî uṭhêgî, phir billî nâl,
Kâhl karkê chuk lêîṅ thâl utôṅ rumâl,
Bâlê pîr Rabb nûṅ, ik gal suṅâî,
Ik zanâni utrî us yârrîṅ châhî
Uhnûṅ Rabb murâdâṅ dittîâṅ, us bêṭâ jâî.
Ôhdâ putt jawân hô pêyâ, buḍḍhî kâj rachâî,
Mêl manḍal us saddiyâ, ḍhôlkî bajwâî.
Janj ridhyâ hô pêî, nâl ṭuriyâ nâî,
Aggê râh rich jândêân ik nadî sî âî,
Janj pâr langh gayî, mâllah lêî millahî.
Janj pahutî jâkê, unhâṅ dârê bahâî,
Tê paisâ dhêlâ vartiyâ, râh changî âî,
Ḍôlî ridiyâ hô pêî, nâl ṭur pêî dâî.

Aggê râh rich jândêâṅ, ôhô nadî âî,
Saṅê janj ḍôlî ḍub gayî, phir bâhar na âî,
Bârâh varhê rôndi rahî phir Rabb âs pahunchâî.
Jân Bâlê pîr nû saddâ karêô, aggê farsh bichhâônâ.
Nafrâṅ jâkê Shâh nûṅ kihâ, rôṭî khâ nurbânâ
Aggê Shâh dê sûrâ tôta, zikr karê subhâna,
Hukam kitâ Shâh Rôshan tâîṅ, Samajhê kaisâ khâṅâ?
Amar Ilâhî vêhi âyâ, môyâ tuddh jâwâna
Dânê khudî dharô kamâyâ, Rabb nê mul na bhâṅâ.
Jad khâṅê uttôṅ parda lahiyâ, hôyâ khêl rabbâna.
Kuttî billî zinda hô gayî, chummê qadam shahâna.
Manjê uttê gayâ baiṭhâ uḍḍê uḍ asmânâṅ,
Uêthan Dânâ karê salâmâṅ dur hôyâ habvâna.

Without good trial go.' He killed and hashed
His cat and dog, and gave them to be cooked
By the village barber, saying, 'Fry it well,
And put no water in. The lid do not
Lift off, and Bâlâ will partake.' The true
Disciple made these songs. Proclaim them for
The Name. The priest in due course heard about
The dog and cat, and going into God's
Most holy presence said, 'I saw the dog
And cat which they have cooked. Priests, prophets, saints,
Have never eaten food like this.' God said,
'Whenever thou shalt put thy hand within
The dish, say 'In God's Name,' and cat and dog
Will rise at my command, the dog and then
The cat. But quick the dish uncover.' So
He told to God a story. 'Once there was
A woman, who to God gave one-eleventh
Of all her income. Gifted he her with
A son, who in due time was married. Then
The drums were beat, and the party with
The barber took their way. A stream they crossed.
The boatmen got their fee, the journey full
Was made, and all and sundry dues being paid
Homewards they came, the barber's wife herself
Being with them, but midway across the stream
The bride with palanquin, and all the rest
Were drowned and lost. The mother wept for twelve
Long years, and God restored them.' Dânâ called
For Bâlâ, spread a carpet for him, sent
His servants with a message, 'Come, my lord.'
A parrot white did shout loud praise to God,
But Bâlâ Shâh said to Shâh Rôshan, 'Dost
Thou know what sort of food this is?' then came
A heavenly message, 'Thou shalt raise the dead,
For Dânâ has deceived thee. God doth like
Him not.' The dog and cat were presently
About the feet of Bâlâ, licking them,
And Bâlâ on his cot rose to mid heaven.

Dhartî upar manjâ âyâ, nêôn nêôn karê salâmân
Dânâ sûrâ pûrâ kahndâ, ditthô, sai nazrânâ,
Sai sûrê main aggê ditthê, karkê gayê salâmân
Gurû Nânak nûn phar andar dittâ, chakki pakar shamhâna.
Shâh Daulâ chhap langhdâ main thîn, munḍa mugar bhajânâ.
Tainûn sûrma Rabb banâyâ, bakhshê mêri jânân

Râzi hô Shâh nazrân lêiân, âyâ, vich makânâ
Sâmiân Shâh di shukar bajâyâ, sharm rakhî Rahmâna,
Vich nishâni jhanḍâ layâ, nâlê gôr zanânâ,
Kanḍê vân pakaṛu pîrâ, mushkil karn asâna.
Aiḍ akhârê Bâlê kitê, ditthâ jumal jahâna.
Main anganhârâ nâm japandâ, khair Janâbôn pânâ.
Ôh ih ik sach Nâm dhani.

Then Dânâ bowed, his pride was broken; and
'*Asûrâ*' said he, giving gifts. He said,
'I many holy men have seen, who me
'Much honoured; Bâbâ Nanak made I grind
My corn; Shâh Daulâ fled; the boys I made
Eject him; thee alone has God made great.
Oh spare my life.' The Shâh accepted all
His gifts, and homewards went; his followers thanked
Great God, who saved him from dishonour. Raised
He his fair flag, and made his grave where all
The people go to pray for help in pain.
Such wonders Bâlâ did — the whole world saw.
A sinner I repeat the Name. From heaven
Give gifts. There is one Name, Eternal, True.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN WESTERN TIBET.

BY THE REV. A. H. FRANCKE.

Supplementary Note.

IN the Plates attached I exhibit three photographs by Dr. E. Neve of Srinagar, Kashmir, which are of special interest, as the objects represented have never before been depicted for the information of scholars. Two are from Alchi Monastery near Saspola (*ante*, Vol. XXXV. p. 325) and the third from Khalatse.

Alchi Monastery.

Plate I. shows a portion of the gallery with its trefoiled arch and wood-carvings. Plate II., fig. 1, shows a portion of the interior. The fresco of the monk behind the statue of Buddha is said to be a portrait of Lotsava Rinchen bZangpo.

Dogra Fort near Khalatse.

Plate II., fig. 2, represents the most ancient inscription on stone (whitened before photographing for clearness) in Ladâkh according to Dr. J. P. Vogel. It is situated a few yards below the Dogra Fort at Khalatse. The characters are Indian Brahmî of the Maurya period. Dr. Vogel reads them to represent the word **Bharad[v]ayasa.** (See *Annual Progress Report, Archæological Survey*, pp. 31-32.)

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Plate I.



Gallery of the Monastery at Alchi-mkhar near Saspola

PHOTO. BY DR. E. NEVE, F.R.C.S., C.M.S.

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Plate II.



Fig. 1. Interior of the Monastery at Alchi-mkhar near Saspola.



Fig. 2. Ancient Inscription at Khalatse, Ladakh.

PHOTOS BY DR. E. NEVE, F.R.C.S., C.M.S.

W. GRIGGS

ON THE NAVASAHASANKACHARITA OF PADMAGUPTA OR P...

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR G. BÜHLER, C.I.E., LL.D., AND DR. TH. ZA...

(Translated from the German by May S. Burgess.)

I. — The Manuscript.[1]

THE following short account of a hitherto unknown Mahâkâvya is based on one ... This manuscript belongs to the little known collection of James Tod, ... Library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London, and is numbered 113. It consists ... and a number of blank) palm-leaves, with two to four lines on the page, in old Nâgar... two first, with the two last leaves, have been completed by a later hand, apparently because the MS. had been injured at the beginning and end. The date of the MS., if it ever was given, has not been copied by the writer of the 185 pages. It may be presumed, however, that the MS. is of great age from the fact that the numbering of the single leaves is carried out on the right side by means of the usual figures, and on the left by letters: compare Kielhorn, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS* (Bombay, 1881), p. viii ff. Besides, manuscripts, such as the one under consideration, have been so often described, — *e. g.*, by Kielhorn in the report just quoted — that further description would be superfluous.

The manuscript is, on the whole, very well preserved. Only on a few pages is the writing blurred and indistinct. Leaf 82 is broken and part lost. Corrections on the margins of the leaves, as also completions of verses or parts of verses, are often carried out in Sârada writing.

If the manuscript shows errors and defects — the text is not as a whole quite so correct as one could wish, — it is at least complete, and in this respect, in the meantime, unique. It is, indeed, still possible that in India complete manuscripts of the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* may be found. Still, with each year that becomes less probable. Manuscripts which have become known up till now are incomplete. This is also true of the two manuscripts, which, according to Burnell (*A Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace at Tanjore*, p. 163 a), are found in Tanjor. While the work of Padmagupta (Parimala) consists of 18 sargas, these manuscripts only contain 17 sargas. Besides, as one of them is not inked, and the other (written about 1650), imperfect and much injured, it may be taken for granted that the manuscript material at Tanjor would not be sufficient for an analysis or even for an edition of the work, — for the rest, the title of the Kâvya is, according to Burnell, *Sâhasâṅkacharita*, and the name of the author, Parimala Kalidasa (¹).

Also the manuscript, which the publishers of the *Subhâshitâvali*, Messrs. Peterson and Durgâprasada, have brought out, was imperfect.[2] The "fragment" includes "several sargas" and extends at least to the sixth sarga, as may be gathered from the account of the scholars just mentioned. The beginning of the work, however, is assuredly not preserved in this fragment, otherwise Peterson and Durgaprasada would doubtless have drawn up a more exact chronology of Padamagupta than that given in the words. "In his *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* Parimala or Padmagupta refers to Kâlidâsa, somewhere between whom and Kshemendra he is therefore to be put. His Kâvya is in praise of a king of Avanti" (*Subhâshitâvali*, Introd. p. 53). Further, it is shown below that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed as precisely as possible in the literary history of India.

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[1] This paper appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Wien Imp. Akademie of Sciences for 1888, in the Phil.-hist. Class (Bd. CXVI, Hft. 1, S. 583—630). The first 20 pages of the German are by Dr. Zachariae, and the last 27 by Dr. Bühler.

[2] Conf. *Subhâshitâvali* of Vallabhadeva (Bombay, 1886), Introd., p. 57 ff. Here also in Peterson's small pamphlet, the *Auchityâlaṅkara* of Kshemendra (Bombay, 1885), p. 25 f., is found collected all that is known concerning the poet Padmagupta and his works.

II. — The Author, his time, and his work.

The name of the author is Padmagupta: so he is called in the colophon to the first **sarga** of the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* in the manuscript before us, in the first of the **four tail verses which are attached** to the poem: —

> *Etad [illegible] Padmaguptaḥ*
> *[illegible] charitaṁ babandha*[3] ‖

In the *Daśarûpa* (ed. Hall, p. 96), and in the *Subhâshitâvali* under No. 168, another name — and as it appears the more usual name — of Padmagupta, is **Parimala.** He is almost always called so in the sarga signatures of the manuscript before us, also, for example, in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, p. 117.

Padmagupta's father was called **Mrigânkagupta,** as given in the colophon to the first sarga.

The period of Padmagupta is easily fixed. Padmagupta composed the Mahâkavya *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, which treats of the winning of the snake-king's daughter **Saśiprabhâ** (*Saśiprabhâlâbhaḥ*), for the glorification of his patron king **Sindhurâja** *alias* **Navasâhasâṅka.** This is clearly and distinctly expressed in the concluding verses of the poem — compare the passage quoted. Who was this king Sindhurâja however? Where did he rule? This point is explained for us in the first sarga, especially in these two verses —

> *Sarasvati[illegible]*
> *[illegible] pati[illegible]am* |
> *[illegible] prasâdâd [illegible]*
> *[illegible] pathi saṁcharâmaḥ* ‖ 6 ‖
> *[illegible] mudrâ*
> *[illegible] patirâja[illegible]ḥ* |
> *[illegible] janmâ [illegible] thasya*
> *[illegible] Sindhurâjaḥ*[4] ‖ 7 ‖

Padmagupta was the court poet to **Vâkpatirâjadeva,** a friend of poets (*kavibândhava*), and after his death, court poet to Sindhurâja, who is called **a younger brother** (*anujanman*) of Vâkpatirâja. Now we proceed to find Sindhurâja described as **Avantipati, Mâlavamînaketana, Paramâravaṁśaketu,** &c.; thus it appears quite certain that, in Vâkpatirâja and Sindhurâja, we have two well-known kings of **Mâlava,** belonging to the dynasty of the **Paramâras.** The time of the rule of these kings is ascertained pretty closely from inscriptions,[5] and from that the date of Padmagupta may be fixed. **The period of the literary activity of Padmagupta falls in the last quarter of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.**[6]

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[3] This story of the celebrated king Sindhurâja, which is beautiful as a full-blown white lotus, Padmagupta has composed.

[4] We praise the one (incomparable) root of the wishing tree of the Sarasvatî, king Vâkpatirâja, by whose grace we also wander in the path trodden by the poet princes.

The seal which Vâkpatirâja put upon my song when he entered heaven (by his death), the place and allowance of a court poet I lost, and ceased to compose poetry. Now Sindhurâja, brother of that friend of poets, frees [illegible]

[5] Conf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 48 ff., especially p. 51 ff. and Vol. XIV. p. 159 ff. Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogerman. Sprachen*, IV. 71 ff. Sindhurâja was the son of Sîyaka (as mentioned in the *[illegible]* 8. 77, 11. 85, [illegible]) and father of the renowned Bhoja of Dhârâ.

[6] [illegible] Padmagupta is first correctly fixed by Zachariae in the article "Sanskrit *vichchhitti*, Cosmetic," a supplement [illegible] in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge* XIII., 91, Anm. 2. It points out also that Padmagupta was a contemporary (at [illegible] and an intimate fellow-countryman) of Dhanapâla, the author of the *Paiyalachchhî*. On Dhanapâla [illegible] Bühler [illegible] IV. [illegible] ff. and in the *Sitzungsberichten der Phil.-hist. Cl. der k. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, 1882, p. [illegible] ff.

This is almost all we can extract from the *Navasâhasânkacharita* respecting Padmagupta. It may be mentioned that, according to his own statement in the fourth concluding verse, he composed his poem at the command of king Sindhurâja, not from poetic pride (*âjñaiva hetur . . . na kavitvadarpah*). In the colophon to the whole work, the author is called a *kritikavi*, a clever poet — a title which was held as specially honourable.[7]

As regards the title of the Kâvya *Navasâhasânkacharita* it must be remembered that there is another work of this name not yet discovered : Sriharsha is also known to have composed a *Navasâhasânkacharita*.[8]

It may be accepted without dispute that Padmagupta wrote other works besides the *Navasâhasânkacharita*. There has even been expressed a conjecture as to the contents of a lost poem by Padmagupta. Kshmendra, in the *Auchityâlaṁkâra* namely, quotes a number of verses under the name of Parimala, which, it may be remarked, do not appear in the *Navasâhasânkacharita*. From these verses Peterson has concluded that "the theme of the (lost) poem was that expedition into Gujarât despatched by Tailapa under a general of the name of Barapa," against Mûlarâja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, though, according to the Gujarât chroniclers, the general was eventually defeated with slaughter. "The striking verse in the *Kâvyaprâkâsa*[9] : *Râjan râjasutâ na pathayati mâṁ* (p. 450, Calc. Ed. 1876) wears every appearance of being from the same work, for which we should be on the outlook" (The *Auchityalam* of Kshemendra, p. 26). Peterson's conjecture may be looked upon as a good one, in so far at least as there is nothing against it from a chronological point of view. Tailapa, king of Kalyâna and Parimala, were contemporaries. One only wishes that Parimala's lost poem could be found.

III. — Quotation from the Navasâhasânkacharita.

As the time of Padmagupta can be pretty exactly fixed, it will be of interest to find out, on the one hand, which poets he names in his Kâvya ; on the other hand, by which authors verses from the *Navasâhasânkacharita* are quoted.

Unfortunately Padmagupta very seldom mentions earlier poets, and only those whom we know were earlier than the end of the tenth century. They are the following :— Kâlidâsa, 1, 5, 2, 92 ; Guṇâḍhya, the author of the *Bṛihatkathâ*. 7. 64, in a play on words (*srutâ guṇâḍhyasya bṛihatkathâ tava*) ; finally Bâṇa and Mayûra in a verse, which, in some degree, recalls the well-known verse of Râjaśekhara — *aho prabhâvo vâgdevyâh*.[10]

sa chitravarṇavichchhittihâriṇoravanîśvaraḥ |
Srî Harsha eva saṁghaṭṭaṁ chakre bâṇamayûrayoḥ ||

The place has been described in detail by Zachariae in a sketch on Sanskrit *vichchhitti*[11] in Bezzenberger's Supplements, XIII, 100.

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[7] Conf. *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, 18, 101, and also Jacobi in the *Literaturblatt für Orientalische Philologie*, III., 66.

[8] Conf. *Naishadhacharita* 22, 151 ; *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, ed. Bühler., Introd., p. 2.

[9] In the Calcutta edition of 1866, p. 292, the verse is quoted with variations also in the *Sarasvatîkanthâbharana*, ed. Borooah, p. 255, in which is added : *atrânayoktibhaṅgyâ sâṅgîkritârinagarasya narapateḥ kaśchit pratâhaṁ varṇayati* (p. 256). — Incidentally attention is directed to the verse *Vâsishthaiḥ Sarasvatîk*, p. 349, 17, upon which Aufrecht has already remarked in the Catalogue, p. 497 n.

[10] Quoted for example in the *Subhâshitâvali*, Introd., p. 86.

[11] Here a correction and addition is acknowledged. The expression *varṇavichchhitti* means with regard to the arrow of king Sindhurâja "putting together of letters," arrangement of syllables. The arrows of the king were marked with his name — The rare Sanskrit word *vichchhitti* is also used in *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, 17, 19.

Lûnâḥ samûlaṁ subhaṭâsipattraiḥ
sahasraśaḥ śoṇitaśîka[râ]rdrâḥ |
uttâlavaiṁvasvatatâlavṛinta-
vichchhittim ûhuḥ karṇakarṇatâlâḥ ||

We must give greater attention to the quotations which are to be found in grammatical, rhetorical, and other writings of India under the name of Padmagupta or Parimala. A number of such quotations have been already collected by Peterson and Durgaprasâda in the introduction to the *Subhâshitâvali*, p. 51 ff. These quotations will now have to be gone through with the greatest possible avoidance of unnecessary repetitions.

The phrase *namo namaḥ kâvyarasâya tasmai* in *Subhâshitâvali*, No. 168, is taken from the introduction to the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, Sarga I., v. 13. The verse *chitravartiny api nṛipe*, which Dhanika quotes in the commentary to the *Daśarûpa*, II. 37 (compare Hall's publication, Preface, p. 36 n.; Petersburg Dictionary, Supplement under Padmagupta), occurs *Navasâh.* 6, 42. This is the only verse which Peterson and Durgâprasâda have found in the fragments accessible to them. All other verses, which have been quoted by these scholars chiefly from the *Auchityavichâra-charchâ* of Kshemendra, as belonging to the Parimala, do not appear in the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, and must therefore, in so far as we do not accept another Parimala beside our Parimalâparanâmâ Padmaguptaḥ, be derived from lost poems of Padmagupta's. One thing is still to be remarked that the strophe *adhâkshîn no Laṅkâm* can hardly belong to Parimala. In the work or works where it is ascribed to Parimala there is probably an error. It is to be remembered that the fourth Pada of the strophe (*Hanûmantam, &c.*) is quoted by Ujjvaladatta (at Un I, 11, p. 6, 10, ed. Aufrecht) under the designation *bṛihatprayoga*. This expression means[12] something like "renowned example," "classical example." Is it to be accepted that Ujjvaladatta — or his authority — has honoured a passage from a work of Parimala's with this designation?

In a systematic examination of certain classes of literature quite a number of quotations might perhaps be pointed out, either given under the name of Padmagupta (Parimala) or anonymous. There are indeed often verses quoted without naming the author. We can here furnish only a small supplement to the groups in the *Subhâshitâvali* (above referred to). Parimala is quoted[13] (which Peterson and Durgaprasâda have overlooked) also in Vardhamâna's *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (p. 117, 7, ed. Eggeling): *châpo dhanuḥ* | *yathâ Parimalasya.*

Vipakshahṛidbhaṅgakṛitâ nitântaṁ
bhrâlekhayâ kuñchitayollasantyâ |
nâkâramâtreṇa paraṁtapasya
yasyânukâri kriyayâpi châpaḥ ||

= *Navasâh.* I. 74; *yasya, i. e.*, Sindhurâjasya, The *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* is quoted anonymously four times in the tenth Ullâsa of the *Kâvyaprakâśa.* p. 323, 2 (in the publication by Maheśa Chandra Nyâyaratna, Calcutta, 1866).

Bhimbaushṭha eva râgaste tanvi pûrvam-adṛiśyata |
adhunâ hṛidayepy-esha mṛigaśâvâkshi lakshyate ||

= Navasâh, 6, 60; Böhtlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, No. 4461. The verse serves as an example for the figure *paryâya.*

Kâvyapr., p. 335, 7, 11, are given as examples for the figure *vishama* —

śirishâdapi mṛidvaṅgî kveyam-âyatalochanâ |
ayaṁ kva cha kukûlâgnikarkaśo madanânalaḥ ||

= Navasâh. 16, 28, where the third Pâda begins with *esha kva cha*; and —

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[12] On the meaning of *prayoga* accepted above, conf. the commentary to *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*, I. 8; Zachariae, *Beiträge zur ind. Lexicographie*, p. 75, note 1. The lexicographers explain *prayoga* by *nidarśana*. — Böhtlingk takes *bṛihatprayoga* for the title of a work. Aufrecht seems to look upon *bṛihat* as an abbreviation of *Bṛihatkathâ*; (conf. the Pet. Dictionary under *Bṛihatprayoga*).

[13] Pointed out by Zachariae, *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1880, p. 922.

sadyaḥ karasparśam-avâpya chitraṁ
raṇe raṇe yasya kripâṇarekhâ ।
tamâlanîlâ śaradindupâṇḍu
yaśas-trilokyâbharaṇaṁ prasûte ॥

= **Navasâh. I. 60** (with immaterial variations). The first of these verses is found besides in the **Alaṁkâravimarśinî** of Jayaratha (Deccan Coll. MS. No. 23, fol. 166 b) according to Pischel, *Gott. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 511; the second in the **Sâhityadarpaṇa**,[14] under No. 720. Both verses are, to all appearance, copied from **Jayadeva**[15] in his *Chandrâloka*, V. 85, 86:

kveyaṁ śirishamridvaṅgî kva tâvan-madanajvaraḥ ॥
kîrtiṁ prasûte dhavalâṁ śyâmâ tava kripâṇikâ ॥

(in Jîbânandâ's publication (Calcutta, 1874). Finally the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, p. 339, 9, is quoted as an example for the figure *ekâvalî*).

purâṇi yasyâṁ savarâṅganâni
varâṅganâ rûpapuraskritâṅgyaḥ ।
rûpaṁ samunmîlitasadvilâsa-
m-astram vilâsâḥ kusumâyudhasya ॥

from the description of the town Ujjayinî, *Navasâh.* I. 21 (*purâṇi yasyâḥ savarâṅgaṇâni*, MS.).

No single passage from the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* is quoted in the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*. This is rather remarkable, for Bhojadeva, the recognised author of the *Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa*,[16] must have known the court-poet of his uncle (Vâkpati) and of his father (Sindhurâja). The possibility that the verse *Vâsishṭhaiḥ Sarasvatîk*, p. 349, belongs to a lost work by Parimala has already been pointed out, p. 151, note 9.

If, on the other hand, verses by Parimala are seldom quoted in **Anthologies**, it may be understood from this, that his poem is poor in fine phrases and maxims (*subhâshita*).

IV. — The Navasâhasâṅkacharita.

The Mahâkâvya of Padmagupta contains 18 Sargas, which, as in other poems of this class, bear special names. In the manuscript under notice all these names are not given completely. So far as they are preserved they will be given below.

The total number of the strophes is roughly 1525. With reference to the investigations by Jacobi[17] as to the use of the metres in the Mahâkâvyas we ought, at least, to give the measures Padmagupta has used. The chief metres are: in 1, 9, 14, 17 sarga, *Upajâti*; in 2, 6, 11, 16, *Anushṭubh*; in 3, *Pushpitâgrâ*; in 4, 7, 13, *Vaṁśastha*; in 5, *Aupachchhandasika*; in 8, *Rathoddhatâ*; in 10, *Mañjubhâshiṇî*; in 12, *Vaitalîya*; in 15, *Udgatâ*; in 18, *Vasantatilakâ*. Besides this, in the closing verses of single sargas, the following are used as side metres:— *Praharshiṇî Mandâkrântâ, Mâlinî, Vanamâlâ, Sârdûlavikrîḍita Sâlinî, Sikhariṇî, Sragdharâ, Hariṇî*. Thus 19 metres are used in the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, that is, exactly as many as in the epics of Kâlidâsa. It is also to be noticed that Padmagupta is free from all metrical tricks.

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[14] In the English translation, p. 416 f., His (*i. e.*, Sindhurâja's) sword, wonderful to say, dark as it is like the Tamâla tree, in every battle having obtained contact with his hand, engenders at the very moment a fame, white as the autumnal moon glorifying the triple world.

[15] Pischel's assertion (Rudraṭa's *Sriṅgâratilaka*, p. 8, 17) that Jayadeva, with one exception only, uses his own examples, must be somewhat qualified.

[16] *Bhojaḥ Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇakartâ*, Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, p. 2, 11.

[17] Conf. *Die Epen Kalidasa's*, p. 135 ff. Verhandl. des 5ten *Int. Orient. Congresses*, II. 2, and *Zeitschrift des deut. morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 38, 615.

Three or more verses, which, according to the meaning, form a unity, are expressed as such by the expressions *kalâpaka*,[18] *kulaka*, *tilaka*, and *samdânitaka*. The last two of these expressions have been till now used but sparingly; besides, their use does not always agree with the rules of the Indian theorists. Thus *samdânitaka* as a rule is used in order to combine two verses, through which one and the same sentence runs, while this expression, for example, according to the *Sâhityadarpaṇa*, No. 558, serves to join three verses.[19] If in sarga 14, 79—85, seven verses, is called a *tilaka*,[20] this is apparently merely a slip of the pen for *kulaka*.

Padmagupta's language is, on the whole, pure, simple, and easily understood. In individual cases the want of a commentary is pressingly felt.

The story which Padmagupta relates in his *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* with the peculiar breadth of the Mahâkâvyas, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only the hero of the poem, king Sindhurâja, did really exist; the other people too, who appear in the poem as Nâgas, Vidyâdharas, Asuras, &c., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in Padmagupta and must be left to others (conf. below, p. 171).

The following analysis of the poem is given in brief. It will merely be a sketch. The endless speeches and long-winded descriptions, which fill up a great part of the poem, without essentially affecting the narrative, will not, as a rule, be taken account of.

First is an index of the characters (speaking or acting) which appear in the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*: —

Sindhurâja *alias* **Navasâhasâṅka**, king of Mâlava.
Yaśobhaṭa *alias* **Ramâṅgada**, his minister.
Saṅkhapâla, a king of the Nâgas.
Śaśiprabhâ, his daughter.
Anaṅgavatî, }
Kalâvatî, } Friends of Śaśiprabhâ.
Mâlyavatî, }
Pâṭalâ, }
Narmadâ (Revâ), the goddess of the river of the same name.
Vaṅku, a Muni (Maharshi).
Ratnachûḍa, a young snake-demon.
Śaśikaṇḍa, a king of the Vidyâdharas.
Mâlatî, his wife.
Vajrâṅkuśa, a king of the Asuras.
Viśvâṅkuśa, his son.

V. — Analysis of the Poem.

The **first** sarga bears the title *nagarînarendravarṇanam*. The town, that is, **Ujjayinî**, is described, vv. 16—55. The rest of the sarga is dedicated to the *narendravarṇanam*. The king is called **Sindhurâja**. Other names of the king are, **Navasâhasâṅka** and **Kumâranârâyaṇa**. Of these

[18] Without doubt these names of Śloka-connections are referred to in the *Trikâṇḍaśesha* III, 2, 23, under *kalâpakaviseshakau*, &c., which, like so so many other statements in this Lexicon, has been misunderstood (see Zachariae in Bezzenberger's *Beiträgen*, X. 122 ff.). In the Petersburg Dictionary under *Kalâpaka* we meet with the meaning "sect marks on the forehead."

[19] Yet the younger Vâghbaṭa teaches in his *Alaṁkâratilaka*: *ekena chhandasâ muktakam | dvâbhyâṁ yugmaṁ saṁdânitakaṁ cha | tribhir viśeshakam | chaturbhiḥ kalâpakam | dvâdaśântaiḥ kulakam.* India Office MSS. No. 2548.

[20] *Tilaka*, really "brow ornament, cast mark," is like the word of the same meaning *viśeshaka* according to the *Maṅkhakośa*, s.v. *triśloki* (*triślokyâm krishṇalavaṇe tilakaṁ klomni châstriyâm*). Conf. Zachariae, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie*, p. 72.

names **Padmagupta** uses the first pretty often (also Navînasâhasâṅka, 6, 11, 11, 102); the second never. The usual designations of Sindhurâja are, besides, **Avantiśvara** (1, 15) **Paramâramahîbhṛit** (2, 51) **Mâlavarâja** (3, 19). The minister and constant companion of the king is called **Yaśobhaṭa**, or *apareṇa nâmnâ*, **Ramâṅgada**. At the close of the Sarga Dhârâ is mentioned as "the other town" (*aparâ purî*) of the king, as the "capital of his race."[21]

The real narrative begins with the **second** sarga (*chitramṛigâvalokanam*). The king is engaged in hunting on the Vindhya mountains (vv. 1—32). Here he catches sight of a **spotted antelope**, which bears a golden chain round its neck, and excites the king's highest curiosity. It withdraws into the thicket, but is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing king. The arrow, which the king has shot, is inscribed with his name (*svanâmadheyachihna*, as the arrow of Âyus in the *Vikramorvaśiya*). The king is dissuaded from the further pursuit of the fleeing antelope by the advice of his minister. King and minister spend the night at a lotus-pond, and start next morning to seek for the wounded antelope.

Third sarga (*hâralâbha*): the king vainly endeavours to find the spotted antelope. On the other hand he discovers a **swan** (*sitachchhada*), which bears a string of pearls (*târahâra*) in its beak. The king is successful in obtaining possession of this string of pearls, as the swan alights at a lotus-pond and lets fall the heavy pearls. The king in this way receives the first news of his future wife. Characters (*aksharâṇâṃ tatiḥ*), found on the pearls, disclose to him the name of the owner; it is the ornament of **Saśiprabhâ**, which has fallen into his hands. The king is seized by a longing for the unknown.

In the **fourth** sarga (*Pâṭalâvalokanam*) a new vision is granted to the king. He observes a young maiden, who wanders in the wood, apparently trying to find something which is lost.

We find out who this maiden is in the **fifth** sarga,[22] in which she gives a detailed account of herself and also of Saśiprabhâ in a long speech (vv. 2—57). The speaker is a snake-maiden called **Pâṭalâ**, a daughter of the snake-demon **Hema**. She belongs to Saśiprabhâ's retinue and holds the office of fan-holder (*sitachâmaradhâraṇe niyuktâ*). — **Saśiprabhâ**, who, on account of her adroitness at the game of ball, also bears the name of **Âśugâ**, is a daughter of the demon-prince **Saṅkhapâla.** She loves to wander around on the mountains — on the Haraśaila (Kailâsa), on the Malaya mountains, on the Himâchala. One day as she was wandering on a spur of the Vindhya, named **Kusumâvachûla**, her pet animal, her *kelimṛiga* (antelope, kept for her amusement), ran away. This is the "spotted antelope," which the king, while hunting on the Vindhyas, pursued and wounded with an arrow. While the king spends the night at the lotus-pond, **Saśiprabhâ** rests on a sand-bank of the river Saśâṅkasûti (*i. e.*, the Narmadâ, or Revâ). The wounded antelope, which she and her friends seek for in vain, is seen by the snake-king's daughter next morning standing beside her couch. On the arrow, which is sticking in the wound, she reads the name of the marksman, "**Navasâhasâṅka.**" Immediately the love-god enters her heart. Meanwhile a swan — the same, whose acquaintance we have just made in the third sarga — steals the string of pearls, which has slipped from the couch of Saśiprabhâ. He takes the pearls for a lotus-root (*mṛiṇâlaśaṅkâ*). The snake-maidens in the retinue of Saśiprabhâ, among whom is Pâṭalâ herself, are sent out to seek for the robber of the ornament.

How the king has come into possession of this ornament and thus discovered the name of Saśiprabhâ is now told.

In a second speech (vv. 69—78) Pâṭalâ advises the king to go himself to the river Revâ and there to meet Saśiprabhâ. So the king sets out led by the snake-maiden Pâṭalâ.

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[21] *kularâgadhânî*; Dhârâ is also thus expressed, 18, 59.

[22] Possibly the name of the fifth sarga is: *Pâṭalâsaṃbhâshanam.* The title is wanting in the colophon of the manuscript.

In the **sixth** sarga (*narendradarśanam*) we are introduced to the love-sick Saśiprabhâ surrounded by her friends. She is deep in contemplation of the royal arrow, which bears the inscription:

Navīnasāhasāṅkasya kāmadevākṛiter-ayam |
Mālavaikamṛigāṅkasya Sindhurājasya sāyakaḥ ||

Saśiprabhâ asks her friends, who this Sindhurâja may be, who is designated in such a manner as a (new or second) Sâhasâṅka. She is answered by **Mâlyavatî**, the daughter of a Siddha, whom the king had once seen at Ujjayinî at the feast of Mahâkâla (*Mahâkâlaparvaṇi*). She gives information about the king, and sketches a picture of him on a stone. This likeness is not such as to lessen the love-sickness of Saśiprabhâ.[23] The words also of **Anaṅgavatî**, another friend, are prompted too much by timidity and hesitation, for the snake-king's daughter to hope for a union with her beloved. On the other hand, Kalâvatî, the daughter of a king of the Kinnaras, gives her encouragement. King Sindhurâja is certainly somewhere in the neighbourhood. The friends, who have been sent into the wood to seek the swan, would meet the king. Kalâvatî closes (v. 94):

sthirā bhava nṛipeṇa tvam-iha saṁyogam-āpsyasi |
yathā kaṇvāśrame pūrvaṁ duḥshyantena śakuntalā ||

Scarcely has Kalâvatî finished, when Pâṭalâ appears, and with her king Sindhurâja.

The **seventh** sarga (*phaṇirâjasutâsaṁbhâshaṇam*) describes the meeting of the king with the snake-king's daughter. Besides the king, his minister Ramâṅgada and Mâlyavatî are represented also as speaking. Saśiprabhâ, who sits silent while the king is speaking, betrays, by a sign, her partiality for him.

Eighth sarga (*nâgalokâvatâra*). Saśiprabhâ disappears, together with her friends. She is carried away by invisible snakes to the snake-town **Bhogavatî** in the underworld. The way, which Saśiprabhâ has taken, is pointed out to the king, by Revâ, by the mouth of the Sârasa bird. In accordance with this direction, the king flings himself into the stream of the river, with the intention of following Saśiprabhâ. He says nothing of his intention to his minister, as he is afraid he might hinder him from his rash deed (*esha vighnam iva sâhasotsave kalpayishyati mama*). The minister, however, follows, when he sees what danger his master is about to put himself into. The king passes over the river, in spite of all hindrances which meet him. On the other side he reaches a golden palace. In the court-yard of this palace he is about to lay himself down on a golden Mâdhavîranke to rest, when a beautifully attired woman steps out of the palace. A **parrot** calls to the astonished king: the **Narmadâ** is actually standing before him and wishes to extend hospitality to him.

The ninth sarga[24] contains the *Narmadâsaṁbhâshaṇam*, the conversation between the king and the Narmadâ. The river the goddess gives the king news about Saśiprabhâ, completing what Pâṭalâ has told him, and discloses to him under what conditions he may gain possession of his beloved (v. 35—65): When Saśiprabhâ was born, the house gods declared that the daughter of the snake-king, who has been given signs of good omen, will at one time become the wife of a ruler of the middle world, and accomplish the death of Asura **Vajrâṅkuśa**, a mighty enemy of the snakes (*upâgateyaṁ nidhanâgradûtî Vajrâṅkuśasya*). Whereupon there was great joy in the snake-world. After Saśiprabhâ was grown up, her father, pressed by the gods Siddhas and Mahoragas, fixed at a gathering the conditions (the price, *śulkasaṁsthâ* 16, 88) under which he would give the hand of his daughter to a suitor; "In the pond, beside the well-watched pleasure-house of Vajrâṅkuśa grows a lotus with golden flowers. He who makes these golden flowers into ear ornaments for my daughter,

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[23] In this connection, Padmagupta's verse quoted by Dhanika appears. *Daśarûpa* II. 37, on the king (Sindhurâja) represented in the picture.

[24] The first seven verses of this sarga, beginning on page 82, are, according to the remarks above, on page 149, only partially preserved.

she shall be his wife. Up till now no one had fulfilled this condition. Narmadâ affirms, however, that king Sindhurâja has been set apart by fate to kill the Asura, to obtain the golden lotus flowers and thus to win the hand of Śaśiprabhâ. Narmadâ further narrates that at a distance of 50 *gavyûti* lies the town Ratnâvatî built by the skilled Mayâ. This is the chief town of the Asura prince Vajrâṅkuśa. There the king is to go. Finally Narmadâ prophesies to him that the Muni **Vaṅku** will appear to him on the way to Ratnâvatî. After this announcement the river goddess placed her own bracelet on the king's arm, spoke a blessing and disappeared.

The **tenth** sarga (*Ratnachûḍasampreshaṇam*) begins with a conversation between the king and minister, who is of no further importance in the narrative.[25] The minister wishes to undertake the expedition against Asura Vajrâṅkuśa alone ; the king, however, will not consent to this. Then the parrot, which we have already met with at the end of the eighth sarga, appears again and relates : he is a snake-youth (*nâgadâraka*) called Ratnachûḍa from the race of the Śaṅkachûda. A disciple of the Muni Kaṇtha had cursed him once and changed him into a parrot. Softened by his petitions, the Muni had declared to him, that he should resume his form again if king Navasâhasâṅka should entrust him with a message to Śaśiprabhâ. — The king acceded willingly to the desire of **Ratnachûda** and sent him with a love message to the snake-town (Bhogavatî).

Eleventh sarga (*Vaṅkumaharshidarśanam*), the king and minister proceed on the way pointed out by Narmadâ. In this way they reach the grove of the Muni **Vaṅku**. He greets them, treats them hospitably and asks the race and name of the king (that one such stood before him he had recognised at once), and the object of the journey into the nether world. Upon this Ramâṅgada takes up the conversation (vv. 49—112) and gives Vaṅku the desired information. In this he goes far back ; he relates the origin of the Paramâra dynasty — beginning with a description of the holy mountain **Arbuda** (vv. 49—63) and gives the line of kings from **Paramâra** to **Sindhurâja**. The Muni declares himself satisfied and prophesies a successful ending to the undertaking of the king. Upon the request of the Muni to stay a little in the ascetic grove the king takes his place on a seat ornamented with precious stones.

Twelfth sarga (*phaṇirâjasutâsrapnasamâgama*). The king, overcome by sleep, sees Śaśiprabhâ in a dream as she wanders in his pleasure grove at his side wearing the golden lotus flowers. The poet puts into the king's mouth a long address to Śaśiprabhâ (vv. 16—65).

In the **thirteenth** sarga (*Vidyâdharâdhipasamâgama*) the story is continued. After the king awakes he converses with the Muni Vaṅku about the affairs of the upper and under world. Just as he is about to break off and take farewell of the Muni, he sees a monkey standing before him, who is carrying a pomegranate, of a pale red colour like the cheek of an intoxicated Kerala woman.[26] The monkey offers the fruit to the king ; the king is about to take it, but lets it fall to the ground, out of it falls a multitude of sparkling gems. The king, as much astonished as rejoiced, makes the monkey a present of the bracelet, which he himself had received from the river goddess Revâ. Immediately the monkey takes the form of a man and bows before the Muni, the king, and his minister, and to the question of the Muni, who he was ? and how he became a monkey ? relates the following : I am called **Saśikhaṇda** : my father is **Sikhaṇḍaketu**, a prince of the **Vidyâdharas.** My dwelling is in the mountain **Saśikânta**. Once a rumour was spread, that a representation of Vishṇu made of sapphire had risen out of the sea. The curious women of the town streamed out to see the wonder. My wife also, called **Mâlatî**, overcome by curiosity, persuaded me to accompany her. So I leapt up with her into the air. Immediately the sea presented itself to our gaze. While I hovered over the sea on the blue cloudway my wife lost her head-parting jewel (*sîmantamaṇi*).

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[25] Verses 14—20 enumerate the princes and peoples, who (ostensibly) were conquered by Sindhurâja. The following are mentioned : the Prince of the Hûṇas and Kosalas : the inhabitants of Vâgaḍa and Lâṭa : the Muralas.

[26] *madhumattakeralîkapolavat* : cf. *Kâdambarî*, ed. Peterson (1st ed.), p. 195 ; *Mâlatîmâdhava*, ed. Bhâṇḍarkar, p. 115, 8.

The jewel fell into the sea; I endeavoured to get it up, and the sea shut me off by a great wave (*taraṁgahastenakarîva*) from return to the air and drew me with a great roaring into the depths of the nether world. As I wandered about in astonishment here, I saw a maiden, who carried the jewel in her hand, and was about to enter an ascetic grove. As the maiden, in spite of my repeated entreaties, would not give up my wife's diadem, I wrenched from her neck "little jewel ornaments[27] in the form of foot-prints of the love-god upon which the Makara was carved." At the maiden's cries a Muni appeared, cursed me, and, as a punishment for my monkey-like trick, changed me into a monkey. Later the Muni was softened and decreed that I should again receive my former shape on the day when the son of **Sûjaka** (*i. e.*, Sindhurâja) should lay the bracelet of Narmadâ in my hand before the eyes of the Muni Vaṅku. — Thus to-day, in thy grove, after I have spent a thousand years as a monkey in the nether world, the curse has fallen from me by the king's act.

The grateful Vidyâdhara prince Śaśikaṇḍa caused his troops to appear in order that they might help the king in his progress against the Asura Vajrâṅkuśa.

Fourteenth sarga (*Pâtâlagaṅgâvagâhanam*). The king departs from Vaṅku's grove with his comrade's army. The king's war chariot is lifted into the air by Śaśikaṇḍa's magic. In a long speech addressed to the king (vv. 7—76) the minister Ramâṅgada describes the progress of the army. First a wood[28] is reached, then the Trimârgagâ (the **Gaṅgâ**). On the shore of the Gaṅgâ Śaśikaṇḍa causes a halt to be made and camp pitched, and the king enters a pleasure-house, which had been built for him of crystal.

In the **fifteenth** sarga[29] love plays — especially the *jalakrîḍâ* — are described as in the eighth sarga of the *Śiśupâlavadha.*

Sixteenth sarga (*kanakâravindaprârthanam*). Pâṭalâ appears and hands to the king (who enquires after the health of Śaśiprabhâ and her friends) a love letter (*anaṅgalekha*) from Śaśiprabhâ, written by Mâlyavatî. After Ramâṅgada has read out this letter, the king sends Pâṭalâ into the snake-town with the message that he will soon come himself and hand over the lotus flowers. The king proceeds now with the army of the Vidyâdharas. On the way he meets the snake army under the leadership of Ratnachûḍa, who in the meanwhile after he had delivered the message to Śaśiprabha, had taken his own form again. Both armies make a halt in a wood before Ratnavatî. The minister Ramâṅgada is now sent to Asura Vajrâṅkuśa in order to effect the delivery of the golden lotus flower in an amicable manner (*sâmnâ*). Ramâṅgada has to return without having effected his object. The allied armies surround the town Ratnavatî.

The **seventeenth** sarga[30] contains the description of the battle between the Asuras, who break out of Ratnavatî, the Nâgas and Vidyâdharas. The allied armies win the battle. **Viśvâṅkuśa**, son of Vajrâṅkuśa, kills the minister Ramâṅgada; king Sindhurâja himself kills Vajrâṅkuśa. The town Ratnavatî is overcome; the snake-youth Ratnachûḍa is made governor over the kingdom of the Asura princes. The king takes possession of the golden lotus flower and proceeds toward Bhogavatî.

Eighteenth sarga (*Śaśiprabhâlâbha*) Śaṅkhapâla comes to meet the king and hands him a gift of honour. Sindhurâja makes his entry into Bhogavatî amid expressions of astonishment and joy on the part of the inhabitants. His glance first falls upon a holy place (*tuṅgaṁ maṇimandiram*) of Śiva[31] under the name of Śrî-**Hâṭakeśvara**. He enters, offers gifts of flowers, and gives

[27] *makarâṅkite manmatharatnapâduke.* The translation is according to a proposal of Bühler's.

[28] The entertainments in the wood are described, vv. 27—76. Conf. *Mâghakâvya*, Sarga VII.

[29] The title of this sarga is in the manuscript: *Pâtâlagaṅgâvagâhanam*, as also that of the 14th. The true title might be *jalakrîḍâvarṇanam.*

[30] The title — something like *yuddhavarṇanaṁ* — is wanting in the manuscript.

[31] The devo Hâṭakeśvarakhyaḥ is also mentioned in the description of the snake-town Bhogavatî, sarga 5, v. 12 ff.

praise to Śiva. In the same place, is also the spotted antelope, which the king has once seen in the Vindhya mountain. Brought by Ratnachûḍa, at the command of her father, Śaśiprabhâ appears, in wedding dress, accompanied by Pâṭalâ and her other friends. The king, at Mâlyavatî's request, hands the golden lotus-flower to Śaśiprabhâ. He has hardly done this when the spotted antelope is changed into a man, who bears a golden staff in his hand (*sahemavetrah*). The king asks, who he is, and why he has been changed into an animal? The staff-bearer relates the following: I, the doorkeeper of your father Śrî-Harshadeva (*i. e.*, Sîyaka) was once cursed by the Muni Mriganda because I refused admittance to him at the door. On the day on which king Navasâhasâṅka should give the golden lotus-flower to the daughter of the snake-prince I should regain my former shape.

The marriage of Sindhurâja and Śaśiprabhâ takes place in the orthodox manner. Sankhapâla makes the king a present of a crystal **Śivaliṅga** made by Tvashṭri. This linga — so Śaṅkhapâla relates — **Vyâsa** once received from the *purâṇamuni* (*i. e.*, Śiva); then it came into the possession of **Âdikavi**;[32] **Âdikavi** presented it to the exalted Maharshi **Kapila**; and **Kapila** finally gave it to the snake-prince.

At the end of the marriage festivities king Sindhurâja, accompanied by Śaśikaṇda and Ratnachûḍa, proceeds first to Ujjayinî, then to Dhârâ, "the chief town of his race." He entertained his guests according to rank, and dismissed them to their homes; Śaśikaṇda returned to the mountain Śaśikânta, Ratnachûḍa went to Ratnavatî, the chief town of his newly-won kingdom.

VI. — The Historical Events from the Navasâhasâṅkacharita.

For no period of Mâlva's history are there so many different sources, as for that of the **Paramâra** kings of the tenth or eleventh century. Besides a not unimportant number of inscriptions, which fix the succession of the kings completely and determine approximately the length of the reigns of most of them, many isolated chronological notes are found in the works of Brahman and Jaina authors, as well as detailed biographical descriptions of individual governors, especially Muñja's and Bhoja's. The fifteenth and last extract of the first Prakâśa in Merutunga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* (completed on full moon day of the month Vaiśâkha, Vikrama-saṁvat 1362, or in April 1306) is dedicated to the former. The life of the latter follows immediately and fills the greater part of the second Prakâśa. The same prince has been described in two later works, the *Bhojaprabandha* and the *Bhojacharita*, which have been long known and quoted in Europe, as well as edited in India. Under these circumstances, it might well be believed, that Padmagupta-Parimala's *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* cannot add much that is new or important to the history of the Paramâras. In spite of this the contrary is the case. Padmagupta's narrative completes and extends the information about the inscriptions, and shows more plainly than these, that the historian cannot trust to the *Prabandhas* and *Charitas*, and can only make use of them with great caution. The *Prabandhas* are founded exclusively on the traditions of the bards and the Jaina monasteries, in which Muñja and also his nephew very soon became mythical personalities. Whoever seeks to combine the statements of the inscriptions, with the narratives of the *Prabandhas* will find a mixture of truth and fiction, in which the contradictions are apparent.

The extract of the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, which is of the greatest importance to the history of the Paramâras, is to be found in sarga XI, 64—102, and, according to a photograph[33] of sheet 106a—109a of the London manuscript, is transliterated thus: —

Atisvâdhînanîvâraphalamûlasamitkuśam |
munis-tapovanaṁ chakre tatrekshvâkupurohitaḥ || 64 ||

[32] *tasmât kilâkavipâṇitalaṁ jagâma* MS.; Âdikavi (= Vâlmiki) is a supposition of Bühler's.

[33] Communicated by Zachariae along with an imperfect inscription found by himself. It was known to him for several years, but circumstances delayed the publication.

hṛitvā tasyaikadā dhenuḥ kāmasūrgādhisūnunā |
Kārtavīryārjuneneva Jamadagner-anīyata || 65 ||
sthūlāśrudhārāsaṁtānasnapitastanavalkalā |
amarshapāvakasyābhūd-bhartuḥ samidarundhatī || 66 ||
athātharvavidām ādyaḥ samantrām āhutiṁ dadau |
vikasadvikaṭajvālājaṭile jātavedasi || 67 ||
tataḥ kshaṇāt-sakodaṇḍaḥ kirīṭī kāñchanāṅgadaḥ |
ujjagāmāgnitaḥ kopi sa-hemakavachaḥ pumān || 68 ||
dūraṁ saṁtamaseneva viśvāmitreṇa sā hṛitā |
tenāninye muner-dhenur-dinaśrīriva bhānunā || 69 ||
tatas-tāpasakanyābhirānandāśrulavāṅkitaḥ |
kapolaḥ pāṇiparyaṅkāt-sādhupūjyād-apāsyata || 70 ||
Paramāra iti prāpat-sa muner-nāma chārthavat |
mīlitānyanṛipachchhattram-ādhipatyaṁ cha bhūtale || 71 ||
pravartitātivistīrṇasaptatantuparaṁparaḥ |
purāṇakūrmaśeshaṁ yaś-chakārāmbhonidheḥ payaḥ || 72 ||
sthāpitair-maṇipīṭheshu muktā-prālambamālibhiḥ |
bhūr-iyaṁ yajvanā yena hemayūpair-apūryata || 73 ||
praśāntachittā saṁtāne chireṇa na-śuchitvishi |
amōchyatāstadaityena yenershyākalahaṁ Sachī || 74 ||
vaṁśaḥ pravavṛite tasmād-ādirājān-manōrīva |
nītaḥ suvṛittair-gurutāṁ nṛipair-muktāphalair-iva || 75 ||
tasminpṛithupratāpopi nirvāpita[karāna]laḥ |
Upendra iti saṁjajñe rājā sūryendusaṁnibhaḥ || 76 ||
sadā-gatipravṛittena Sītōchchhvāsitahetunā |
Hanūmateva yaśasā yasyālaṅghyata sāgaraḥ || 77 ||
śaṅkitendreṇa dadhatā pūtām-avabhṛithais-tanum |
akāri yajvanā yena hemayūpāṅkatā mahī || 78 ||
atyachchhadaśanōdgachchhadaṁśuleklātaraṁgibhiḥ |
dīrghair yasyārināriṇāṁ niḥśvāsaiś-chamarāyitaṁ || 79 ||
tasmin-gate narendreshu tadanyeshu gateshu cha |
tatra Vākpatirājākhyaḥ pārthivendur-ajāyata || 80 ||
dīrgheṇa chakshushā lakshmīṁ bheje kuvalayasya yaḥ |
nāriṇāṁ diśatānandaṁ doshṇā satārakeṇa cha || 81 ||
śithilīkṛitajīvāśā yasmin-koponnamadbhruvi |
ninyuḥ śirāṁsi stabdhāni na dhanūṁshi natiṁ nṛipāḥ || 82 ||
Vairisiṁha iti prāpaj-janma tasmāj-janādhipaḥ |
kīrtibhir-yasya kundenduviśadābhiḥ saṭāyitaṁ || 83 ||

Verse 65 — °rjunena — MS.
" 66 — sthūlāśru — MS.
" 70 — °nandāsrao — MS. The syllables °ṇiparyaṅkāt-sādhupūjyādapā° are added on the margin in Śāradā characters; dhu and jā are indistinct: the correction given above is not certain.
" 74 — nasuchitvishi — MS.
" 75 — vaṁśa, and gurutā — MS.
" 76 — The syllables in brackets are wanting in the MS. and are conjectural.
" 78 — The last syllable of saṅkitendreṇa is indistinct.
" 80 — rājākhya — MS.
" 81 — diśatānanda — MS.
" 82 — dhanūshi ratiṁ — MS.
" 83 — viśadābhiḥ — MS.

paulomīramaṇasyeva yasya chāpe vilōkite ।
chakitaiḥ sarasīva kshmā rājahaṁsair-amuchyata ॥ 84 ॥
Srī-Sīyaka iti kshetraṁ yaśasām-udabhūt-tataḥ ।
Dilīpapratimaḥ prithvīśuktimuktāphalaṁ nripaḥ ॥ 85
Lakshmīr-Adhokshayasyeva śaśimauler-ivāmbikā ।
Vaḍajetyabhavaddevī kalatraṁ yasya bhūr-iva ॥ 86 ॥
akhaṇḍamaṁsalenāpya prajāpuṇyān-mahodayaṁ ।
kalisaṁtamasaṁ yena vyanīyata nripenduṇā ॥ 87 ॥
vaśīkritākshamālō yaḥ kshamāmātyāyatām dadhat ।
rājāśramam alaṁchakre rājarshikuśachīvaraḥ ॥ 88 ॥
smitajyōtsnādaridreṇa vāshpāndhyena mukhenduṇā ।
śaśaṁsur-vijayaṁ yasya Raḍūpātīpatistriyaḥ ॥ 89 ॥
akaṅkaṇamakeyūramanūpuramamekhalam ।
Hūṇāvarōdhaṁ vaidhavyadīkshādhānaṁ vyadhatta yaḥ ॥ 90 ॥
ayaṁ netrōtsavas-tasmāj-jajñe devapitripriyaḥ ।
jagattamōpahō netrād-atreriva niśākaraḥ ॥ 91 ॥
Srīmadutpalarājōbhūd-agrajōsyāgraṇīḥ satām ।
Sagarāpatyadattābdhiparikhāyāḥ patir-bhuvaḥ ॥ 92 ॥
atīte Vikramāditye gatestaṁ Sātavāhane ।
kavimitre viśaśrāma yasmin-devī Sarasvatī ॥ 93 ॥
chakrire vedhasā nūnaṁ nirvyājaudāryaśālinaḥ ।
te chintāmaṇayō yasya nirmāṇe paramāṇavaḥ ॥ 94 ॥
yaśobhir-induśuchibhir-yasyāchchhatavārijaiḥ ।
ajāryateyaṁ brahmāṇḍaśuktir-muktāphalair iva ॥ 95 ॥
śriyaṁ nīlābjakāntyā yaḥ praṇayibhyō dadau driśā ।
arātibhyaś-cha sahasā jahre nistriṁśalekhayā ॥ 96 ॥
aṁsaḥ savalkalagranthiḥ sajaṭāpallavaṁ śiraḥ ।
chakre yen-āhitastrīṇām-akshasūtrāṅkitaḥ karaḥ ॥ 97 ॥
puraṁ kālakramāt-tena prasthitenāmbikāpateḥ ।
maurvīkiṇāṅkavatyasya prithvī dōshṇi niveśitā ॥ 98 ॥
praśāsti paritō viśvam-Ujjayinyāṁ puri sthitaḥ ।
ayaṁ Yayāti-Māndhātri-Duḥshyanta-Bharatopamaḥ ॥ 99 ॥
anenāstaḥ kapōleshu pāṇḍimā ripuyōshitām ।
samāhrityaiva tadbhartriyaśasō bāhuśālinā ॥ 100 ॥
sadā samakarasyāsya Lakshmīkulagrihasya cha ।
Sindhurāja iti vyaktaṁ nāma dugdhōdadher-iva ॥ 101 ॥
anena vihitānyatra yatsāhasaśatānyataḥ ।
Navīnasāhasāṅkōyaṁ vīragoshṭhīshu gīyate ॥ 102 ॥

Verse 84 — *chakita* — MS.

,, 88 — *dadhan* — MS. The manuscript has prima manu, — *rājābhramalaṁchakre*. A Śāradā *śrā* stands over the deleted *bhra*, and a Śāradā *ma* under *laṁ*.

,, 90 — The first syllable of °*dhānaṁ* is uncertain, before it stands plainly *dikshyā*°.

,, 92 — °*tpalabhāt* ; °*grajosyāgraṇī* — MS. The correction (as Zachariae proposes) is proved to be correct by Kshemendra's and Dhanika's accounts. See below, pp. 163-169, *parikhāyā* — MS.

,, 94 — *nirmāṇe* — MS.

,, 96 — *ya praṇayi*° — MS.

,, 98 — *pāthi* or *pāchchi chāshki niveśitā* — MS.

,, 99 — °*mujjayanyāṁ* — MS. *Ujjayanī* is perhaps the correct form of the name.

,, 100 — The MS. seems to require *samāhrityaveta*° ; *yaśasā* — MS.

,, 101 — *samabakesyāsya* — MS. The *ya* of the second *sya* is written below in Śāradā character.

,, 102 — Behind this verse stands a sign which looks exactly like the numeral 80 of the Aksharapalli, and is probably meant to indicate that the portion on the Paramāra kings is concluded.

Translation.

64. There (on Mount Arbuda) the wise house-priest of the Ikshvâku made a sage's grove rich in wild rice, fruits, roots, firewood and Kuśa-grass.[34]

65. His wish-granting cow was once stolen and carried away by the son of Gâdhi, as was that of Jamadagni, Arjuna,[35] of Kṛitavîrya's offspring.

66. Arundhati, upon whose bosom the silk garment was bathed with streams of tears, became a log, on account of her husband's wrath.

67. Thereupon the first of the judges of the Âtharvana songs,[36] with holy sayings, threw an offering into the fire, which, kindling up with broad flames, seemed to bear an ascetic's hair braid.

68. Quickly a man sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour.[37]

69. By him, the cow of the wise man, led away by Viśvâmitra, is brought back, as the sun brings back the light of day, which has been led away by the thick darkness.

70. Then the grove-maidens took the cheek, wet with tears of joy, from the supporting hand which is worshipped by the devout.

71. He received from the prophet the fitting name of **Paramâra** — killer of the enemy — and a ruler's power over the globe, before whom all the parasols of all other kings were shut.

72. (From him), who, bringing a multitude of great offerings, only left the ancient tortoise,[38] —

73. (From him) the sacrificer, by whom this earth was filled with golden altar staves, which, resting on foundations of precious stones, were ornamented with wreaths of pearl-strings,[39] —

74. (From him), by whom, when he conquered the Daityas, Sachi was freed at last, with a heart at rest from jealous wrangling with the race of impure splendour,[40] —

75. From him, who resembled the ancient King Manu, sprang a race, who obtained high esteem by virtuous kings, like beautifully rounded pearls.[41]

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[34] A temple of Vasishṭha, which, through local tradition, is closely connected with the holy mountain, is still found on the south side of Abû or Arbuda. The inscriptions in its vicinity prove that it was kept up by the princes of Chandrâvatî. To the right of the temple stands the statue of a warrior, which, according to a tradition, represents the mythical Paramâra. See J. Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 116 ff.

[35] The story of the theft of the Kâmadhenu and its recovery differs widely here and in the narratives of the bards of Râjputânâ and Gujarât, from the classical, and is, of course, merely a local representation.

[36] Vasishṭha is naturally a better judge of the *Atharvaveda*, the great collection of charms and incantations than the Purohita.

[37] On the origin of the Paramâras, who, according to the various modern bardic traditions in the Agnikuṇḍa, sprang from Mount Abû, and belonged to the Agnikulas. See also J. Tod, *Annals of Râjasthân*, Vol. I. p. 88 ff., and specially p. 76 (Madras ed.). The account in the Nâgpur Praśasti, verse 13 (*Zeitsch f. d. Kunde des Morgenlândes*, Bd. VII, 191) and that in Someśvara's Praśasti, verse 32 (*Kîrtikaumudî*, App. I., p. 4) agrees exactly with Padmagupta's.

[38] *I. e.*, he killed all other inhabitants of the *ocean* by his horse sacrifices and other Sattras, which required an incredible amount of slaughter. Only the tortoise upon which the earth rests, was left.

[39] On the golden, *i. e.*, gold-plated stakes for the sacrifice, see J. Tod, *Annals of Râjasthân*, Vol. I. pp. 71-72, and specially note 1 on the latter page.

[40] Probably this merely means that the Paramâra exterminated the Daityas, "the race of impure lustre," and so pacified Śachî, troubled about Indra's lordship.

[41] The poet, as often happens in other works, plays on the word *suvritta*, "virtuous" and "beautifully rounded." Possibly a second play of words is intended with *vaṁśa* race and "bamboo rod." Thus the end of the verse might be translated: a race . . . . . . (and that, therefore) resembles a bamboo rod, which is made valuable by beautifully rounded pearls. Referring to the Indian belief, that pearls grow in the bamboo rod.

76. Into this race a king was born named **Upendra**, who, although of great power, still lightened the burden of taxes and therefore was like the sun and the moon, of which the former is endowed with great heat and the latter cools the fire of his beams.[42]

77. His fame, which always spread further, and which was the subject of the song of Sîtâ, reached over the ocean and (therefore) resembled the (monkey) **Hanuman** who always moves about restlessly, who sprang over the ocean in order to comfort Sîtâ.[43]

78. This sacrificer, before whom Indra was afraid,[44] whose body was made holy by sacrificial baths, decked the earth with golden altar staves.

79. The sighs of his enemies' wives, the rays of light from whose glistening teeth broke into waves, cooled him like fans.[45]

80. When he and other rulers of men besides him were departed, there was born into this race a moon among the princes called **Vâkpatirâja.**

81. His almond-shaped eyes shared with the water-lily her beauty, and his ornamented arm, which afforded ecstasy to women, caressed the Fortuna of the globe.[46]

82. When the earth trembled before his anger, the princes, whose hope of life sank, bowed their proud heads, they drew not their stiff bows.

83. From him sprang a king, **Vairisiṁha** by name, a lion to his enemies; his fame, bright as jasmine and like the moon, was as a mane to him.

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[42] The frequent play of words with *pratâpa*, 'heat' and 'power,' also with *kara*, 'ray' and 'tax,' naturally do not escape Padmagupta.

[43] The words *sadâgatipravṛitta* and *sîtochchhvasitahetu* have double meanings. The first has no difficulty. A really fitting explanation for the second as an adjective to *yaśas*, is found, it seems, only when, on the other hand, Sîtâ is regarded as a proper name and *uchchhvasita* as synonym of *udâna*, "a song of the pouring out of the heart." *Uchchhvas*, literally "to breathe out," appears elsewhere also in this interchangeable meaning. A poetess Sîtâ, or Sîtâ appears in the Bhoja legend. For traces of her, and especially the words ascribed to her in the *Bhojaprabandha*, see Pischel, "the poetess Sîtâ," in the *Festgruss an Böhtlingk.*, p. 92, 94. In the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, completed in 1306 A. D., is mentioned a *Sîtâpaṇḍitâprabandha*, the contents of which are shortly as follows: "In the time of Bhoja there lived in his capital the mistress of a cookshop (*randhani*) Sîtâ by name. A pilgrim, for whom she cooked, died from taking Kaṅguṇî oil. She determined to kill herself by drinking the same. Instead of dying, however, she became very clever. She then studied the sciences a little and went with her young and beautiful daughter Vijayâ to court. Sîtâ greeted the king with the verse:—

śauryaṁ śatrukulakshayâvadhi yaśo brahmâṇḍabhâṇḍâvadhi
tyâgastarkukavâñchhitâvadhir-iti kshoṇî samudrâvadhiḥ ।
śraddhâ parvataputrikâ-patipadadvaṁdvapraṇâmavadhi
śrîmanbhojamahîpate niravadhiḥ śesho guṇânâṁ gaṇaḥ ॥

The merry (*vinodapriya*) king then challenged the beautiful Vijayâ to the *kuchavarṇana*. She answered with a corresponding couplet to the above:—

Unnâhaśchibukâvadhirbhujalatâmûlâvadhiḥ saṁbhavo
vistâro hṛidayâvadhiḥ kamalinîsûtrâvadhiḥ saṁhatiḥ ।
varṇaḥ svarṇakathâvadhiḥ kaṭinatâ vajrakarakshmâvadhi-
stanvaṅgyâḥ kuchamaṇḍale yadi paraṁ lâvaṇyamastâvadi ॥

Then the king gave Vijayâ an *ardhakaṇṭhâ* on *suratâya*, &c., upon which, without hesitation, she composed the second half *anushaṅgi*, &c. The king was then ashamed of himself (as he had cause to be). Merutuṅga adds: *atra bahu vaktavyaṁ paramparayâ jñeyam* ॥ Neither the *Bhojaprabandha*, nor the *Prabandhachintâmaṇi*, nor the verses attributed to Sîtâ can be quoted as a proof that the poetess lived at Bhoja's court. The *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* is also purely legendary in this part. On the other hand, it may certainly be expected, that there was a poetess *Sîtâ* as all the characters appearing in Merutuṅga are historical.

[44] Indra feared the king, because he offered so many sacrifices and on the 100th would have driven him from the throne.

[45] According to Indian custom (see, for example, *Gauḍavaha*. 696 697) the wives of the conquered princes must render slave service to the conqueror and fan him with Yak's tails. While such prisoners stood behind Upendra they performed their task not with the Chaurîs, but with their deep sighs. Meanwhile they opened and shut their lips continually and thus caused waves in the beams, which emanated from their flashing teeth.

[46] *Kuvalaya* is used twice, and is to be translated the first time by "waterlily," the second by "globe" (*ku-bhû*) (Zachariae). The star on the king's arm is on the bangle.

84. When the kingly swans saw the bow of this prince, who was like Paulomî's husband, they forsook the land, as the regal swans forsook the pond, when they saw Indra's rainbow ![47]

85. From him sprang a king, **Sri-Siyaka** by name, a field of fame, a pearl from the mussel of earth, who was like Dilîpa.

86. As Adhokshaya's Lakshmî, as the moon crowned god's Ambikâ, so was the queen **Vaḍajâ** — this ruler's wife — like the earth.[48]

87. This strong man, a moon among the princes, who, on account of the piety of his subjects, attained to perfect happiness, banished the thick darkness of the Kali age.[49]

88. This king set up a retreat, subdued his thoughts, practising great patience, was clothed in the grass robe of a royal sage.

89. With countenance like the moon, covered with tears, from which the sparkle of laughter is missing, the wives of the Lord of **Raḍûpâṭi** proclaimed his victory.

90. He made the harem of the Hûna princes, from whom the bracelet, the sprangle, the foot-ring, and the girdle were taken, into the dwelling-place for the consecration of widowhood.

91. As the moon from the eye of Atri, so sprang from him this delight of the eyes, a favourite of the gods and his parents, who banished darkness from the world.[50]

92. His elder brother was the illustrious **Utpalarâja**, a leader of the band of nobles, the lord of the earth, who surrounded Sagara's sons with the ocean as with a grave.[51]

93. After **Vikramâditya** was departed, after **Sâtavâhana** had gone home, the goddess Sarasvatî reposed beside this poet-friend.[52]

94. In the creation of this truly generous (prince) the creator actually used desire-granting jewels as particles.

95. The shell of the universe was filled with his fame, which, of splendour pure as the moon, sprang from his flashing sword (and therefore) resembled pearls, which, pure as the moon, spring from the clearest water.[53]

96. With the glance (of his eye) which sparkled like the blue water-lily, he gave his friends happiness and suddenly he robbed his enemies with the flash of his sword, which glanced like the water-lily.[54]

97. He fastened the knots of the grass robe upon the shoulder of his enemies' wives, wound ascetic plaits round the head, and wreathed the hand with roses.[55]

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[47] When the rainy season comes the Râjahaṁsas go north.

[48] The first two comparisons are compliments to the king and his wife, who are compared with Vishnu and Siva, as also with Lakshmî and Pârvatî. When it is also said, that Vaḍajâ "is like the earth," Sîyaka's wife, it is to be remembered that, according to the Indian style of expression, the earth is invariably the first wife of each king.

[49] *Âpya* is divided into *â* + *âpya* (?)

[50] This "delight of the eyes," is the ruling prince Sindhurâja (Zachariae).

[51] On Utpalarâja. See below, p. 158.

[52] By Vikramâditya is meant the author of the era of 57-56 B. C., who is also mentioned as ruler of Ujjain (Zachariae). The Sâtavâhana, who is meant here, is Hâla, the compiler of the *Gâthâkosha*.

[53] The composite, *achchhataravârijaiḥ*, is to be divided the first time into *achchha-tara-vâri-jaiḥ*, *i.e.*, *sphurat-khaḍga-janitaiḥ*; the second time into *achchhatara-vârijaiḥ*, *i. e.*, *atyantaśuddhajalena janitâiḥ*. According to the Indian legend, the pearl mussels come to the surface of the sea and open on the day of the Mânik-Thârî. If it is raining, then each raindrop becomes a pearl.

[54] *Nîlôtpalakântyâ* belongs to *dṛiśâ* as well as to *nistriṁśalekhayâ* and must therefore be twice translated.

[55] The meaning is that the king pursued his enemies into the wood and forced them to live as hermits. Pallava has here the meaning given in the Koshas (*vistara*).

98. Through him, who, in course of time, departed to the town of the husband of Ambikâ, was the earth laid in the arm of this (our present lord) who is represented by the striped bow.[56]

99. Residing in the town of Ujjayinî, he rules all around, he who was descended from (the ancient rulers) Yayâti, Mândhâtṛi, Duḥshyanta and Bharata.

100. Through this (hero) was the white colour laid with a strong arm upon the cheeks of the wives of his enemies after he robbed their husbands of their fame.[57]

101. It is easy to be understood (that) the name of this (prince) who always possesses Makaras, and is the ancestral dwelling of Lakshmî, is like that of the milk-ocean **Sindhurâja**— 'sea king.'[58]

102. Because here (on earth) he accomplished hundreds of brave deeds, he will therefore be sung at the festivals of heroes as the new Sâhasâṅka.

The preceding extract and the previous single notices quoted from other parts of the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita* result in the following genealogical tree of the Paramâra kings of Dhârâ and Ujjain, who might at once, on account of the notices contained in the published inscriptions, be compared :—

I. Navasâhasâṅkacharita.	II. Nâgpur Praśasti.[62]	III. Vâkpati's and Bhoja's Land-grants.[63]
Paramâra	Paramâra	
Upendra		Krishṇarâja
Vâkpatirâja		Vairisiṁha
Vairisiṁha	Vairisiṁha	Sîyaka
Sîyaka or Srîharshadeva[59]	Sîyaka	Vâkpatirâja or Amoghavarsha or Prithvîvallabha or Srîvallabha 974 and 979 A. D.
Utpalarâja or Vâkpati râja II.[60] — Sindhurâja or Navâsâhasâṅka or Kumâranârâyaṇa[61]	Muñjarâja — Sindhurâja	Sindhurâja
	Bhojarâja (son of Sindhurâja)	Bhoja, 1021 and 1042-43 A. D.

[56] *I. e.*, after Utpalarâja died, the now ruling king Sindhurâja became his successor.

[57] According to Indian expression fame is "white." The king takes his enemies' fame and so wins a white colour, which he puts on the cheeks of the wives of his enemies which become white with sorrow and anxiety.

[58] The king possesses always Makaras, *i. e.*, armies formed in the Makara Order (*Manu*, VII. 187 : *Kâmandaki Nîtisâra*) just as the ocean is full of sea-monsters called Makara, *i. e.*, sharks. Fortune is always on his side as was the case with his fathers ; he is thus the heir of Lakshmî. As the goddess of fortune, Lakshmî, rose out of the Milk-ocean at the stirring of the Nectar, this is therefore also his inheritance.

[59] See above, p. 159. [60] See above, p. 154. [61] See above, p. 154.

[62] The inscription was at first badly published, with a very imperfect facsimile by Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Shâstrî in the *Jour. Bombay B. R. As. Soc.* I. p. 259. The second publication of it by Lassen in the *Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* VII. p. 194 ff., is much better ; it is made from a transcript of the copy found in Sâtârâ on a copperplate. This is now no longer sufficient for present requirements and a new copy is much to be desired. Lassen calls Sîyaka's younger son Siṁhadeva and he remarks (*loc. cit.* p. 311 [211], note 23) that this is distinctly the reading in his copy, while that of the facsimile in the *Bombay Journal* can no longer be read with any certainty. It is quite correct that the letters in the latter are defaced. The name looks like (p. 274, No. 15) *grîttiarar*âjo. Mr. J. F. Fleet, who possesses a paper impression of the inscription, kindly informs me that the original has *śrî-Sindhurâjo*. The form Siṁharâja is no doubt owing to the copyists of Lassen's transcription having made an unlucky conjecture as *pandits* often do.

[63] The oldest Śâsana of king Vâkpatirâja is published by Dr. F. E. Hall, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, XXX. p. 195 ff., and with a facsimile by N. J. Kîrtane in *Ind. Ant.* VI. p. 48 ff. The later of the same king by Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* XIX. p. 475 ff., and by Dr. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 159 ff. Bhoja's gift is published by Kîrtane, *loc. cit.* p. 53, with a facsimile.

The origin of the **Paramâras**, placed by the tradition of the bards, which reflects the above-quoted verses xi. 64, 72, in the holy mountain Âbû-Arbuda, the most southern arm of the Arâvali chain, which rises on the boundary of Râjputânâ and Gujarât and in the grey far-off time when the great feud between the head Brâhman Vasishṭha and the Kshatriya intruder Viśvâmitra was fought out. The bards also relate much of the early developed power of the **Paramâras**, of their manifold ramifications, and their great kingdom in Western and Southern India.[64] There is, however, no sure trace of them in Indian history,[65] before the appearance of the dynasty of Mâlvâ. The **Paramâras** first come into power in the town of Dhârâ, which lies in the western part of the province, and from there they conquered the east of Mâlvâ with the capital **Ujjain**. This proves with more certainty than the tradition of the bards that Padmagupta repeatedly (p. 159, above) calls Dhârâ the family residence of the Paramâras. The period of the first development of their power cannot be fixed with certainty. It must, however, have been about 800 A. D. as will be shown further on.

As the Paramâras of Mâlvâ believe in the legend of the birth of their eponymous hero on Abû, this may lead to the supposition that they came from the north-west. The old Fort of **Achalgaḍh** on Âbû, and the town of **Chandrâvatî** south of Âbû, have been for centuries in the possession of a Paramâra family, who rendered homage to the **Chaulukyas** of Aṇhilvâḍ from the eleventh century. Someśvara's Praśasti of Vikrama Saṁvat 1287, recounts an older line, **Dhûmarâja, Dhandhuka, Druvabhaṭa,** and others, also a later and entirely historical one which consists of **Râmadeva, Yaśodhavala, Dhârâvarsha, Prahlâdana, Somasiṁha** and **Kṛishṇarâja.** The last six kings may be recognised from other works and ruled between 1150 and 1231 A. D. This connection between the **Paramâras** and Mount Âbû makes clear that it and nothing else had been the foundation of the legend of the rise of **Paramâra** from the Agnikuṇḍa there. Now, as the **Paramâras of Dhârâ** possess the same legend, it is easy to suppose that they are a branch of the ruling race of Achalgaḍh and Chandrâvatî.

Upendra.

The first king **Upendra** sung by Padmagupta was not the immediate predecessor of the next named Vâkpatirâja I. Between them reigned other princes. The plural shows that there must have been three. On no consideration may the reign of **Upendra** be placed later than about the year 800 A. D. As the first king, for whose reign we possess several fixed dates, Vâkpatirâja II., died as will be shown further on, between 994 and 997, the date of his first land-grant is the year 974. As his brother Sindhurâja reigned sometime after him, then the beginning of his own

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[64] J. Tod, *Annals of Râjasthân*, Vol. I. pp. 84 f.

[65] Lassen, *Ind. Alter. kunst.* III. p. 822, thinks that Ptolemaeus mentions the Paramâras under the name Porvaroi and adds: "Their name in this form comes nearer to the oldest (Pramâra) than to that of the present time Punwar or Powar, of which we get the second in Powargarh, [illegible] Powargaḍh Fort of Powar, the name of Champanir, the old capital of a district in northern Gujarât." The identification of Porvaroi with Paramâra is, however, doubtful, as the first word means a people, the second a Kshatriya family, which, so far as is known, has given its name to no district in India. Thus it is to be remarked that the present Powars or Puars certainly give themselves out as Paramâras, since a member of this family rules Dhârâ, the modern Dhâr. They are, however, Marâṭhas and not Râjputs. Their genealogical claims are certainly officially recognised, but native scholars in Mâlvâ never speak of the story of the relationship of His Highness the Mahârâja Ânandrâo with the Mahârâja Bhoja without a meaning smile and do not believe in it. The grounds against the derivation are — 1st that Powar or Puar do not agree well in sound with Paramâra. 2nd, that in Râjputânâ and Mâlvâ the real successors of the Paramâras call themselves Parmâra, not Puars. The Puars settled in Mâlvâ and Bundelkhand might all be successors or relations of the Marâṭha Jesvant Rao Puar, who received the title of king of *Dhâr* in 1749 (cont. Malleson, *Native States of India*, p. 207). Finally, as regards the name of Powargarh, this is a result of the Gilchristic method of transcription. The mountain fort which [illegible] Lassen thinks, identical with Champânîr, and lies, not in northern, but in middle Gujarât, is called in Gujarât Pavâgaḍh and in Sanskrit, according to an inscription of Samvat 1525 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol VI. p. 1 ff.) Pâvakadurga, the Fort of the Pavaka, perhaps "the fire." The name has nothing to do with the Paramâras, who have never, so far as is known, possessed Pâvâgaḍh.

[66] *Kîrtikaumudî*, App. pp. 4 f., 11 f., and K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, pp. 210-211.

reign must have fallen about the year 970. Between Vâkpatirâja II. and Vâkpatirâja I. are two generations, and between the latter and Upendra at least three reigns. If one reckons 25 years to a generation, then there are 150 years between the beginning of the reign of Vâkpatirâja II. and the end of Upendra's. Of course it is not to be supposed that there is any degree of certainty in this statement, as the number of the kings omitted may be much greater. But it is the latest that is possible. Padmagupta's verses concerning Upendra assert merely that he diligently attended to the Srauta sacrifices and was a great warrior. If the translation of verse 77 is correct, a poetess Sîtâ, who perhaps lived at his court, sang of him (see note 43, p. 163).

Dr. F. E. Hall[67] and Sir A. Cunningham[68] identify **Upendra** with **Kṛishṇarâja,** the first king in the inscriptions of Vâkpatirâja II. The supposition is natural, as Kṛishṇa and Upendra are synonymous. It may also be correct, though **Kṛishṇarâja** stands immediately before **Vairisiṁha,** the third king in Padmagupta's list. The text of the inscription merely says that each of the kings mentioned "thought respectfully of the feet" (of the before-mentioned). Usually this phrase is used in connection with an immediate predecessor. There are, however, cases in which it is used in connection with a king further removed.[69] Those who reject Hall's identification must agree that the next king in Padmagupta's list likewise bore the name of **Kṛishṇarâja,** which also is not impossible.

Vâkpatirâja I.

Padmagupta's description of this king is purely conventional. According to what has been already said, the beginning of his reign falls about 895 A. D. His name seems also to appear in an Udayapur inscription. Dr. F. E. Hall does not recognise the existence of two Vâkpatirâjas. He says, however, *loc. cit.*: "Vâkpati had issue in Vairisiṁha, and Vairisiṁha had a son Harsha." This only applies to Vâkpatirâja I.

Vairisiṁha.

Of this king we only hear that he was his predecessor's son. His reign may have begun about 920.

Sîyaka.

Matters improve somewhat with Vairisiṁha's son, who, according to *Navas.* XI. 85 and the inscriptions, also called **Sîyaka,** according to *Navas.* XVIII. 40 (p. 155) **Srî Harshadeva.** As regards the first name till now unmentioned, it may be remarked that Sîyaka stands for Siṁhaka. In the tertiary Prâkrits of Western India, in place of the Sanskrit *siṁha* in a proper name, either *singh* or *sî* is used. Thus, for Amarasiṁha both Amarsingh and Amarsî are found; for Padmasiṁha, Padamasingh or more often Padamsî; for Narasiṁha, very often Narsî. In the present case, this explanation is proved by the fact that Merutûnga in the *Muñjaprabandha* calls the father of Muñja and Siṁdhala, **Siṁhabhaṭa.**[70] This was doubtless the original Sanskrit name of the king. Sîyaka is a half Prâkrit pet-name. The second name **Harsha** or **Harshadeva** appears in the unedited Udayapur Inscription and also in other Sanskrit works.[71]

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67 *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 114, note. Dr. Hall seems to have found the names in the inscriptions from Udayapur mentioned there. He incorrectly calls him "the grandfather of Bhoja's grandfather."

68 *Archæol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 84, note 1.

69 See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 184 and 194, where it says, that Durlabha of Aṇhilvâḍ thought of the feet of Châmuṇḍa, while his immediate predecessor was his brother Vallabha.

70 See also K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ,* 2nd ed. p. 64.

71 Conf. below, p. 168. What is said here about the identity of Sîyaka and Harshadeva, as also that of Utpalarâja and Vakpatirâja, rests chiefly on Zachariae's communications. He has made these discoveries and gathered the notices belonging to them.

Padmagupta describes **Siyaka-Harshadeva** first as a royal philosopher doing homage to quietism and asceticism and then as a warlike ruler. It will be necessary to reverse the order, and take for granted that Sîyaka, like so many Indian kings, after an active life, turned his attention to the achievement of *Moksha*, without, at the same time, perhaps, retiring from his position as ruler. His warlike achievements were the conquering of the "Lord of **Raḍûpâṭi**,"[72] and the killing of a **Hûna** prince. Who these kings or chiefs were, and where they ruled, has not as yet been ascertained. As to the Hûna, who is mentioned very often in the inscriptions, it may be remarked that the earlier favourite identification of them with the white Huns is not tenable. It is quite correct, as Dr. F. E. Hall remarks,[73] that the Hûnas, or more usually Hûṇas, mentioned in the inscriptions of the middle period were an Indian Kshatriya family. In bardic lists they are counted among the Râjput races, and the accounts of their alliance with the Kulachuris show that they are counted as such. These facts naturally do not preclude the possibility that the Hûna Kshatriyas sprang originally from Huns. As the Kshatriyas have adopted foreign elements in a remarkable manner. **Siyaka's** wife was called **Vaḍajâ.**

Vâkpatirâja II.

Like many other Indian princes,[74] Siyaka's eldest son[75] bore many names and was called **Vâkpatirâja, Utpalarâja, Muñja, Amoghavarsha, Pṛithvîvallabha** and **Śrîvallabha.** The first two names are found in Padmagupta (p. 150. above), and, according to the suggested alteration in XI. 92, they are also to be found in Kshemendra and Vallabha. The former quotes the well-known verse, *ahau vâ hâre*, in his *Auchityavichâracharchâ*, and ascribes it to the esteemed **Utpalarâja** (*śrîmadutpalarâjasya*), while the *Subhâshitâvali* of the latter names **Vâkpatirâja,** son of the esteemed Harshadeva, as author.[76] Padmagupta's account leaves no doubt that Vâkpatirâja is the son of the esteemed Harshadeva, Vâkpatirâja II. of Mâlvâ, nor that Kshemendra means the same prince. Because the person mentioned by Kshemendra bears the title *śrîmat* and *deva*, only a king can be meant, and, as according to the *Navasâhasâṅkacharita*, XI. 92, **Vâkpatirâja,** the son of Harshadeva-Sîyaka, had another beginning with Utpala, thus, in view of Vallabha's remark, the above conclusion is unavoidable. Another case in which Vâkpatirâja II. is called Utpalarâja is mentioned further on. That **Vâkpatirâja II.** is identical with **Muñja,** Dr. F. E. Hall recognised and repeatedly expressed[77] in the *Bengal Journal A. Soc.*, XXX. p. 114, note, and *Daśarûpa*, p. 2, note. The proofs for it are : (1) the genealogical tree given above, where Muñja appears in the place of Vâkpatirâja; (2) the fact that Dhanika, in the commentary to the *Daśarûpa*, p. 184 and 186 (ed. Hall), ascribes one and the same verse "to the esteemed King Vâkpatirâja" and "to the esteemed Muñja." However strange such a method of quotation may seem to us, it is quite usual among the Indians, who thought nothing of mentioning a many-titled man under two or more of his names. Finally, the identity of **Vâkpatirâja-Amoghavarsha** of the land-grants with Padmagupta's Vâkpatirâja II. is made quite clear by the list of reigns.

All that Padmagupta says of **Vâkpatirâja II.**, apart from conventional phrases, is, that he had a liking for poetry and poets, was extraordinarily generous and warlike. Twice, I. 7 (p. 150, above) and XI 93-94, he calls him emphatically a friend of poets, and says, I. 6, that he was led by him to

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[72] This may be a town or a country (conf. Aṇahilapâṭaka and Medapâṭa or Mevâḍ).

[73] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* XXX. p. 117, note 11, and *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* VI. p. 523.

[74] See, for example, the genealogical tree of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Manyakheṭa, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 72, and the table in Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, pp. 92-93.

[75] The statement of the legends in Merutuṅga and others that he was a foundling seems to me untenable.

[76] Peterson, *Jour. Bomb. B. R. As. Soc.* XVI. p. 159. Peterson's views there expressed are probably more correct than those in the *Subhâshitâvali*, p. 115, according to which only the one verse, No. 3414, should belong to Vâkpatirâja.

[77] This view was accepted without hesitation by A. Cunningham, *Archaeol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 84, note 1.

tread the poets' path. From accounts gathered from other sources we may complete his statements. Vâkpatirâja II helped other writers besides Padmagupta. Among these are the two sons of **Vishnu, Dhanaṁjaya** and **Dhanika,** the first of whom composed the *Daśarûpa*, while the latter commented upon it. Dr. F. E. Hall does well to express himself carefully and say: "it may be suggested, that Dhanika — one of his (Dhanaṁjaya's) commentators and possibly his own brother — was living about the middle of the tenth century."[78] Now, however, since it is clear that **Vâkpatirâja, Muñja,** and **Utapalarâja** are names for one and the same person, all doubt as to the age of the two authors disappears, the one of whom, according to his own words, was famous for his wit at the court of king Muñja, and the other describes himself as *mahâsâdhyapâla* of the great and esteemed king **Utpalarâja.**[79] In the time of Vâkpatirâja II, also falls the activity of the lexicographer and poet **Dhanapâla**, whom the Prabandhas erroneously make a contemporary and favourite of Bhoja.[80] The date of his Prâkrit *Kosha*, Vikrama Saṁvat 1029, *i. e.*, 972-3 A. D., makes this very apparent. Likewise **Halâyudha**, the commentator of Piṅgala, according to his own statement (*Subhâshitâvalî*, p. 115), lived under the rule of this prince. Vâkpatirâja's own activity in poetry is shown, not only by the numerous verses ascribed to him in the *Prabandhas* but more certainly by the quotations in the anthologies, among which the one mentioned above in Kshemendra deserves special consideration, as Kshemendra writes about 50 years after his time.

If Padmagupta speaks merely in ordinary terms of the warlike undertakings of his first patron, doubtless the reason is that the sad death of Vâkpatirâja made it seem unfitting to describe the latter in detail. His words,[81] "The seal which **Vâkpatirâja put** upon my song as he mounted to heaven, is now broken by **Sindhurâja,** the younger brother of that friend of poets," shewed distinctly that the fate of his first master had affected him deeply. It is therefore not to be wondered at that he does not allow himself to go into details. From the inscriptions and the *Prabandhas* one gathers that Vâkpatirâja was at war with his eastern and southern neighbours. The unedited inscription mentioned by Dr. F. E. Hall tells of a successful war against one **Yuvarâja** of **Chedi,** the father of **Kokalla II,** during which he is supposed to have taken the capital of the Haihayas, **Tripura.**[82] **Dhanâpâla's** account probably refers to him, that he wrote his work when the king of **Dhârâ** had plundered **Mânyakheta.** As in the introduction to the edition of the Pâiyalachchhî is shewn the capital of the **Râthors** of **Mânekir** or **Mâlkhed** must be **Mânyakheṭa,** and the conquered enemy was the last prince of that race, **Karka III,** called **Kakkala** or **Amoghavarsha.** Vâkpatirâja II doubtless helped to accomplish the fall of the Southern Râthor kingdom. He remained also the enemy of the real destroyer of it, **Châlukya Tailapa II** of **Kalyâna,** who entered upon the possession of the inheritance of the Râthors. Sixteen times, says Merutunga,[83] did Muñja conquer Tailapa before he undertook his final march against him, and therefore scorned him. Although the number may be an exaggeration, and the Paramâra's fortune in war not always favourable, still so much is certain that Vâkpatirâja Muñja waged war with Tailapa II for a considerable time. At last he was unsuccessful, suffered a decided defeat, and lost his life in the south. The *Prabandhas* give Muñja Vâkpatirâja's last march in detail. They assert that he undertook it against the advice of his minister **Rudrâditya,** was taken prisoner by

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78 *Daśarûpa*, p. 2.

79 *Daśarûpa*, End, and H. H. Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, p. xx. (ed. Rost). That given by H. H. Wilson, and in a notice appearing in one of Dr. Hall's MSS. is wanting in the publication; notwithstanding its at first apparently inexplicable character, it is, however, entirely credible. Such historical notices are often left out in the MSS. The extract from the *Bṛihatkathâmañjarî* of Kshemendra, inserted at the end of the first Prakâśa, is, of course, an interpolation. It does not appear in all manuscripts.

80 See above, p. 150, note 6.

81 See above, p. 150.

82 *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 114, note, and Cunningham, *Archæol. Rep.* Vol. X. p. 85.

83 *Sapathaśatānapūrṇakaṁ nishidhya taṁ purā shoḍhā nirjitamityavajñatayā paśyannatirekavaśāttaṁ saritaṁ uttīrya skandhāvāraṁ niveśayāmāsa* II (from the *Muñjaprabandha*).

Tailapa, and sometime afterwards, when he made an attempt to escape, was first treated shamefully, and at length hanged on a tree.[84] The narrative is adorned with so many touching scenes, and so many verses, which the imprisoned king is said to have composed, under different circumstances, that its legendary character is unmistakable. The details are therefore not to be depended on. But that Tailapa II killed Vâkpatirâja-Muñja is correct, as two Châlukya inscriptions mention this famous deed.[85] Also Rudrâditya was, as Lassen has remarked, really Vâkpatirâja's minister, as he is mentioned in his Sâsana of 979 A. D. The fact that Vâkpatirâja was killed by Tailapa II makes it possible, with the assistance of a note in a Jaina work, to fix the time at which his march took place and his reign concluded, within a limited period. Amitagati completed his *Subhâshitaratnasaṁdoha*, Vikrama Saṁvat 1050 or 993-94 A. D., during the reign of king Muñja, and Tailapa II died shortly before or in the Saka year 919, *i. e.*, 997-98 A. D., which is the first year of his successor. Muñja's death, therefore, occurred in one of the three years 994 to 996.[86] The beginning of his reign lies before Vikrama Saṁvat 1031 or 974 A. D.: the date of his oldest land-grant must not, as has been remarked, be far removed from the same.

Sindhurâja.

According to the accounts of the *Prabandhas*, bitter enmity existed between **Vâkpatirâja-Muñja** and his brother **Sindhurâja,** to whom they apply the pet-name **Sindhula** or **Siṁdhala.** Sindhurâja had to flee from Mâlvâ, and lived long as a fugitive "in the town of Kâsahrada" in Gujarât. Later he returned to his home, and was at first received kindly by his brother, but was afterwards blinded by him and confined in a wooden cage. During his imprisonment his son Bhoja was born to him, whom Muñja, alarmed by the prophecy that he would be his successor, endeavoured to kill. Bhoja, however, was enabled to obtain a reprieve from his executioner and, by a letter, so to change the king's opinion that he chose him as his successor to the throne. After Muñja's decease, Bhoja was anointed as king.[87] Padmagupta's poem completely discredits this narrative, which excludes Sindhurâja from the throne and proves what must also be concluded from Bhoja's land-grant of 1021-22 A. D. that he ruled over Mâlvâ for sometime. The only grain of truth which the *Prabandhas* may contain is perhaps that for a time the brothers quarrelled. The condition of things cannot have been serious. As otherwise, Padmagupta, who had served under Vâkpatirâja, would not have been a favourite of Sindhurâja's. In support of this there is the poet's utterance in verse 98, that Vâkpatirâja "when he departed to the town of the Lord of the Ambikâ, laid the earth on Sindhurâja's arm." Taken literally this means, that Vâkpatirâja on his death-bed appointed his brother as his successor. It may perhaps be accepted, therefore, that Sindhurâja, whether immediately before Vâkpatirâja's fateful expedition or still earlier, had attained to the dignity of *yuvarâja*.

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[84] See K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, pp. 65-66, and Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.* III. p. 840. The above accounts are found in Merutuṅga. Respecting his death it says :—

Tadanu Muñjena prishṭam kayā māranaviḍambanayā māṁ mārayishyatha | vrikshaśākhāvalambanāt . . . . tatanu taṁ Muñjam nihatya tachchhiro rājāṅgaṇe śūlikāprotaṁ kritvā dadhiviliptam kārayan-nijam-amarshaṁ pupoṣha ||

[85] J. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 40.

[86] Dr. R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1882-3, p. 45, has accepted this chronology. He places the beginning of the Vikrama era, however, in the year 56 B. C., which does not suit for Mâlvâ, as is clearly shown from the dates in Vâkpatirâja's second land-grant. There, it is said, the gift was made V. S. 1036, Kârttika-pûrṇimâ, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, which took place on Nov. 6, 979 A.D., while the Sâsana was composed, V. S. 1036, Chaitra badi 9. The Vikrama year in Mâlvâ began, according to this, not in Kârttika sudi 1., but in Chaitra sudi 1., and the calculation went by the northern *Purṇimânta* system ; see also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 159, and especially note 2.

[87] See also K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, p. 64. Forbes identifies Kâsahrada with Kâsindra-Pâlaḍî at Ahmedâbâd.

According to the poem, **Sindhurâja** bore the surnames of **Kumâranârâyana**[88] and **Navasâhasânka**, "because he undertook hundreds of hazardous enterprises (*sâhasa*)." Several of these bold deeds are enumerated. A number of princes and peoples, whom Sindhurâja is said to have conquered, are presented in X. 14—20.[89] Among the names mentioned are found a prince of the **Hûnas** of the same race as he, with whom Sîyaka waged war, and a prince of the Kosalas. Further is mentioned the subjection of the inhabitants of Vâgada, of the eastern part of the province of Kachchh,[90] of Lâṭa, middle and southern Gujarât, and the Muralas, of a people in Southern India, that is perhaps identical with the Keralas, the inhabitants of Malabâr. The word of an Indian court-poet, when he speaks of his lord's victories, must not be put in gold scales. Every Indian hero must have made his *digvijayayâtrâ*, "his march to the conquest of the world," and must have been successful. When the actual facts did not give material enough, poetic fancy was ready to fill up the gaps: though expeditions against the Hûna, against Vâgaḍ, which belonged to the kingdom of the **Chaulukya** of Aṇhilvâḍ, and against **Lâṭa** where ruled the dynasty of **Bârapa**, also conquered by the Chaulukyas, were not at all unlikely. So far as the relation between the **Chaulukyas** and the **Paramâras** is concerned, it was always bad. The Jaina *Prabandhas* relate that the cause of the strife was an insult offered to the second Chaulukya King Châmuṇḍa. When the latter had retired from the throne in favour of his son, 1010-11 A. D., he made a pilgrimage to Benares. On his entrance into the country of Mâlvâ, the king caused his parasol and the other signs of his rank to be taken away. He was forced to let the insult pass: on his return, however, he commanded his son to take revenge. Thus began the enmity between Mâlvâ and Gujarât, which lasted till the destruction of both kingdoms by the Muhammadans.[91] This narrative sounds rather incredible. Still the long feud between the two states, which brought first one and then the other to the brink of destruction, is an indisputable fact. Its ground probably lay not in a chance occurrence, but in the old race-hatred between the Paramâras and the Chaulukyas or Châlukyas and the necessity of expansion of both neighbouring kingdoms. Thus Padmagupta's report of a certain temporary conquest of Vâgaḍ is quite credible. Also it is quite possible that Sindhurâja waged a successful war against his neighbour in the south-west, the king of Lâṭa. Bârapa and his family also belonged to the Chaulukyas and in nearer relationship to Tailapa II. On the other hand, it is difficult to understand how Sindhurâja could overcome the **Muralas**, if by these the Keralas are to be understood. If it may be understood, however, that Padmagupta — as often occurs with Sanskrit poets — uses the expression inexactly and means some inhabitants of Dravidian India, nothing can be said against his statement. For, from the *Vikramâṅkadevacharita* it is certain that the struggle of the Paramâras of Mâlvâ with the Châlukyas of Kalyâna continued after Muñja's death.[92] It is therefore not at all improbable that Sindhurâja undertook an expedition to the south. Of the war with **Kosala** nothing trustworthy can be said. It may only be remarked that the kingdom of Kosala spoken of embraced parts of the Central Provinces of to-day and Berar.[93]

The story from the personal history of Sindhurâja, which represents the true object of Padmagupta's work, is unfortunately surrounded with so thick a mythological covering that it is impossible, without the help of accounts containing only sober facts, to give particular details with certainty. Those who are familiar with the court poet's method of description and the Indian inclination to change historical events of the most recent past, for purely poetical reasons, into myths will not doubt for a moment that Padmagupta's seemingly fanciful legend rests throughout upon a historical basis. Analogies in other poems are not rare. Take, for example, Bilhaṇa's

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88 See above, p. 155.

89 See above, p. 157, note 25.

90 Conf. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. 9, 184.

91 K. Forbes, *Râs Mâlâ*, p. 52. Merutuṅga asserts that the king of Mâlvâ referred to was Muñja. Hemachandra is not guilty of this anachronism in the *Dvyâśrayakosha*; he gives, however, no names.

92 *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, p. 27.

93 See Sir A. Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* p. 519 ff.

Vikramâṅkadevacharita, the god Siva appears regularly when the poet's hero and patron **Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla** comes into combat with the moral law. The latter's birth also is a gift promised by Siva personally and it is celebrated by showers of blossoms and sound of trumpets. Finally, in the description of Vikramâditya's courtship, his chosen **Chandaladevî** is never mentioned by her true family name as a **Silahâra** princess, but always called **Vidyâdharî**[94] in conformity with the mythological tradition. Very similar mythological representations are to be found in the parts of the **Dvyâśrayakosha**, which **Hemachandra** dedicates to his lord and patron **Jayasiṁha Siddharâja,**[95] as also in **Someśvara's** report of the events which caused his *yajamana,* **Vîradhavala** of **Ḍholkâ,** to found an independent kingdom.[96] To these examples from works of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, we may add one from an inscription which belongs at latest to the second century of our era. The **Andhra king, Puḷumâyi,** asserts in perfect earnest in his great deed of gift, in Nasik cave-inscription No. 15, that his father, Gotamîputa Sâtakaṁni I., won a battle in which "the wind-god, the bird-man Garuḍa, the Siddhas, Yakshas, Râkshasas, Vidyâdharas, Bhûtas and Gandharvas, as also sun, moon, and stars, took part.[97] Besides these analogies, we may add to the above-expressed opinion that here and there perfectly prosaic details appear in Padmagupta's poems. For example, when one hears that the town of the demon-prince Vajrâṅkuśa lay 50 *gavyûtis, i. e.,* about 100 *kos* or 150—200 English miles distant from the Narmadâ, one gets the impression that the poet speaks of an actually known town, not of an imaginary picture of one. As regards the explanation of the story, only one point can be held as certain, namely, that the Nâga-princess Saśiprabhâ was not a snake-goddess but the daughter of a king or chief from the far-spread race of the **Nâga-Kshatriyas.** The existence of **Nâga-kings** in Râjputânâ and Central India is accredited by inscriptions,[98] and their successors must certainly have remained long in these regions. To venture further on this point is not advisable, while we have no assistance from inscriptions. It may, however, still be mentioned that the Maharshi **Vaṅku** appearing in the narrative corresponds with the geographical name **Vaṅku** in the Nâgpur-Praśasti, verse 54. Lassen erroneously reads **Vaṅkshu,** and believes that the river Oxus is meant. The minister **Yaśobhata-Ramâṅgada** is also of course a historical personality.

Although so much in Padmagupta's accounts of the history of Sindhurâja is dark and indistinct, still it gives us the fact that the latter reigned for some time. Years must have passed after he mounted the throne, before the **Navasâhasâṅkacharita** was written, and the composition of it cannot be placed earlier than the first decade of the 11th century. Hence it is necessary to place the beginning of Bhoja's reign further down than is usually done. Various synchronisms demand this, and lead to the supposition that Bhoja was not a grown man in the lifetime of Muñja,[99] as he only mounted the thrown towards the end of the second decade of the eleventh century. Unfortunately we have only two dates of the time of his reign, that of his land-grant, Vikrama Saṁvat 1078, Chaitra sudi 14, which probably corresponds to 30th March 1021, and that of his *Karaṇa* of the *Râjamṛigâṅka,* Saka Saṁvat 964 or 1042-43.[100] At any rate, the legends of the wicked uncle Muñja, which disfigure Forbes' and Lassen's work, and which, until quite recently, always reappeared, may now be considered as abolished.

Of the earlier history of Mâlvâ, Padmagupta merely mentions that the friend of poets, **Vikramâditya** of Ujjayinî, formerly ruled there. This notice shows at least that the Vikrama legend was developed in Mâlvâ in the same way as it was narrated in the Jaina *Prabandhas* of the 13th and 14th centuries.

[94] See *Vikramâṅkadevacharita,* pp. 28-29, 37—39, note 1.

[95] *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. 235, 265.

[96] *Kîrtikaumudî,* II. 76—107, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 189.

[97] Burgess, *Archæol. Rep. West India,* Vol. IV. pp. 109-110. Siri Pulumâyi is mentioned by Ptolemæus under the name of Siri-Pula.

[98] See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 75, and Sir A. Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* II. 310.

[99] It is indeed improbable that Bhoja, at the time when Padmagupta wrote, had reached manhood. Had he been a Yuvarâja there would not have been wanting a compliment for him.

[100] The date in a copy of the Jesalmir MS. is: *Sako vedarlunande* . . . . ll.

THE TRAVELS OF RICHARD BELL (AND JOHN CAMPBELL) IN THE EAST INDIES, PERSIA, AND PALESTINE.

1654—1670.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 134.)

Appendix to John Campbell's Narrative.

Additional Note on Thomas Pratt.[65]

THOMAS PRATT was not actually in the Company's service, but was employed by the Agent at Hugli as a representative of the English at Dacca. In the Hugli Consultation Book,[66] under date 9th November, 1663, there is the following entry with regard to Pratt and the expenses he incurred at Dacca :—

A Noate of w^t demanded by Thomas Pratt Pr. Month for his expences in servants wages diott & his owne sallary.

For 10 peones P^r M^o	21		
For 20 pikes [*paik*] & a mange [*mānjī*]	34.	15.	
For 4 pikes more	6		
A Cooke Buttler flagman	10.	20.	1.
To my diett	30		
To a writer	5		
To 6 Caharrs [*kahār*]	12.	15.	
a washerman mussallye (*masālchī*)	4		
Hollencore [*hālālkhōr*]	2		
To my owne M^o sallary	40		
For extraordinary expences at y^e Durbar...	10		

This is y^e Calculation w^ch I present to y^r vewe, how you will accept of it knowe not, but this much I desire you would take notice of, y^t I will freely give any man 50 Rup^s p^r m^o more to beare my monthly expences. In w^t nature y^e Dutch live here is not unknown to some Englishmen theare, yet theire businesse hath not gone better forward in y^e Durbarr nor they betur respected hitherto, although theire expences hath beene 4 times as much; and likewise pray Consider when any great more [Moor], y^e Dutch, or any P̃son of quallity come, whether it is a small expence to give them entertaynement, for I have here no investmeints y^t I can eace an Acco: by Charging it upon another but every expence must appeare in its owne shape, Y^r servant, Thomas Pratt.

Early in 1664. Pratt became embroiled in a quarrel at Dacca. The account of the occurrence was evidently written to Surat, but the reply only is extant, dated 19 May 1664[67] :— "Wee are Sorry to read y^e Vnhappy accident y^t befell Thomas Prat, hee did very rashly to give the occasion, but when hee was besett round wee know not w^t a man may bee provokt to doe, especially w^n his life is engag^d, wee are pswad^d to thinke y^e Nabob may bee reconciled when hee shall take into Consideration the Cruell attempt made upon him by fyreing the house about his Eares." In July of the same year Pratt was still in disgrace, for, in a Consultation at Hugli on the 11th of the Month, we read[68] that the determination of the 9th. June to stop Thomas Pratt's wages of 180 rs. a month was confirmed "until he shall give satisfaction for w^t laid to his charge or that we find thereby that we may lose the Nabobs favour by w^ch our Masters business may receive a greater prejudice."

[65] See page 135.

[66] *Factory Records, Hugli*, No. 1.

[67] *Factory Records, Surat*, No. 104.

[68] *Factory Records, Hugli*, No. 1.

A year later, Pratt was still at Dacca. In July, he wrote to the Agent, Mr Blake, at Hugli,[69] with regard to the mental state of Mr Marsh, the Company's servant at Dacca. Pratt declared himself unable to restrain Marsh and desired that someone might be sent to look after him. In September of the same year, the Council at Hugli wrote to the Directors in England,[70] "Thomas Pratt remains at Dacca to prefer our complaints and to endeavour redresses."

The later career and end of Thomas Pratt is given by Manucci and the details have been supplied me by Mr. Irvine. Pratt had been employed by Mîr Jumla to build and equip boats for him, but he was suspected by Dâûd Khân Qureshi, the Governor of Dacca, who sent to seize him. Pratt fired on his would-be captors, and then escaped by his back door to his ship in the river and embarked for Arakan.

Here he intrigued with the King of Arakan and planned an attack on Bengal. Dâûd Khân sent a letter to Pratt, couched in friendly terms, and arranged that it should fall into the hands of the Arakan King. Suspecting treachery, the King removed Pratt's goods from his ship, bound his crew and then sent him and his ship to the bottom.

[II. — Narrative of Richard Bell.]

An acco^t of y^e Voyage & Travells of Rich Bell from Lisbon to Jerusalem & other places in año 1669.

May 23^d 1669. I tooke boate from Lisbn [Lisbon] to goe aboard y^e Ship *Mary* and *Martha*, Capt Dyer Bates[71] Commander, his strenth 30 Guns, 50 Saylers, then Rideing in the bay Wagers [Oeiras?] ag^st Passe Darkis Paço d'Arcos].[72]

We Weighed ankor ot Fewesday at 4 Clock after none, y^e winde faire & a fresh gaile, soe as we arrived at Tangere[73] y^e 31 day, & came to anker before y^e towne at 4 Clock in the morninge.

In Tangere[74] litle remarkable sauce y^e Mould [Mole], w^ch is not in litle tyme like to be finished for what w^th some years labor & great Cost was built, is a great part washt downe, & more like [to be] every day,[75] without better artists be imployed. Many good howses are w^thin y^e walls. It lies on y^e side of a hill, w^thout y^e walls there is a howse and Garden built and planted by Coll Alsup,[76] who then had a tenn [tenant] in it, who sold beere, wyne & Sallets. It [is] Cald White Hall in Affrica. We drank y^e Kings of Englands helth in it, & at 4 Clock in y^e afternoone went aboard, & y^e winde faire, we weighed, Capt, Cod of Yarmoth and a ship of Bristoll in o^r Company both bound for Genoa.

In o^r way to Messina, y^t being y^e first port we were to touch at, we past y^e Islelands of Maj & Minyork [Majorca and Minorca] & by y^e Isleland Sardna [Sardinia], of w^ch lay becalmd 47 saile french Men warr & vittellers bound for the releife of Candia. In Sardenia is

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[69] O. C. [illegible]. [70] O. C. 3009.

[71] Capt. Dyer Bates is mentioned in the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1 Sept. 1670, as commander of the *Mary and Martha*. Covel, *Early Voyages in the Levant*, p. 101, calls him "Capt. Dier Boles."

[72] Paço d'Arcos, a town on the north bank of the Tagus, near the mouth, 9¼ miles from Lisbon. Mr. Ferguson suggests that "bay Wagers" may represent the Bay of Oeiras, this town being 1¼ miles beyond Paço d'Arcos.

[73] Then an English possession.

[74] In 1662 Tangier was made part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II. A fine mole was constructed, at great expense, to improve the harbour. The works were destroyed in 1684 and the place was [illegible] to the Moors.

[75] Compare *Pepys Diary*, Wheatley's ed., Vol. VIII, p. 235, "Sir H. Cholmley talking . . . of Tangier matters . . . [illegible] from some reports . . . of some decay to the Mole, and a breach made therein by the sea to a great value."

[76] A Mr. [illegible], the King's brewer" and contractor "for victualling of Tangier" died 27 July 1664. See *Pepys Diary*, Wheatley's ed., Vol. IV, pp. 174, 176, 178, 188, 195, 19[illegible]. Perhaps the "Coll Alsup" mentioned by Bell was a son of "the King's brewer."

ye herbe wch if a man eate he dies laffinge.[77] On ye day June, we weere becalmd amonge ye burninge [Lipari] Isleland for 2 dayes. They are called, 1 Strumbolo [Stromboli] 2 Vulcan [Vulcano], 3rd Vulcanello. We, ye 3[rd] day, had a fresh ga'le, wch past vs betwixt ye poynts of Silla and Charibd[is], the one On ye Isleland of Scicillia, thother On ye Callabria, ye Popes Contrey. And, in two howers after, Moored or ships before Messena, & had prattick[78] in 2 howers after.

This Messena is ye 2d Citty in ye greate Isleland of Scicillia. At ye tyme of or being theire, came 16 Gallies of ye popes & Maltezes, & 6 days after came 14 Gallys of ye ffrench; all weighed, & weere for the releife of Candia.[79]

Messena hath ye farest mould [Mole] of anie place in Xpiandome, and its most of it naturall. The Key, cald ye Marreene [Marina], is a very faire one, & On it, for neare a mile, stately howses, all vniforme, faceing ye Sea, wch it bounds, soe as yu may step of ye Key into a ship of 300 Tuns, theire being water to make hir swim wth hir full Ladeing. Seuerall faire Castles, Convents, Monasterries & Churches are in it, As also faire Conduits & beautifull streets.

The Manufacter is silke, ye greatest quantity made wthin 4 or 5 Miles about ye Towne wch I se drawne from ye Cod [Cocoon] into skeynes, wch is an art verry Curious to vnderstand ye well dooing of it.

From Messena wth Mr John Morgan, Mr James Stanner & Capt. Bates, we imbarked in a ffeluke[80] wch we hyred to Carrie vs to ye Citty of Cattenia [Catania], 25 Leagues by Sea from Messena.

In or way we see Regium [Reggio, in Italy] ye plat St Paull preched at, on ye Callabr[i]a side, & St Paulls piller erected in memory of him. We past 3 leagues further on ye Callabra cost, wch is ye popes Contrey, well peopled, & good buildings & fruitfull, tho verry Mountanous. We after boarded to ye Scicillian coast, on wch are seuerall small Castles fronting ye Sea, & soe are theire on ye Callabria, all to pvent ye landing of ye Turke, wch vex often those pts & steale away ye xpians. Tho Hilly, yet verry fruitfull for Ollives & corne.

In ye morninge & Evenings we see troopes of Weomen, Girls & boyes decend the hills, wch are verry steepe, to fetch water, wch they beare on theire heads in earthen pitchers from ye springs at ye foote of ye steepe hills, theire habbit verry mean.

Arriveinge at Cattania, ye 3d Cheife City of Scicillia, we vewed the towne, left almost empty of inhabbitants by reason of ye Eruption of Mount Etna als Mongebell [alias Monte Bella],[81] wch Sharrie or Mettell [Scoria or [illegible]] wch it vommitts as a streame from a river in many Channells, hath run downe ye wall of ye Citty in seuerall places, & run downe about 30 dwelling howses in yt Citty, 4 or 5 churches, 2 or 3 Monisterries and Nunaries, & surrounded the Citty on 3 parts & a large Castle wthout ye walls, raiseinge it selfe in some places aboue ye Surface of ye earth 10, 20 and 30 yds high, ye bredth in some places 7 Engl miles at Cattania (wch lies on ye Sea 2 Miles), & its Channells when I [was] theire led into ye sea 2 Miles

[77] The author is apparently referring to the *Cannabis sativa*, hemp plant, which Campbell would know in India as Bhang.

[78] Pratique — Permission granted to a ship to enter a port.

[79] Candia was besieged by the Turks in 1667, and, after a most heroic defence by the Venetians, who lost 30,000 killed and wounded, was forced to surrender in 1669.

[80] *Felucca*, a small vessel, used chiefly in the Mediterranean for coasting voyages.

[81] Compare Lithgow, *Painefull Peregrinations*, p. 390, "Ætna called now Monte Bello or Gibello, signifying a faire Mountayne." The eruption of Etna in 1669 is the most violent on record. Twenty-thousand persons are said to have perished.

bredth & then had fild vp ye chã [channel] in 6 & 7 fathom water, & raised it selfe in some places 5 & 6 fathom aboue ye surface ye water ; Makinge ye Sea soe hott in yt depth as I could not suffer my hand in it.

We hyred horsses & 6 soldiers to gard vs, for its a dangerous Contrey for anie to travell in, to Conduct vs to ye foote of Mongebell, wheere this erruption was, it being 14 Miles from Cattania, and we went all the way alonge the Mettle [lava] it had throwne out. Att ye foote of this Hill, a litle aboue ye vent, is 2 hills a quarter of a Mile in hight, all Ashes throwne vp by Mongebell since ye Erruption. It was soe terrable to looke in at ye vent or hole wch first this metle past out at, as I trembled to see it & durst not stay. Its 20 yds longe and 10 yds brod, all of such a flaime as cannot be greater Imagined. Its 10 or 15 yds lower then ye surface of ye earth formerly it had run over.

In or way to it we rid over topps howses & trees & townes & ways not formerly passable, but now levelled wth ye abondance of Ashes wch Mongebell vommitts Out ; for 15 & 20 Miles it hath don this.

The people, in seuerall townes wch weere Coverd, weere getinge out theire howshold stuff, & in seũall vineyds bareing theire vines, wch they told vs woud ye next yeare beare ye better for it, for it inriches theire land much & makes ye barren ground fruitfull.

In Cattania & seuerall other towns weere written Over theire Doores Santa Agothia [Agatha] et Santa Marea [Maria] ffogo [fuoco] noli me tangere;[82] ye people had left theire howses. The Metle it runs is of 2 sorts, both wch I haue, & alsoe a paper full of the Ashes.

After 3 days we imbarqued for Messena, in wch Citty I lodged at the howse of Mr. Parker Marchant & by him Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Morgan & Mr. Hill, Mr Stannier & Mr. Meade (all Engl̃), was kindly treated.

The Day of June we weighed Anchor for Scanderroone[83] in Turkey, ye winde faire, and sailed by ye west end of Candia, vnder wch land lay 10 saile of Turks men warr belonging to Argier [Algiers], wch had beene in ye Service of ye grand Senior ag Candia, And gaue vs chace from 10 in ye Morninge till 7 at night, at wch hower we could not avoid speakeing wth them. They Commanded vs hoyce out or boat. Or Capt possetively told them he woud not. We weere all in redinesse, or yards slunge, and everyman to his quarters, resolved to die or sinke by them. They Chased vs wth french Cullers [colours], but when they haled vs, put out theire Swalloe tailes.

When they see we woud not hoyce out or boate, theire Admirall hoyced out his & sent his Leavetennant aboard to Comd or Capt [command our captain] aboard him, but Capt. Bates would not, nor anie other in ye ship. At last we iudged it fit to send [some one] & all refusing, I[84] went. Many questions he asket by ye runnagado English,[85] but I answered as I thought good. At last it hapned soe well that insteде of beinge in ye bottom of ye sea, or Carring water in Argeer,[86] the one of wch we se noe way to avoyd, all ye 10 sayle being Come vp, we got Cleere, & arrived saife at Silena[87] in Cyprisse.

[82] The author has mixed up Latin and Italian in his quotation.

[83] Scanderoon, or Alexandretta, the port of Aleppo.

[84] Apparently, Richard Bell.

[85] The writer evidently means that the Turkish ships had on board renegade Englishmen in their service.

[86] *i. e.*, made to work as slaves in Algiers.

[87] Silenia, on the east of Cyprus. — *cf.* Dr. Pococke's *Travels in the East* in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, Vol. X. p. 560.

Being becalmed, lay theire a day, in wch tyme caime vp to vs Capt Morrisse Commandr of ye *Prewdence* from Scanderroone bound for St John De Acra, wth 3 passengers One Mr ffra: [Francis] Hemsworth, One Mr . . . . Blunt, Mr Sa: Godscall, all 3 intending for Jerusalem. I then left Capt. Bates and imbarqued in Capt. Morrisse, it beinge ye 26 day of June 1669.

We arrived at St Jno de Acra ye 29 June, & weere received at the Chamber of Senor Antonia De Antonia Consull of yt place in ye Cane [*Khān, Sarāi*], & mett theire Mr Hunt & Senior ffrancisco Consull, formerly at Trippiloe [Tripoli] a Jennerous [generous] pson. Theire was alsoe Captain Midleton Comdr. of ye *Margerett*, who had a banderetta[88] given him by ye Padre Guardian of Jerusalem, who entertained vs respectfully aboard.

30th of June, wee hyred horsses & a Jannasary & 2 Arrabbs to gide vs for Nazereth. We got to it that night at 12 Clock And weere received at ye Convent, wch Consists of 5 ffranciskians, 1 The padre guardiã, 2 Joseph, 3 Petro, 4 Nicolo, 5 Marteene.[89] Padre Nicolo accompaned vs in all or Jurney to tyberious [Tiberias] & Mount Taber wth ye Janaserry & 3 Arrabbs.

At Nazareth, we se ye howse of ye Virgin Mary on wch seems to haue beene built a spatious Church, sd by Queno Hellena ye Mother of Constantine ye Emperror.[90] 2d the place wheere ye Angell appeared to hir at prayer; in the same place now is a Chappell vnder ground,[91] 3, the fountaine of St Peeter; 4, the Senagog of ye Jewes; 5 the stone on wch or Savior and his Appostles vsed to eate; 6 ye howse of Joseph.[92] Noe thinge elce in Nazereth observable, Saue they make in it about Two pounds and a halfe of Silk in it in Twelve months.

Betwixt Cana & The Blessed mount is a valley about 5 Engl̃ miles in lenth & 2 in bredth, in wch valley it was ye desiples pluckt the ears of Corne. Its verry rich earth, but for want [of] tilling only thistles grow, wch are as hight as a man On horsback.

July 1st 1669. Wee parted from Nazereth for the sea of Tyberious. On the way, about 3 Miles from Nazereth, stands ye ruins of ye Metropilis of Gallile, formerly cald Cana, Wheere we drinke out of ye same fountaine out of wch Caime ye water was made wyne at ye Wedding by or Savior. Alsoe ye ruins of ye howse was showne vs in wch the Merrackle was don.[93]

Seaven Miles from Cana is ye Mount of blessings, On ye top of wch seemes to haue beene a chappell built in Remembrance of or Saviors sermon[93] & ye Merrackle of ye 5 loaves & 2 fishes, wch fed ye Multitude at ye bottom of yt hill 2 miles from ye top. 3 miles further is the sea of Gallile, & in ye way my horss fell & brused my knee. This sea beares 3 seuerall naimes from the 3 seuerall Contreys border on it, vizt 1, ye Sea of Gallile; 2, ye Lake of Genazareth; 3, ye Sea of Tyberious. The Sea of Gallile, for yt it borders on it; the Lake of Genazereth, for yt Genazereth borders On ye east of it, downe wch hill ran ye herd of Swine; The Sea of Tyberious, from the Citty Tyberious, wch stands on ye west side of it. On ye east is ye Desert of Arrabia.

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88 *i. e.*, a Bannerette, a small silk banner.

89 Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter*, 1697, ed. 1810, p. 151, "Nazareth . . . . At this place are as it were immured, seven or eight Latin fathers, who live a life truly mortified, being perpetually in fear of the Arabs, who are absolute lords of the country." Compare also Chiswell, *Journey to Jerusalem*, in 1697, Add. MS. 10623, "18th April . . . Nazzareth . . . The Convent here is a small and very mean Building, and the Poor Fathers who are six or seven in Number, lead a Life truely mortifyed being frequently Molested and Constantly in fear of the Arabs who take from them what they please, and abuse them besides — also their Lodgings were so nasty and full of Virmin, their Victualls so Ordinary, and Wine sower, that Our stay here was Very uneasy."

90 See Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 151.

91 See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 455.

92 See Maundrell, *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 152.

93 See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 457 f.

The Citty Safhet [Saphet][94] is seene from Tyberious, it being On a hill shewes it selfe verry pla [plain] tho 20 Miles of the Hill vnder wch is Damaskus is also plainly seene from thence, tho it be esteemed 50 Engl miles or 2 days iurney.

In ye Citty Tyberious, wch is 3 parts incompost [encompassed] wth a wall sleight but shows new,[95] ye 4th wth yt sea, in all its compass about an Engl Mile And hath Only One litle gate in wch yu enter In this Citty is a Church cald ye Church of St Peeter, some part standing as of Old[95], But vsed Only for Catle to shelter themselues from ye Sunn in the heate of the day. In this Citty is of all Ages & Sexes about ye nomber of 50 psons but not a howse wthin ye walls of ye Citty, Only ruins[95] in ye walls of wch they live & dwell. The people speak Arrabb, theire habbit wild & poore like ye Contrey about them, wch affords noething worth mentioninge, not yt the soyle is not good, but the people Idle. We had for or food while we staid a night & a day, Milk, Cake & Honney.

In former tyme, 25 years since, was a boate on ye Sea of Tyberious, wch belonged to some Jewes wth previlidge to fish, paying 50 Dollers yearly to ye Bashaw of Safbett, wch boate tooke fish & furnished all ye Contrey round about, but the Bashaw raised it to 200 Dollrs, soe ye boate was taken away & it never fished in since to this day. We see abondance of fish play neare ye shore, for some part of ye ruins of a great howse runs into ye water 20 yds.

A quarter of a Mile wthout ye now wall of Tyberious is a natural hot bath, soe hot I could not goe into it till modderated wth Cold water,[95] its wthin a stones cast of ye Sea of Tyberious, vnder a great hill. & It seemes as if the Old Citty wall had Compast it, by ye ruins of many buildings & an old wall runs beyond it.

2d July 1669. Wee parted from the Citty Tyberious to Nazereth. In ye way wee vewed two Canes [*Khāns* or Castles places in that rude contrey for Marchts, to lodge themselfs, Goods & Cammells in safe from Robbers. The farer is cald Inooth Nu tow Jar [*Al-lukandatu't-tujjār*],[96] this is wthin a days Jurney of the place wheere Josephs Bretheren sold him to ye Ishmalites.[97] This Cane hath its name from a fountaine was wheere it stands.

A mile beyond this, at ye foote of Mount Taber, we kild a yong boar, & rosted it and & eat it On ye top of Mount Taber. On ye very top of this Mount is ye ruins of 3 Churches, in One of wch are some ye 3 tabernackles Queene Hellen built in memory of or saviors transfiguration.[98] Firom the top of this Mount wch is two miles high, in or assent we se, 1st Ender, wheere K. Saull went to ye witch, 2nd, the plaines of Jezraell, 3rd, Mount hermon, 4, the place wheere ye widdowes son was carried to buriall [Nain] & raised to life; 5th Mount Gilboa; 6, the sea of Jordan; 7, the sea of Gallile, And at ye bottom of this hill is ye plaine wheere Cissera was discomfeted [the plain of Esdraelon] & ye place wheere ye blood of ye slaine ran into ye sea of Gallile; 9, ye Midditerranian sea Att ye west end of this Mountaine is ye village of Debora,[98] And a Church, in wch ye 9 Appostles rested when or savior went vp the mount wth ye other 3.[98]

3d July. Wee departed from Nazereth at 11 Clock at night, & ye 4 July we, at 5 in ye morninge arrived at St Jn de Acra. The Charge of this Jorney Cost each man 13 Lyon Dollers[99] besides his gifts.

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[94] See Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 155. [95] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 459.

[96] The inn of the merchants = the Commercial Inn.

[97] See Maundrell *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 156

[98] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 456.

[99] A Dutch coin bearing the figure of a lion.

5th July 1669. Att 7 Clock at night we imbarqued in a feluke we hyred for Joppa, wheere we arrived the 6 day at 3 Clock in ye afternoone. In ye way we see Cesaria Phillippi, but durst not goe ashore for ye Arrabbs wch are theire & take Copher[100] 3 Dollers pr man.

In Joppa is a ruined castle & Symon the tanners howse,[1] now a place wheere wyne is sold. Theires a great trade theire, it beinge the port for Jerusalem. Much Cake sope, ffalladoes[2] & Cotten Lynnen wte & blew is sold theire Cheap.[3]

7th July 1669. We departed from Joppa to Ramah in ye Phillistines Contrey, wch is 10 Miles from Joppa, & all ye way throw a greate plaine & fertile Contrey. In ye way was 100 tents of Arrabbs together wth theire fammilies, Cattle & Cammells. When they haue eaten that part bare, they remoue further in to fresh pasture.

We arrived at Ramah at 9 in ye morninge, & at 10 Clock at night we mounted horss for Jerusalem. In Ramah is much tobacco planted, & its a great towne, & hath faire Moskeys in it. Theirs a Convent wch does receive all ffranks wch belongs to Jerusalem, wheere we arrived the 8th July 1669 at 7 Clock in the Morninge, spending that day in the Ceremoneys of the Convent, Cald Lyon Convent, The Padrey Guardian washinge or feete.[4] & after wth Candles in or hands, went in psession [procession] about ye howse and church in it, wheere we ended yt day wth devotion.[5] Our entrance was at ye gate cald ye gate of Damaskus. We weere recd by ye Druggaman [Dragoman] & ye Caddies [cadi, *qādī*] officer; the former conducted vs to ye Convent,[5] wch is wheere was ye howse of St John ye Evangelist.[5]

9th Beinge fryday, in the morninge we weere accompaned out Towne wth fratre Thomas[6] throw ye gate of Bethlem. On ye west side wth ye towne is a small castle built by ye Pesans[7] in wch is a guarde of Turks soldiers. Passing southward, neare ye Citty wall, is ye Valley of Goehennon, & in ye Midle theire of, theire seemes to haue beene a pooll, wch is sd to be that wheere Barsheba [Bathsheba] was seene by David bathing hir selfe, & dwelt by it, beinge vnder & neare Mount Zyon, wheere was ye pallas of king David & Over looks ye Pooll.[8] A little further is the potters feild bought wth ye 30 ps silver Judas returned.[8] On wch small peece ground is a building levells it wth adioyneing rock. At ye top of wch rock are 3 holes, throw wch are let downe the bodies of ye deade into a valt about 20 yds deepe, wch earth is of such nature, it consumes the flesh in 24 howers after put in.[9]

(To be continued.)

[100] *Khafārah*, a premium for defence, a tax for safe passage. Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 4, "Caphars are certain duties which travellers are obliged to pay at several passes upon the road, to officers who attend in their appointed stations to receive them."

[1] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 407.

[2] Mr. Fergusson suggests that this word may be the Spanish *follados*, an ancient kind of trousers, very baggy, and that possibly the kind worn by Arabs is intended. On the other hand, "Falladoes," may be the Turkish *ferāje*, a cloak worn out of doors by women.

[3] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 407.

[4] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 415.

[5] See Pococke, *Travels in the East*, pp. 411, 413, 415.

[6] Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 414, "it is the office of one of the lay-brothers to take care of them [European pilgrims] . . . the lay-brother . . goes always out with them."

[7] Compare Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 412, "The castle, which is now called the tower of David . . . is said to have been built by the Pisans in the time of the holy war." See also Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 85.

[8] See Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 136.

[9] Compare Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, p. 136, "One moiety of it [the Potters Field] is taken up by a square fabric twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes, we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it which is commonly reported. See also Pococke, *Travels in the East*, p. 424.

BOOK-NOTICE.

BUCH DES RĀGĀWAṄ, DER KÖNIGSGESCHICHTE. DIE GESCHICHTE DER MON-KÖNIGE IN HINTERINDIEN NACH EINEM PALMBLATT-MANUSKRIPT AUS DEM MON ÜBERSETZT, MIT EINER EINFÜHRUNG UND NOTEN VERSEHEN, VON P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Vienna, 1906. (Reprinted from the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften.*)

PATER W. SCHMIDT's researches into the Mon-Khmer dialects are well known. In 1904 appeared his *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, and in the following year his *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Mon-Khmer Sprachen.* In these works he so carried on the enquiries begun by Logan and Forbes and placed on a scientific footing by Kuhn, that we have now a definite knowledge as to the mutual relationship of the various members of the group.

It will be observed that the works to which reference has just been made deal only with one aspect of the subject, — the *Lautlehre*, Phonetics. Pater Schmidt was quite aware that even more important from a philological point of view would be a comparative study of the laws of the word-formation, in its widest sense, of these languages. But for this purpose trustworthy texts of two or three of the principal forms of speech were an absolute necessity, and while such were forthcoming for Khmer, for the other leading tongue Mon, nothing was available beyond three short fables in the Haswell-Stevens Grammar and a few translations from English of doubtful value. Pater Schmidt was therefore compelled to refrain from carrying his researches further till, through the kindness of that accomplished authority on Malacca languages, Mr. C. O. Blagden, he came into possession of the manuscript of the work, the name of which heads this notice. It is partly a life of the Buddha and partly a history of the Mon Kingdom from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 18th century, A.D., mostly written in the Mon language. He lost no time in editing it, both in the native and in the Roman character, and has supplied in addition a valuable Introduction, Translation, and notes. In Appendixes, he gives lists of words which do not appear in any Mon vocabularies hitherto published. These words amount to a considerable number, and as he has succeeded in ascertaining the meanings of most of them, the Appendixes form a substantial addition to Mon lexicography.

In the Introduction, besides the necessary particulars concerning the manuscript, Pater Schmidt gives an abstract of its contents and a summary of the information available about other Mon MSS. at present known to exist. Forchhammer in 1880 made a list of 53 Mon MSS. which are said to be now in the Bernard Free Library in Rangoon, and besides these there are a few catalogued in European collections. Owing to the Mon character being practically the same as the Burmese, these last have usually been classed as belonging to that language, — scholars in Mon being so rare in the West, that apparently no one has yet been found capable of reading them. Now that attention has been drawn to the fact, it is possible that other works in the same language may be found in European libraries, similarly hidden under a Burmese classification.

While we can most heartily congratulate Pater Schmidt on being privileged to introduce Mon literature so successfully to British students, it is not easy to repress a feeling of patriotic envy that the first serious attempt at dealing with an important Oriental language, spoken by nearly 175,000 British subjects, should have appeared in Vienna, and not in London or Rangoon. One resource there is, and I hope it will be soon adopted. This is to translate Pater Schmidt's excellent work as quickly as possible so that it may become accessible to scholars in India who are not acquainted with the German language.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

READERS of the *Indian Antiquary*, who interest themselves in Iranian studies, will be glad to learn that Professor Bartholomae has issued a supplement to his monumental *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* which appeared in 1904. It appears under the title of *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*, and is published at Strasburg by Karl J. Trübner.

The book, which contains about three hundred pages, includes not only additions and corrections to the main work, but also replies to criticisms and a special *excursus* of 68 pages devoted to a consideration of the vowels and vowel signs in the Iranian manuscripts lately discovered in Turfan.

It is hardly necessary to say that the importance of the subjects dealt with, and the eminence of the writer, render the book indispensable to all students of Old Iranian literature.

G. A. G.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

Preface.

SOME years ago, I published *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. (1900), pp. 197 ff., 225 ff., a **Theory of Universal Grammar** as applied to a Group of Savage Languages, and in Vol. XXXI. (1902), pp. 165 ff., this theory was **successfully applied** by Mr. Sydney Ray for the elucidation of a short statement in sixteen unrelated and morphologically distinct languages. While compiling Vol. III. of the *Report* on the Census of India, 1901, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, I had an opportunity of **applying it in detail** to the languages of the inhabitants of those islands. In 1904 I had another opportunity of **revising the Theory** in a lecture to the British Association at Cambridge. I now publish the Theory as revised on that occasion, and **its application to systematic grammars of the languages of the Andamanese and the Nicobarese.** In this matter I have had the advantage of the **assistance of Mr. E. H. Man,** the greatest expert on the subject.

The following **abstract** of the ideas elaborated in the succeeding pages may be of use to the reader.

During the last 30 years the careful record of "savage" languages has been frequently undertaken, and a serious difficulty has arisen, owing to the accepted European system of grammar, which is based on a system originally evolved for the explanation of highly inflected languages only, whereas in many, if not in most, "savage" languages, inflexion is absent or present only in a rudimentary form. The European system has therefore been found to be unsuited for that purpose. During attempts to provide a suitable system a Theory of Universal Grammar was evolved.

The root idea is that, as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human beings, there must be fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be.

The Theory starts with a consideration of **the sentence**, *i. e.*, the expression of a complete meaning, **as the unit of all speech,** and then seeks to discover the natural laws of speech by a consideration of the internal and external development of the sentence.

In explaining **internal development,** the sentence is ultimately divided into words, considered as components of its natural main divisions, in the light of their respective functions. This leads logically to a clear definition of grammatical terms.

From the consideration of the functions of **words** the Theory passes to that of the methods by which they are made to **fulfil their functions.** It shows how words can be divided into classes according to function and explains their transfer from class to class. This leads to an explanation of connected words and shows how the forms of words grow out of their functions. **The growth of the forms** is next considered, involving an explanation of roots, stems, and radical and functional affixes. This explanation shows that the affixes determine the forms of words. This is followed by a consideration of the methods by which the **affixes affect the forms.**

The sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech, is then considered as being itself a component of something greater, *i. e.*, of a language. This consideration of its **external development** leads to the

explanation of syntactical and formative languages, the two great divisions into which all languages naturally fall, *i. e.*, those which depend on the position of the words, and those which depend on the forms of the words in a sentence, to express complete meaning.

Syntactical languages are then shown to divide themselves into analytical, or those which depend for comprehension mainly on the position of the words, and into tonic, or those which combine tone with position for the same purpose. So also **formative languages** are shown to divide themselves into agglutinative and synthetic, according as the affixes are attached without or with alteration. Formative languages are further divided into premutative, intromutative or postmutative, according to the position of the affixes.

The Theory further explains that, owing to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can have ever been left to develop itself alone, and how this leads to the phenomenon of **connected languages** and thus to groups and families of languages. It also explains how, again according to a Law of Nature, no language has ever developed in one direction only or without subjection to outside influences, leading to the natural explanations of **the genius**, or peculiar constitution, that **each language possesses.**

It is believed that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory and it can be shown that children and untutored adults in learning a language act on the instinctive assumption of the existence of such a Theory. Assuming the Theory to exist and to be correctly stated, it is of great practical importance as leading to the quick, accurate and thorough, because natural, acquirement of a new language.

In brief, the Theory is based on **the one phenomenon** which must of necessity be **constant in every variety of speech,** *viz.*, the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words.

Phonology and orthography, *i. e.*, pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets, are not considered, as these belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

I.

The Theory of Universal Grammar.

(a) The Theory.

The existing European system of Grammar is an old growth based on ancient Greek and Latin Grammars, which embodied the results of a system originally evolved for recording the observed laws of highly synthetic or inflected languages. It is naturally engrained in all European scholars. The objection to it for general use and to my mind the overwhelming objection, is that it is in essentials unsuited to a very large number of languages, which are not synthetic or inflected, or at any rate have synthesis or inflection present only in a rudimentary form. It is entirely unsuited, for instance, for recording English, and in order to use it for that purpose, terms suitable for describing Greek and Latin have to be forced to new and unsuitable uses.

As regards the civilised and deeply studied languages, scholars and students have naturally become so imbued with the ancient system, that it is hardly to be expected that they can be induced to adopt any new or radically different system, and it is not now proposed to appeal to them to change that which is so well established. **It is rather sought to find a way of recording on a uniform system the languages of savages** nowadays so frequently reported, and, owing to the lack of a suitable and settled method, much too often on a haphazard plan, to the detriment of their successful handling.

Thirty years ago this subject was forcibly brought to the present author's notice when trying to represent, with Mr. E. H. Man, the purely "savage" language of the Andaman Islanders, in which work the active and very competent assistance of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis, F. R. S., President of the Philological Society, was secured. Some years later Mr. Ellis, finding the accepted grammatical terms so little suited to the adequate representation of savage speech for scientific readers, stated in his Annual Presidential Address to that Society for 1882, that: — "we require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflexional translation." In 1883 he started the author on the present enquiry, and asked if it were not possible "to throw over the inflexional treatment of an uninflected language." Ever since then, as opportunity offered, the enquiry has been taken up and has resulted in the evolution of a **Theory of Universal Grammar,** which is of necessity a plan for the uniform scientific record of all languages, though, for the reason already stated, **it is now sought to limit its application to "savage" languages only.**

The Theory was applied in part in Portman's *Comparative Grammar of the South Andaman Languages* in 1898 and again in an article on the same languages by the present author in the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1899, and elaborately and fully in his *Census Report* of **the Andaman and Nicobar Islands** for 1901, in which **the languages of both groups of islands were discussed and explained in full Grammars. The Andamanese Languages are agglutinative** and represent the speech of savages of very limited mental development: **the Nicobarese Languages are a highly developed analytical form of speech,** like English. In both, inflection is only present in a secondary and rudimentary form, as in English. The Theory was also applied in outline by Mr. Sydney Ray in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1902 to sixteen selected languages of every type — synthetic, agglutinative, analytical, syntactical (monosyllabic) — from the most highly civilised and developed to those of the most primitive savages. In the opinion of these writers, the theory succeeds in describing on a uniform plan every language to which it has been applied, as indeed it must succeed in doing, if it be a correct theory.

The very great importance to anthropologists and observers of savage tribes and peoples unknown to Europeans of a uniform scientific system in this matter is so obvious, that no excuse is made for bringing it once more before the readers of this *Journal*.

The root idea of the Theory is, that as speech is a convention devised by the human brain for intercommunication between human beings, there must be some fundamental natural laws by which it is governed, however various the phenomena of those laws may be. The business of the Grammarian is to discover and report the laws. These considerations form the basis of the Theory of Universal Grammar, the practical application of which at the present day must, on account of long formed habits, be limited to a **Plan for Uniformly Recording the Languages of Savages.**

In building up a Theory of Universal Grammar, it is necessary, in order to work out the argument logically, to commence where the accepted Grammars end, *viz.*, at **the sentence,** defining the sentence as the expression of a complete meaning, and making that **the unit of language.** This is the fundamental argument. Nothing is an intelligible communication, unless it is complete enough to be understood. It is by observation of the internal and external development of the sentence or complete meaning that the natural laws of speech will be discovered.

A sentence may, clearly, consist of one or more expressions of a meaning or "**words,**" defined as single expressions of a meaning. The difference between a word and a sentence may be shown thus: — "go" is a sentence, as it says all that is necessary; but "cow" is merely a word, because something must be said about the cow before the communication is complete.

A sentence can also consist of two separate parts — **the subject, i. e.,** the matter to be discussed or communicated, and the **predicate,** *i. e.*, the discussion or communication. Thus,

"the badly hurt cow" would be the subject and "*died* suddenly yesterday" would be the predicate of a sentence.

And when the subject or predicate consists of many words, it must contain principal and additional words. In the sentence already quoted, the words "cow" and "died" are the principal words, and the rest are additional.

This leads to the argument that the **components of a sentence are words**, placed either in the subjective or predicative parts of it, having a relation to each other in that part of **principal and subordinate.** Therefore, because of such relation, **words fulfil functions.** The functions then of the principal words must be to indicate the subject or predicate, and of the subordinate words in the predicative part of the sentence to illustrate the predicate, and in the subjective part to explain the subject or to illustrate that explanation. Thus, in the sentence already discussed, the functions of each word are quite clear. "Cow" indicates the subject and "died" the predicate. "The" and "hurt" explain the sort and condition of the cow, *i. e.*, of the subject. "Badly" illustrates the explanation of the subject by stating how much the cow was hurt. "Suddenly" and "yesterday" illustrate the predicate by stating how and when the cow died.

Again, as the predicate is the discussion or communication on the subject, it is capable of extension or completion by **complementary words**, which form that part of a sentence recognised in the Grammars as **"the object."** Thus, in "the policeman found the dead man," the communication made in the predicate "found" is completed by the complementary words "the dead man," which form **the complement or object.**

These observations complete the first stage of the argument leading to a direct and simple definition of grammatical terms. But speech obviously does not stop here, because mankind speaks with a **purpose,** and the **function of his sentences** is to indicate that purpose, which must be one of the five following in any specified sentence: — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. Now, **purpose can only be indicated in a sentence** by the position, as in English, or by the tones, as in Chinese, of its components; or by variation of their forms, as in Latin; or by the addition of special introductory words, as in most languages. Also it is obvious that when purposes are connected, they can be indicated by **connected sentences,** and that these sentences must be **in the relation of principal and subordinate.** This relation can only be **expressed** by the position of the sentences themselves, as in English; by variation of the forms of their components, as in Tamil, Turkish, and many other languages, or by the addition of special words of reference. In English, subordinate sentences usually follow the principal. When they do not, this rule is recognised by saying that the statement is inverted. The use of special words of reference is shown in such a statement as "I am certain John died on Sunday, because Mary told me so," where "because" is specially added to the subordinate sentence to connect it with the principal sentence.

A word of reference must act in one of two ways, either by merely **joining sentences,** or by **substituting itself** in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. In "I caught the man who ran away," the word of reference "who" connects the subordinate with the principal sentence. "John ran away. He had killed his mother." Here are two connected sentences, the subordinate following the principal and connected with it by the words "he" and "his" substituted for "John" in the principal sentence to which they refer.

Further, as there is a necessary **interrelation between the words in a sentence,** this can only be expressed by the addition of special connecting words, or by variation or correlated variation of form. In "the story about John was told me yesterday," the intimate relation between "story" and "John" is expressed by the connecting word "about." In "descensus Averni," inflexion of one of two intimately related words is used for the same purpose, just as in English the special

connecting word "into" would be used in such a corresponding expression as "descent into Hell." Agreement or concord between adjective and noun, or verb and noun, in the inflected languages has exactly the same object. In the Persian "ism-i-sharîf" (noble name), the relation between noun and adjective is expressed by the connecting word "i."

These considerations complete what may be called the second stage of the argument leading to clear definitions of grammatical terms. The argument thereafter becomes more complicated, taking us into the explanation of **elliptical,** *i. e.*, incompletely expressed, **forms of speech,** and into those expansions of sentences known as phrases, clauses and periods. But, to keep our minds fixed only on that part of it which leads to plain grammatical definitions, it may be stated now that **functionally a word must be,** inventing new terms for the purpose, one of the following :—

(1) **An integer,** or a sentence in itself (imperatives, interjections, pronouns, numerals).

(2) **An indicator,** or indicative of the subject or complement (object) of a sentence (nouns).

(3) **An explicator,** or explanatory of its subject or complement (adjective).

(4) **A predicator,** or indicative of its predicate (verbs).

(5) **An illustrator,** or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement (adverb, adjective).

(6) **A connector,** or explanatory of the interrelation of its components (or words, conjunctions, prepositions).

(7) **An introducer,** or explanatory of its purpose (conjunctions, adverbs).

(8) **A referent conjunctor,** or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them (pronouns, conjunctions).

(9) **A referent substitute,** or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers (relative pronouns, conjunctions).

These then are the terms it is proposed to use in the explanation of the functions of words, and the arguments out of which they grow. Of course, grammarians will know that **all this is syntax,** and it must now be explained why the Theory makes it necessary to consider it far more important to study function than form or tone, as essential to the correct apprehension of the nature of words, and that **accidence arises properly out of syntax** and not the other way round, as so many of us have been taught.

It is obvious that any given word may fulfil one or more or all the functions of words, and that therefore words may be collected into as many classes as there are functions, any individual word being transferable from one class to another and belonging to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. This is to say, that **words are divisible into classes according to function** as just explained, and that **the same word can belong to more than one class,** as it does constantly in English. Thus, "the tiger returns to his kill," "Shall we kill the horse?," "Shall we cross at the bridge higher up, or shall we bridge the river here at once?" And so on *ad infinitum.* In the above examples the same word has been transferred from the indicator (noun) class to the predicator (verb) class. And the same words in English and many other tongues are constantly nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs, simply according to the function they happen to perform for the time being.

The function a word fulfils in any particular sentence can be indicated by its position therein, without and with variation of form, as in English and Latin respectively ; or by its

tone, as in Chinese. And because of this, the form or tone which a word can be made to assume is capable of indicating the class to which it belongs for the nonce. In Chinese the same word can become a noun or verb and so on merely by the tone used in uttering it: tone being to Chinese what inflexion is to Latin. So the Latin stem *domin* by changing its form does all sorts of things and belongs to all sorts of classes. As *domin-us* it is an indicator (noun): as *domin-or* it is a predicator (verb): as *domin-ans* it is an explicator (adjective): as *domin-i* it may be a subordinate noun showing its intimate relation to some other word or it may be simply a noun according to context: as *domin-o* it is, again according to context, an illustrator (adverb) of a verb or a complementary indicator, *i.e.*, a noun governed by a verb, as we have all been taught to say: as *domin-um* it is always a complementary indicator: and so on.

It is further obvious that words transferable from class to class belong primarily to a certain class and secondarily to the others, that a transfer involves the fulfilment of a new function, and that a word in its transferred condition becomes a new word connected with the form fulfilling the primary function, the relation between the forms or tones, *i. e.*, the words so connected, being that of parent and offshoot. Form and tone therefore can indicate the class to which a parent word and its offshoots respectively belong. In English it is not usually difficult to detect primary and secondary function, or parent and offshoot words. Thus, in the case of "bridge" the noun and "bridge" the verb: of "kill" the verb and "kill" the noun, or in the case of "kill" and "killer." In the inflected languages it is never easy, as all the observable forms are probably connected secondary forms of some older lost word. It is not easy to say offhand what should be affixed to *domin* as the form of its primary function. But the principle of the application of every existing inflected form is precisely that above explained.

It is by the above induction that one is led to the argument that form grows out of function, or, to put it in a familiar way, accidence grows out of syntax, because when connected words differ in form they must consist of a principal part or stem, and an additional part or functional affix. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word, and the function of the functional affix to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This modification can be expressed by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence. All this is illustrated in the words just quoted. The meaning of those connected words lies in the stem *domin*, and this meaning is modified, and the function in the sentence and relation to its other words of each individual is determined, by affixing *us*, *or*, *ans*, *i*, *o*, *um* and so on.

But the stem itself may consist of an original meaning and thus be a simple stem, or it may contain a modification of an original meaning and so be a compound stem. A compound stem must consist of a principal part or root and additional parts or radical affixes, the function of the root being to indicate the original meaning of the stem, and of the radical affixes to indicate the modifications by which the meaning of the root has been changed into the meaning of the stem. As simple examples may be instanced, the modern English words "form" and "information," of which the former is a simple stem and the latter a compound stem, built up of the root "form" and the radical affixes "*in*" and "*at*" and the functional affix "*ion*." So too the stem *domin* already mentioned is a compound stem with root *dom*, having the sense of "(to be) set," modified into the sense of "mastery" by a radical affix, which has there the form of *in*.

Further, since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess inherent qualities, which can be indicated by qualitative affixes and by tones. There are many English words, whose modern forms are however chiefly old decayed inflexional forms, which can illustrate

this point. Thus, "bury" is always a verb; so too are "believe," "give," and so on. So also by form *dominari* would always be a verb, and *dominus* a noun.

Thus it is that **affixes** determine the forms of words, bringing into existence what is usually called **etymology or derivation.** They are attachable, separably or inseparably, to roots and stems and words by the well-recognised methods of prefixing, infixing and suffixing, either in their full or in a varied form. It is the method of attaching them by variation of form that brings about **inflexion** in all its variety of kind. This is an important point. Affixes are additions to roots or stems. Those to roots are both prefixed and suffixed in most languages and are sometimes fixed into the roots, dividing them into parts, as in Arabic with much inflexion, and more plainly in Nicobarese: *e. g.*, in the latter case *pa-hoa*, to fear; *pa-ma-hoa*, a coward; *d-āk*, to come; *d-am-āk*, a guest. Prefixed affixes to show function are the rule in the South African Languages, infixed affixes in Arabic, suffixed affixes in the European inflected languages.

Such is the line inductive argument naturally takes in order to work out the grammar of any given language or group of languages logically, starting from the base argument that speech is a mode of communication between man and man through the ear by talking, through the eyes by signs, or through the skin by touch, and taking a language to be a variety or special mode of speech. The **grammar**, *i. e.*, the exposition of the laws, of any single language stops at this point and to carry the argument further, as one of course must, is to enter the region of **Comparative Grammar.** In doing so one must start at the same point as before, *viz.*, the sentence, but progress on a different line, because hitherto the effort has been to **resolve the unit of language into its components,** and now it has to be considered as being **itself a component of something greater,** *i. e.*, **of a language.**

To continue the argument. Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order without or with variation of form, its meaning is clearly rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position and tones or form or both. Also, since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences and languages are varieties of speech, **languages can vary** *in the forms and tones of their words, or in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or in both.* And thus are created **classes of languages.** Again, since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete either by the position of its words or by their tones and forms, languages are primarily divisible into **syntactical languages,** or those that express complete meaning by the position of their words; and into **formative languages,** or those that express complete meaning by the forms of their words. These are **the two great divisions into which all languages fall.** The order of the words and the forms of the words in the sentence determine the particular natural laws to which a language chiefly conforms.

Now, since syntactical languages depend on position, or on position combined with tone, to express complete meaning, they are divisible into **analytical and tonic languages.** Of such English and Chinese are respectively typical examples.

Further, since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an altered or unaltered form, formative languages are divisible into **agglutinative languages,** or those that add affixes without alteration, of which Turkish is a good example; and into **synthetic languages,** or those that add affixes with alteration, of which any inflected language serves as an example. And lastly, since affixes may be prefixes, infixes or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) **premutative,** or those that prefix their affixes, like the South African Languages; (2) **intromutative,** or those that infix them, like Arabic; and (3) **postmutative,** or those that suffix them, like Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit.

Thus inductive argument can be carried onwards to a clear and definite apprehension of the birth and growth of the phenomena presented by the varieties of human speech, *i. e.*, by languages.

But, as is the case with every other natural growth, in obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language can ever have been left to develop itself alone, and thus do we get the phenomenon of **connected languages**, which may be defined as those that differ from each other by varying the respective tones, forms and position, but not the meanings, of their words. And since variation of form is affected by the addition of altered or unaltered affixes, connected languages can vary the forms of the affixes without materially varying those of the roots and stems of their words. In this way they become divisible into groups, or those whose stems are common, and into families, or those whose roots are common. On this definition it is possible to gather French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and the "Latin" Languages into a Group. Hindi, Hindostani, Bengali, Uriya, Bihari, Panjabi, Marathi and the "Prakritic" Languages could be formed into a Group. Latin, Greek, Persian, Zend, Sanskrit, Pâli, and the Prakrits would belong to a Family.

It is also against natural conditions for any language to develop only in one direction, or without subjection to outside influences, and so it is that we find languages developing on more than one line and belonging strictly to more than one class, but in every such case the language has what is commonly called its **genius or peculiar constitution,** *i. e.*, it belongs primarily to one class and secondarily to the others. This point cannot be too strongly insisted on. No language has ever developed entirely on one line of development, hence the "irregularities" that vex the souls of learners. English is fundamentally analytical, but there are many highly inflected forms and functional inflexion occurs in many instances. There is also intromutation present in such forms as "man, men," "broad, breadth," "know, knew." Such highly inflected languages, too, as Greek and Latin have points in common with analytical languages.

I have long thought and I believe it can be proved that every language must conform to some part or other of the Theory just outlined, and in that case the Theory would be truly, as I have ventured to call it, a Theory of Universal Grammar. That the facts for such a Theory exist in Nature and only await unearthing I have no doubt whatever. Mankind, when untrammelled by teaching, acts on an instinctive assumption of their existence, for **children and adults alike always learn a language in the same way, if left to themselves.** They copy the enunciation of complete sentences from experts in it to start with, learning to divide up and vary the sentences so acquired afterwards, and this is not only the surest but also the quickest way of mastering a foreign tongue correctly. Its natural laws, *i. e.*, its grammar, as stated in books about it, are mastered later on, and in every case where they only are studied there comes about that book-knowledge of the language which is everywhere by instinct acknowledged to be a matter apart from, and in one sense inferior to, the practical or true knowledge. I use the term "true" here, because, unless this is possessed, whatever knowledge may be acquired fails to fulfil its object of finding a new mode of communicating with one's fellow man.

Book-knowledge of a language is only useful for scientific and educational purposes, but if the laws laid down in the set Grammars were to follow closely on the laws instinctively obeyed by untutored man, and to do no violence to what instinct teaches him to be the logical sequence of ideas, the divorce between practical and linguistic knowledge — between knowledge by the ear and knowledge by the eye — would not be so complete as it is nowadays. And not only that, if the laws could be stated in the manner above suggested, they could be more readily grasped and better retained in the memory, and languages could consequently be more quickly, more thoroughly and more easily learned by both children and adults than is now practicable to the ordinary learner. Looked at thus, the matter becomes of the greatest practical importance.

This is what the Theory attempts to achieve : but assuming it to be fundamentally right and correctly worked out, it should explain the workings of the untutored mind of the savage as exhibited in his speech, although it reverses the accepted order of teaching, alters many long accepted definitions, and while admitting much that is usually taught, it both adds and omits many details, and taken all round is a wide departure from orthodox teaching. How wide the following observations will show. The familiar terminology has been changed in this wise. The old noun, adjective, verb, adverb, preposition and conjunction have become indicator, explicator, predicator, illustrator, connector and referent conjunctor, while interjections and pronouns have become integers and referent substitutes. Certain classes also of the adverbs have become introducers. Gender, number, person, tense, conjunction and declension all disappear in the general description of kinds of inflexion :—the object becomes the complement of the predicate and concord becomes correlated variation.

The Theory is based on the one phenomenon, which must of necessity be constant in every variety of speech, *viz.*, the expression of a complete meaning or technically the sentence. Words are then described as components of the sentence, firstly as to the functions performed by them and next as to the means whereby they can fulfil their functions. Lastly, languages are considered according to their methods of composing sentences and words. Assuming this course of reasoning to be logically correct, it must, when properly worked out, explain every phenomenon of speech ; and when its dry bones have been clothed with the necessary flesh for every possible language by the process of the direct natural development of every detail, a clear and fair explanation of all the phenomena of speech must be logically deducible from the general principles enunciated therein.

The Theory takes no count of two subjects introduced into all formal Grammars for obvious reasons of convenience — phonology and orthography. It has no concern with pronunciation, spelling, and alphabets. These are subjects which do not affect it and belong to other branches of the development of the human mind.

(b) The Course of Grammatical Development.

The Sentence is the Unit of all Speech.

I. — The Sentence and its Components.

(*a*) A Sentence is composed of words.

(*b*) A Word is the expression of a meaning.

(*c*) A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.

(*d*) Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

II. — The Interrelation and Intimate Relation of the Components.

(*a*) Interrelation of components can be expressed by variation in form.

(*b*) Intimate relation of components can be expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement).

(*c*) Words required to express the interrelation of components are (6) connectors.

III. — The Sentence and its Function.

(*a*) The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.

(*b*) Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) introducers.

(*c*) The function of a sentence can be expressed by variation of the tones of its components.

(*d*) A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.

IV. — Expansion of the Sentence into the Period by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Connected Sentences for Words.

(*a*) A Phrase is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.

(*b*) A Clause is the substitute for a Word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.

(*c*) A Period is a Sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

V. — Interrelation of the Components of the Expanded Sentence or Period.

(*a*) Connected Sentences express connected purposes.

(*b*) Words required to express the interrelation of connected sentences are (8) referent conjunctors, (9) referent substitutes.

VI. — The Functions of the Components of the Sentence.

(*a*) The Essential Components of the Sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements.

(*b*) Complements are indicators or explicators.

(*c*) The Optional Components of a Sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors.

(*d*) Referents are referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

(*e*) An Integer is a sentence in itself.

(*f*) An Indicator indicates the subject or complement of the sentence.

(*g*) An Explicator explains the subject or complement.

(*h*) A Predicator indicates the predicate.

(*i*) An Illustrator illustrates the predicate or complement or the explanation of the subject or complement.

(*j*) A Connector explains the interrelation of the components.

(*k*) An Introductor explains the purpose of the sentence.

(*l*) A Referent Conjunctor explains the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.

(*m*) A Referent Substitute explains the interrelation of connected sentences by the substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

(*n*) The Subject of the sentence is the matter communicated.

(*o*) The Predicate of the sentence is the communication made about the subject.

(*p*) The Complement of the sentence is the completion of the predicate.

VII. — The Classes of the Components of the Sentence.

(*a*) Class indicates the nature of a word.

(*b*) Form, tone and position can indicate the class of a word.

VIII. — The Interrelation of the Classes of the Components.

(*a*) Connected words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

IX. — The Interrelation of the Functions of the Components.

(*a*) The Root indicates the original meaning of a word.
(*b*) Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes and suffixes.
(*c*) Affixes modify the meaning of a word.
(*d*) A Radical Affix modifies the meaning of a root.
(*e*) A Simple Stem is the principal part of a word indicating its meaning.
(*f*) A Functional Affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.
(*g*) A Compound Stem comprises a root and its radical affix.
(*h*) A Qualifying Affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.
(*i*) Connected Words comprise stems and their affixes.
(*j*) Inflexion is caused by alteration of the form of inseparable affixes.
(*k*) Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.
(*l*) Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

X. — The Position, Form and Tone of the Components.

(*a*) The meanings of the components combined with their positions or with their forms or combined with the positions and the forms or tones complete the meaning of the sentence.

XI. — General Development of Languages from the Sentence.

(*a*) No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.
(*b*) The sentence by the forms or positions of its components or by their forms or tones combined with their positions causes the development of all languages.

XII. — Development of Languages from the Sentence into Classes.

(*a*) The positions of the components of the sentence cause the development of Syntactical Languages.
(*b*) In Analytical Languages position governs the class.
(*c*) In Tonic Languages position combined with tone governs the class.
(*d*) The forms of the components of the sentence causes the development of Formative Languages.
(*e*) In Agglutinative Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached unaltered.
(*f*) In Synthetic Languages the affixes developing the forms are attached altered by inflexion.
(*g*) In Premutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are prefixed.
(*h*) In Intromutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are infixed.
(*i*) In Postmutative Languages the affixes developing the forms are suffixed.

XIII. — Development of the Interrelated Classes of Languages from the Sentence.

(*a*) Affixes to stems develop Groups of Languages.
(*b*) Affixes to roots develop Families of Languages.
(*c*) Variation of tone, form or position in Families develops Connected Languages.

(c) Skeleton of the Theory.

Speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression. Speech may be communicated orally through the ear by talking, optically through the eye by signs, tangibly through the skin by the touch. Languages are varieties of speech.

The **units** of languages are **sentences.** A sentence is the **expression of a complete meaning.**

A sentence may consist of a single expression of a meaning. A single expression of a meaning is a **word.** A sentence may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, it has two parts. These parts are the **subject** and the **predicate.** The subject of a sentence is the matter communicated or discussed in the sentence. The predicate of a sentence is the communication or discussion of that matter in the sentence.

The subject may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. The predicate may consist of one word. It may also consist of many words. When it consists of more than one word, there is a principal word and additional words. Therefore the **components of a sentence** are words placed either in the subjective or predicative part of it, having a **relation to each other** in that part. This relation is that of principal and subordinate.

Since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of **relation** to each other, they fulfil **functions.** The function of the principal word of the subject is to indicate the matter communicated or discussed by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the subject may be to explain that indication, or to illustrate the explanation of it. The function of the principal word of the predicate is to indicate the communication or discussion of the subject by expressing it. The function of the subordinate words of the predicate may be to illustrate that indication, or to complete it. The predicate may be completed by a word explanatory of the subject, or indicative of the **complement.** Therefore, primarily, the words composing a sentence are either —

(1) **Indicators,** or indicative of the subject.
(2) **Explicators,** or explanatory of the subject.
(3) **Predicators,** or indicative of the predicate.
(4) **Illustrators,** or illustrative of the predicate, or of the explanation of the subject.
(5) **Complements,** or complementary of the predicator.

And complements are either indicators or explicators. Therefore also **complementary indicators** may be explained by explicators, and this explanation may be illustrated by illustrators. And **complementary explicators** may be illustrated by **illustrators.**

But, since speech is a mode of communication between man and man, mankind speaks with a **purpose.** The function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech. The purpose of speech is either (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, or (5) information. Purpose may be indicated in a sentence by the **position** of its components, by the **tones** of its components, by **variation** of the forms of its components, and by the addition of **introductory** words to express it or **introducers.**

Also, since the function of sentences is to indicate the purpose of speech, **connected purposes** may be indicated by **connected sentences.** The relation of connected sentences to each other is that of principal and subordinate. This relation may be expressed by the position of the connected sentences, by variation of the tones or forms of their components, or by the addition of referent words expressing it or **referents.** A referent word may express the interrelation of connected sentences by conjoining them, or by substituting itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers. Referents are therefore **conjunctors or substitutes.**

Also, since the words composing the parts of a sentence are placed in a position of relation to each other, this relation may be expressed in the sentence by the addition of connecting words expressing it or **connectors**, or by variation of the forms of the words themselves.

Also, since predicators are specially connected with indicators, explicators with indicators, illustrators and complements with predicators, and referent substitutes with their principals, there is an **intimate relation** between predicator and indicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal. This intimate relation may be expressed by the addition of connecting words to express it, or by **correlated variation** in the forms of the specially connected words or by their relative position or by their relative tones.

Since speech is a mode of communication between man and man by expression, that communication may be made complete without complete expression. Speech may, therefore, be partly expressed, or be partly left unexpressed. And since speech may be partly left unexpressed, referent words may refer to the unexpressed portions, and words may be related to unexpressed words or correlated to them. Referent substitutes may, therefore, indicate the subject of a sentence.

Again, many words may be used collectively to express the meaning of one word. The collective expression of a single meaning by two or more words is a **phrase**. The relation of a phrase to the word it represents is that of original and substitute. A phrase, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since a phrase is composed of words used collectively to represent a single expression of a meaning, that meaning may be complete in itself. Therefore a phrase may be a sentence. A sentence substituted for a word is a **clause**. A clause, therefore, fulfils the function of its original.

Since clauses represent words, a sentence may be composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words. A sentence composed of clauses, or partly of clauses and partly of words, is a **period**.

Therefore a word is functionally either —

(1) A sentence in itself or an **integer**,

(2) An **essential component** of a sentence, or

(3) An **optional component** of a sentence.

The essential components of a sentence are (1) indicators, (2) explicators, (3) predicators, (4) illustrators, (5) complements. And complements are either indicators or explicators.

The optional components of a sentence are (1) introducers, (2) referents, (3) connectors. And referents are either referent conjunctors or referent substitutes.

To recapitulate: Functionally a word is either —

(1) An **integer**, or a sentence in itself.

(2) An **indicator**, or indicative of the subject or complement of a sentence.

(3) An **explicator**, or explanatory of its subject or complement.

(4) A **predicator**, or indicative of its predicate.

(5) An **illustrator**, or illustrative of its predicate or complement, or of the explanation of its subject or complement.

(6) A **connector**, or explanatory of the interrelation of its components.

(7) An **introducer**, or explanatory of its purpose.

(8) A **referent conjunctor**, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by joining them.

(9) A **referent substitute**, or explanatory of the interrelation of connected sentences by substitution of itself in the subordinate sentence for the word in the principal sentence to which it refers.

An individual word may fulfil all the functions of words, or it may fulfil only one function, or it may fulfil many functions. When a word can fulfil more than one function, the function it fulfils in a particular sentence is indicated by its **position** in the sentence, either without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its **tone**. There are, therefore, **classes of words**.

Since a word may fulfil only one function, there are as many classes as there are functions. Also since a word may fulfil more than one function, it may belong to as many classes as there are functions which it can fulfil. A word may, therefore, be transferable from one class to another; and this transfer may be effected by its **position** in the sentence without variation of form, or with variation of form or by its **tone**. The class to which a word belongs may, therefore, be indicated by its **form** or **tone**.

When a word is transferable from one class to another, it belongs primarily to a certain class and secondarily to other classes. But, since by transfer to another class from the class to which it primarily belongs (with or without variation of form) the word fulfils a **new function**, it becomes a **new word** connected with the original word. The relation between **connected words** is that of parent and offshoot. Since the form of a word may indicate its class, both parent and offshoot may assume the forms of the classes to which they respectively belong.

When connected words differ in form, they consist of a principal part or **stem**, and an additional part or **functional affix**. The function of the stem is to indicate the meaning of the word. The function of the functional affix is to modify that meaning with reference to the function of the word. This **modification** may be effected by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or by indicating its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A stem may be an original meaning or **simple stem**, or it may be a modification of an original meaning or **compound stem**. A compound stem consists of a principal part or root, and additional parts or **radical affixes**. The function of the root is to indicate the original meaning of the stem. The function of the radical affixes is to indicate the **modification** by which the meaning of the root had been changed into the meaning of the stem.

Since words fulfil functions and belong to classes, they possess **inherent qualities**. The inherent qualities of words may be indicated by **qualitative affixes or by tones**.

Affixes are, therefore, **functional**, or indicative of the function of the word to which they are affixed, or of its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence; **radical**, or indicative of the modifications of meaning which its root has undergone; **qualitative**, or indicative of its inherent qualities.

Affixes may be —

(1) **Prefixes**, or prefixed to the root, stem, or word;

(2) **Infixes**, or fixed into the root, stem, or word;

(3) **Suffixes**, or suffixed to the root, stem, or word.

Affixes may be attached to roots, stems, or words in their **full form**, or in a **varied form**. When there is variation of form, there is **inflexion** or inseparability of the affix from the root, stem, or word. All the functions of affixes can, therefore, be fulfilled by inflexion; and **inflected words** may conform to particular **kinds of inflexion**.

Since a sentence is composed of words placed in a particular order, with or without variation of form, the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, with their tones, or with their forms, or partly with their position and partly with their forms or tones.

Since sentences are the units of languages, and words are the components of sentences, and since languages are varieties of speech, languages may vary in the forms of their words, in the tones of their words, in the position in which their words are placed in the sentence, or partly in the forms and tones and partly in the position of their words. There are, therefore, **classes of languages.**

Since the meaning of a sentence may be rendered complete by the position of its words, by their tones, or by their form, languages are primarily divisible into **syntactical languages,** or those that express complete meaning by the position and tones of their words; and into **formative languages,** or those that express complete meaning by the position and forms of their words.

Since syntactical languages use either position or position and tone, they are divisible into **analytical languages** and **tonic languages.**

Since words are varied in form by the addition of affixes, and since affixes may be attached to words in an unaltered or altered form, formative languages are divisible into **agglutinative languages,** or those that add affixes without alteration; and into **synthetic languages,** or those that add affixes with alteration.

Since affixes may be prefixes, infixes, or suffixes, agglutinative and synthetic languages are each divisible into (1) **premutative languages,** or those that prefix their affixes; (2) **intromutative languages,** or those that infix their affixes; (3) **postmutative languages,** or those that suffix their affixes.

Languages are, therefore, by class either syntactical or formative. And syntactical languages are either analytical or tonic, and formative languages are either agglutinative or synthetic. And agglutinative and synthetic languages are either premutative, intromutative, or postmutative.

A language may belong entirely to one class, or it may belong to more than one class. When a language belongs to more than one class, it belongs primarily to a particular class, and secondarily to other classes.

Since the meaning of a sentence is rendered complete by the meaning of its words in combination with their forms or position, languages may be **connected languages,** or those that vary the forms, the tones, or the position, without varying the meanings, of their words.

Since variation of form is effected by the addition of affixes in an unaltered form, connected languages may vary the affixes without variation of the roots or stems of their words. Connected languages whose **stems** are common belong to a **group.** Connected languages whose **roots** are common belong to a **family**; and, therefore, all connected languages belonging to a group belong to the same family.

(d) A Brief Exposition of the Theory.

All speech expresses a communication between man and man by talking or by signs. Languages are varieties of speech. The unit of every language is the expression of a complete communication, *i. e.*, the sentence. All sentences are divided into incomplete expressions of communication, *i. e.*, words, and are as naturally multiplied into languages. Thus there is a development both ways from the sentence.

The necessary primary division of every sentence made up of words is into the matter communicated (subject) and the communication made about it (predicate). The words in each of these divisions are of necessity in the relation of principal and subordinate, which involves the fulfilment of a function by every word.

The function of the principal word of the subject is obviously to indicate the matter communicated and of the subordinate words to explain the indication and illustrate that explanation. Similarly, the principal word of the predicate indicates the communication made and the subordinate words illustrate the indication or complete it.

Therefore, in every language the essential words in a sentence are : —

(1) indicator, indicating the subject or the complement.
(2) explicator, explaining that indication.
(3) predicator, indicating the predicate.
(4) illustrators, illustrating the predicator or the explicator.

As all speech expresses a communication, it has a purpose, and the functions of the sentences is to express one of the five following purposes : — (1) affirmation, (2) denial, (3) interrogation, (4) exhortation, (5) information. The methods adopted for indicating the purpose of a sentence are (1) placing the components in a particular order, or (2) varying their forms or the tones in which they are spoken, or (3) adding special introductory words. When the purposes of speech are by their nature connected together, this connection is naturally indicated by connected sentences in the relation of principal and subordinate, which is expressed by methods similar to those above noted, *viz.*, placing them in a particular order, or varying the forms or tones of their components, or adding special referent words of two kinds, (1) simple conjoining words, (2) words substituting themselves in the subordinate sentence for the words in the principal sentence to which they refer.

The relation of the words composing the parts of a sentence is also expressed by the similar methods of adding special connecting words, or of varying the forms or tones of the words ; and so, too, the intimate relation between indicator and predicator, indicator and explicator, illustrator and predicator, predicator and complement, referent substitute and principal, is similarly expressed by special connecting words, by correlated variation of the words in intimate relation, by their relative position, or by the tones used in severally expressing them.

Complete communication can be, and is habitually, in every language, made without a complete expression of it in speech, and so referent words are made to refer to words unexpressed and to be related or correlated to them, and referent substitutes are made to indicate the unexpressed subject or complement of a sentence.

The function of the sentence and the interrelation of the words composing it are therefore in all speech expressed by three methods : position, variation, or addition of special words. Every language adopts one or more or all of these methods.

Therefore, in every language the optional words in a sentence are : —

(5) connector, explaining the interrelation of the components,
(6) introducer, explaining its purpose,
(7) referent conjunctor, joining connected sentences,
(8) referent substitutes, indicating the interrelation of connected sentences or unexpressed communications.

To the essential and optional components of the sentence must be added (9) the integer, or word that of necessity in every language expresses in itself a complete communication, *i. e.*, is a sentence.

Thus is explainable the natural resolution of the sentence into its component words, but any one word can be, and habitually is, extended to many words, used collectively to express its meaning. Words thus used collectively form a phrase, which is substituted for its original. When a phrase contains in itself a complete meaning, and thus is a sentence substituted for a word, it becomes a clause. Therefore, clauses and phrases are merely expanded words, fulfilling the functions and bearing the relations of the words for which they are substituted in an expanded sentence or period. Therefore also, the period is a true sentence in the sense of being the expression of a complete meaning, and so the unit of every language adopting it.

In all speech, words are made to indicate the functions they fulfil in a sentence by their position in it, with or without using tones, and with or without variation in form, and this habit gives rise of necessity to classes of words according to function. And as any given word can naturally fulfil more than one function, it becomes as naturally transferable from its own class to another, the transfer

being indicated by position in the sentence with or without variation in form or tone. The class of a word thus indicates its function; and its position, alone or combined with its form or tone, indicates its class.

So when a word is transferred from its original class, it necessarily fulfils a new function and becomes a new word, connected with the original word in the relation of parent and offshoot, each equally of necessity assuming the form or tone of its own class.

The functions of words in a sentence, and consequently their classes, are therefore in all speech expressed by two methods: position or position combined with variation or tone. Every language adopts one or other or both.

When in any language connected words differ in form, they are made to consist of a principal part or stem and an additional part or functional affix. The stem is used for indicating the meaning of the word, and the functional affix for modifying that meaning according to function, by indicating the class to which the word belongs, or its relation or correlation to the other words in the sentence.

A simple stem necessarily indicates an original meaning, but a stem can be, and habitually is, used for indicating a modification of an original meaning. It then naturally becomes a compound stem, *i. e.*, made up, by the same method as that above noted, of a principal part or root and of additional parts or radical affixes, each with its own function, the root to indicate the original meaning, and the affix its modification into meaning of the stem.

As all words differing in form or tone of necessity fulfil functions and belong to classes, they must possess a nature, *i. e.*, qualities inherent in themselves, and these, in all languages using such words, are indicated by the addition of qualitative affixes or by the tones in which they are spoken.

Every affix is of necessity fixed in the midst of, or prefixed or suffixed to, a root, stem, or word, the affixing being naturally effected in full or in a varied form. Whenever there is variation of form amounting to material change, there is necessarily inflexion, or inseparability of the affixes. Inflexion can therefore be made to fulfil all the functions of affixes, and inflected words to conform to particular kinds of inflexion, in order to indicate function and class: and as tone can be equally made to indicate the functions and classes of words, it takes the place of inflexion.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions merely by the tone in which they are spoken or by an external development effected by affixes, and to express modifications of their original meaning by a similar use of tones or of internal development. In the case of both internal and external development the affixes are prefixes, infixes, or suffixes affixed in full or varied form or by inflexion. All languages, using variation of form for causing the components of sentences, *i. e.*, words, to fulfil their functions, adopt one or other, or all the above methods of effecting the variation.

Therefore in all speech, communication expressed in a sentence is rendered complete by the combination of the meaning of its components with their position, tones or forms, or with position combined with form or tone.

The methods adopted in developing the sentence, *i. e.*, the unit of speech itself, are found to entirely govern those adopted in its further development into a language or variety of speech.

Languages differ naturally in the position of their words in the sentence, or in their forms or tones, or in the combination of position with form or tone. Thus are set up naturally two primary classes of languages: — Syntactical Languages, which express complete communication by the position, and Formative Languages, which express it by the forms of their words.

As position alone or combined with tone can fulfil all the functions of speech, the Syntactical Languages employ one or both of those methods, and thus are created respectively Analytical Languages and Tonic Languages.

Again, in all speech, variety of form is secured by affixes attached to words in an unaltered or an altered form. Formative Languages necessarily therefore divide themselves

into Agglutinative Languages, attaching affixes in an unaltered form, and Synthetic Languages, attaching them in an altered form. These two classes are both further naturally divisible into (1) Premutative, (2) Intromutative, (3) Postmutative Languages, according as they attach affixes as prefixes, infixes or suffixes.

In obedience to a fundamental Law of Nature, no language has ever developed along a single line, and therefore every language belongs of necessity primarily to one of the above classes, and secondarily to others, by partial adoption of their methods.

Languages, varying the form, tones or position, without varying the meanings, of their words, form naturally Connected Languages in the relation of parent and offshoot. Connected Languages, whose stems, *i.e.*, the meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Group of Languages, and those Connected Languages, whose roots, *i.e.*, the original meanings of whose words, are common to all, form a natural Family of Languages. Therefore also of necessity all Connected Languages belonging to a Group belong to the same Family.

As the above method of expounding the Theory involves the use of unfamiliar terms, it is as well to state that the new and the old terms of Grammar roughly, though not exactly, correspond as follows; it being remembered that the old terms are themselves the outcome of another tacit Theory, based upon other observations of natural laws or phenomena.

Table of Comparative Grammatical Terms.

Old.	*New.*
Noun.	Indicator.
Adjective.	Explicator.
Verb.	Predicator.
Adverbs of different classes.	Illustrator. Introducer.
Preposition. Postposition. Conjunction.	Connector.
Interjection.	Integer.
Pronoun. Relative Adverb. Relative Particle.	Referent Substitute.
Gender, Number, Case. Declension. Person, Mood, Tense. Conjugation.	Inflexion of different kinds.
Concord, Agreement. Government.	Correlated Variation. Intimate Relation.

DIAGRAM I.

Explaining the Lines upon which the Theory is Worked out.

Principle of the Development of the Sentence out of its Components.

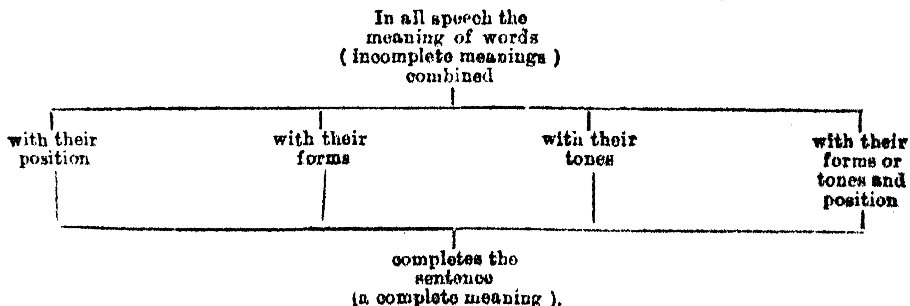
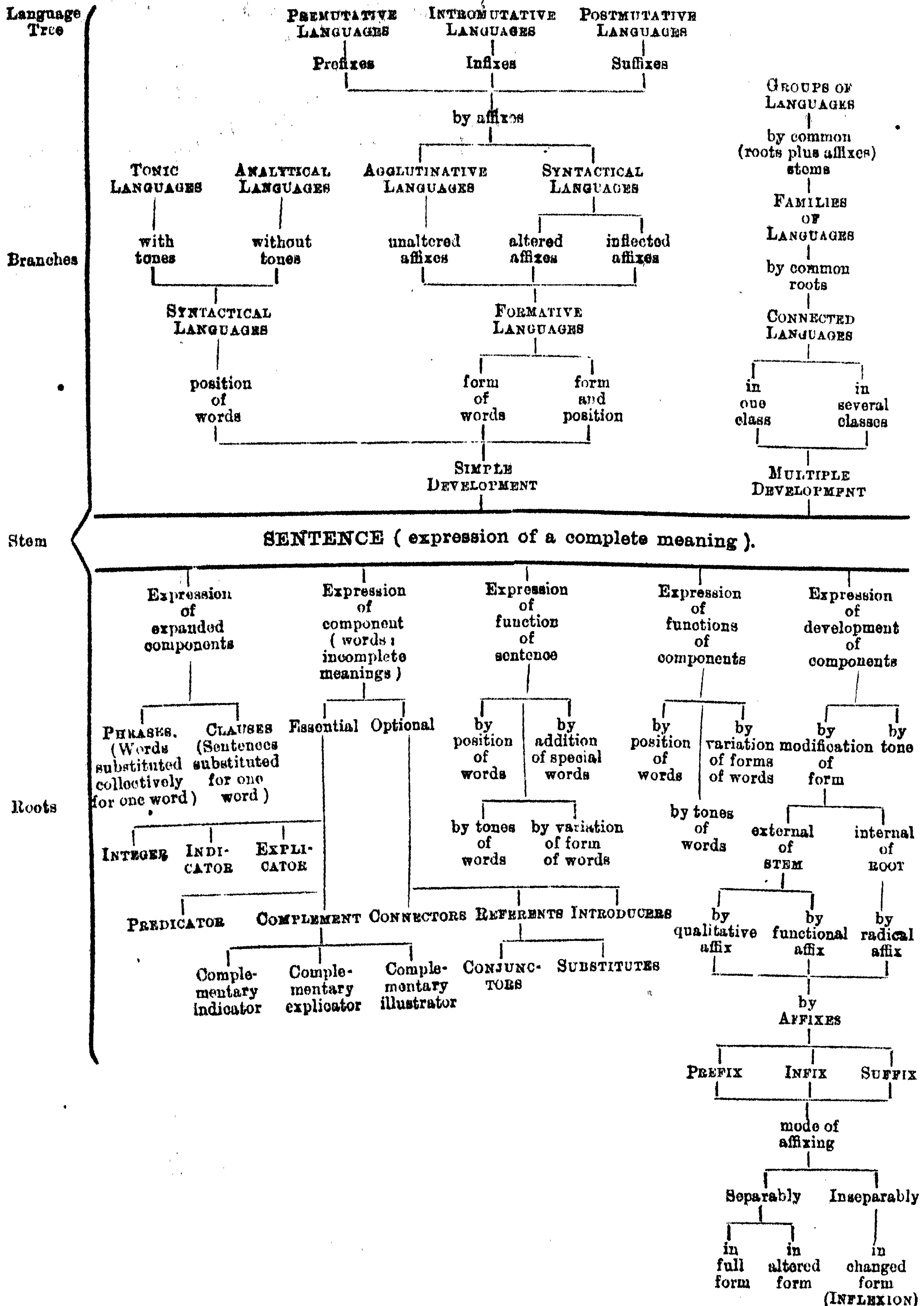


DIAGRAM II.

Development of the Sentence or complete meaning, upwards into languages, downwards into its components.



(e) Methods of Analysing the Sentence
according to the Theory of Universal Grammar.

I. — By its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. A sentence is composed of Words.
2. A Word is the expression of a meaning.
3. A Sentence is the expression of a complete meaning.
4. Words required to express the meaning of a sentence are (1) integers, (2) indicators, (3) predicators, (4) explicators, (5) illustrators.

Analyses.

1. An Integer completes the Sentence.
2. The Subject and the Predicate make up the Sentence.
3. An Indicator completes the Subject.
4. The principal word (Indicator) and subordinate words make up the Sentence.
5. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.
6. The Predicator completes the Predicate.
7. The principal word (Predicator) and subordinate words make up the Predicate.
8. Illustrators and the Complement (Object) make up the Predicate.
9. An Indicator or an Explicator completes the Complement.
10. The principal word (Indicator or Explicator) and subordinate words make up the Complement.
11. Illustrators and Explicators make up the subordinate words.

II. — By the Interrelation and Intimate Relation of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. Interrelation of component words is expressed by variation in form.
2. Intimate relation of component words is expressed by correlated variation in form (agreement and government).
3. Words required to express the interrelation of component words are (6) connector.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words complete the Sentence.
2. Component words with variation in form and connectors make up the Sentence.
3. Indicator and Predicator, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicator, Predicator and Complement form the Component Words.
4. Correlated Variation in form expresses the intimate relation between Indicator and Predicator, Indicator and Explicator, Illustrators and Predicator, Predicator and Complement.

III. — By its Function.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The function of a sentence is to express its purpose.
2. Words required to express the function of a sentence are (7) Introducers.

Analyses.

1. Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, or Information, completes the Sentence.
2. The function of the Sentence is either Affirmation, Denial, Interrogation, Exhortation, Information.
3. Words varied in tone or form indicate the function.
4. The position of the words indicates the function.
5. An Introducer indicates the function.

IV. — By its Expanded Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The Components are expanded by the substitution of Phrases, Clauses and Sentences for Words.

2. A Phrase is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a meaning by two or more words.

3. A Clause is the substitute for a word by the collective expression of a complete meaning by two or more words.

4. A Period is a sentence expanded by Clauses or Words.

Analyses.

1. Clauses substituted for Words complete the Expanded Sentence or Period.

2. Phrases or Clauses substituted for Words and Words make up the Expanded Sentence or Period.

V. — By the Interrelation of its Expanded Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. Connected Sentences express connected purposes.

2. Words required to express the interrelation of Connected Sentences are (8) Referent Conjunctors, (9) Referent Substitutes.

3. A Tone is a point on a conventional scale of the voice in speaking.

Analyses.

1. Connected Sentences complete the Expanded Sentences or Period.

2. The Principal Sentence and Subordinate Sentences make up the Connected Sentences.

3. Referent Conjunctors indicate the Principal Sentence.

4. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates the Principal Sentence.

5. Variation of the tone, form and position of the words indicates a Subordinate Sentence.

6. In Subordinate Sentences the Subjective part is indicated by referent substitutes with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.

7. In Subordinate Sentences unexpressed communication is indicated by referent conjunctors with correlated variation in form, with or without variation in form, and with or without tone.

VI. — By the Functions of its Components.

Analyses.

1. Essential and Optional Components make up the Sentence.

2. An Integer completes the Sentence.

3. Indicator, Explicators, Predicator, Illustrators and Complement form the Essential Components.

4. Indicator and Explicators complete the Complement.

5. Indicator, Explicators and Illustrators make up the Complement.

6. Connectors, Introducer, Referent Conjunctor, and Referent Substitutes form the Optional Components.

VII. — By the Classes of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The Class indicates the Nature of a Word.

2. The Form indicates the Class of a Word.

Analyses.

1. Fulfilment of function by component words combined with position completes the Sentence.

2. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions produces the transfer of component words from class to class.

3. Fulfilment of one, many, or all functions indicates the class of a component word.

4. A Component Word, without and with variation of form and with and without tone, by position fulfil one, many, or all functions.

VIII. — By the Interrelation of the Classes of its Components.

Note.

1. Connected Words indicate their transfer from one class to another.

Analyses.

1. Connected Words in the form of their Primary Class or of their Secondary Classes together with other Component Words make up the Sentence.

2. The Parent Word and Offshoot Words form the Connected Words.

3. Classes of words consist of the Primary Class which forms the Parent Word and of Secondary Classes which form the Offshoot Words.

4. Secondary Classes by fulfilling new functions and by transfer from the Primary Class, with or without variation of form and without or with tone, form the Offshoot Words.

IX. — By the Interrelation of the Functions of its Components.

Definitions and Notes.

1. The root indicates the original meaning of a word.

2 Affixes comprise prefixes, infixes, suffixes.

3. Affixes modify the meaning of a word.

4. A radical affix modifies the meaning of a root.

5. A simple stem is the principal part of a Word indicating its meaning.

6. A functional affix modifies the meaning of a stem in relation to its function.

7. A compound stem comprises a root and its radical affix.

8. A qualitative affix modifies a word by indicating its nature (inherent qualities) in relation to function or class.

9. Connected words comprise stems and their functional affixes.

10. Inflexion is caused by an alteration in the form of inseparable affixes.

11. Inflected words conform to particular kinds of inflexion.

12. Tone is a substitute for inflexion.

Analyses.

1. Connected words and other component words make up the Sentence.

2. Qualitative Affixes indicate the inherent qualities of classes of connected words.

3. Simple stems and compound stems make up connected words.

4. Functional Affixes, by indicating class, interrelation and correlation, modify simple stems and compound stems.

5. Radical Affixes modify roots into compound stems.

6. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached separably in full or varied form to root, stem or word form Affixes.

7. Prefixes, Infixes and Suffixes attached inseparably by inflexion (altered form) of one or many kinds to root, stem or word form Affixes.

X. — By the Position, Tone and Form of its Components.

Analyses.

1. The meaning of the components with position or form completes the Sentence.
2. The meaning of the components with position and form or tone completes the Sentence.

XI. — By General Development into Languages.

Note.

1. No Language has ever developed along one line of development only.

Analyses.

1. The Sentence by the forms or position of its components creates all Languages.
2. The Sentence by the forms or tones combined with the position of its components creates all Languages.

XII. — By Development into Classes of Languages.

Analyses.

1. The Sentence by variation of the forms or position of its components creates Classes of Languages.
2. The Sentence by combining variation of the forms and position or of the tones and position of its components creates Classes of Languages.
3. The Classes of Languages comprise the Syntactical and Formative Languages.
4. The position of the components of the sentences create the Syntactical Languages.
5. The forms of the components of the sentences create the Formative Languages.
6. The Syntactical Languages without tones form the Analytical Languages.
7. The Syntactical Languages with tones form the Tonic Languages.
8. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of unaltered affixes form the Agglutinative Languages.
9. Formative Languages by varying the forms of the components of the sentences by means of altered affixes (inflexion) form the Synthetic Languages.
10. Agglutinative and Synthetic Languages by means of prefixed, infixed and suffixed affixes form respectively the Premutative, Intromutative and Postmutative Languages.
11. Syntactical and Formative Languages which are by nature of one Primary Class are Parent Languages.
12. Syntactical and Formative Languages which partially adopt the nature of Secondary Classes are Offshoot Languages.
13. Parent and Offshoot Languages comprise all Languages.

XIII. — By Development with Interrelated Classes of Languages.

Analyses.

1. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the stems of its components creates Groups of Languages.
2. The Sentence with or without varied affixes to the roots of the stems creates Families of Languages.
3. The Sentence by variation of the tones, forms or position of its components in Families of Languages but without variation in the meaning of the components creates Connected Languages.
4. Connected Languages by conforming to one Primary Classes or by conforming partially to Secondary Classes comprise all Languages.

(To be continued.)

NOTES ON THE CHINS OF BURMA.

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Religion.

THE religion of all the Turanian races has been **Animism or Shamanism.** The general lines of the religion of all the hill-tribes of Burma may be given in brief in the words in which Prof. A. H. Sayce in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*[1] describes the religion of the Sumerians of Babylonia of three thousand years B. C. "According to the Sumerian idea every object and force in nature had its *zi* or 'spirit,' which manifested itself in life and motion. The *zi* was sometimes beneficent, sometimes malignant, but it could be controlled by the incantations and spells which were known to the sorcerer-priests."

The chief objects of worship among the Chins may be divided into three groups : — (i) **the Great Parent** of all ; (ii) **the spirits** who live in earth and sky, who send rain or withhold it, who watch over the village, the rice-fields, the jungle, or some one tree or mountain, &c. ; and (iii) **the penates,** *i. e.*, deceased forefathers, whom they fear rather than love, for while they dread their anger they expect little in the way of blessing from them. The Chins **do not worship any images** ; nor do they make any carved representations of any of these objects of worship.

The Great Parent of all is regarded as a **female, Mother 'Li,** and they do not think that she has or had any male counterpart. Perhaps one may rather say that they believe that sex does not enter into 'Li's essence. Mother 'Li reigns "on her throne in the heavens," "never growing old and never dying." She created, of her spittle, the earth and the sea and the sky, and brought forth by her power all life, animal and vegetable. She created man and imparted to him all the material and mental and spiritual blessings that he enjoys. All mankind are her children, and she loves them all. She has given to each nation its bounds and language and letters. She is wholly good.

Reasoning, as I imagine, from the analogy of daily life, the teachers or priests have told the Chins that Mother 'Li herself has not existed from all times, but had, as parents and ancestors, **Yin, Aw, 'Keu and 'Kyĕn,** who are now dead, and, like other departed spirits, much more apt to trouble the living than to assist them ; — so much so that the names **Yin-Aw** are sometimes used to denote in brief all the spirits (Mother 'Li alone excepted), and that in a very unfavourable sense. It was too much, however, for the Chin mind to go back one step further, and to ask whence Yin and Aw came. They have never really faced the question of the First Cause.

The genesis of the human race in general, and of the Chins in particular, is thus told by the Chin teachers. In the beginning, after **Mother 'Li** had made the world, she **laid a hundred eggs,** which she hatched in cotton-wool, and from which sprang a hundred pairs of human beings, the progenitors of the different races of mankind. She laid **yet another egg, a little one,** which was most beautiful to see, and which she specially cared for. In her affection she did not put this one in cotton-wool, but kept it in an earthen pot, and so it did not hatch. After a while, thinking that the egg was addled, she threw it on to the roof of the house. It fell from the roof into some rubbish under the eaves, and was not broken. Afterwards when the rains came, it was borne down by the water with the rubbish into a stream, and finally lodged in a *yang-lai* (or *gyin-yè*) bush. Here the **ashun, or king-crow, spied the egg,** and carrying it off, hatched it ; and from this egg came a boy and **a girl,** the progenitors of the **Chin race.** It was only a small hamlet of nine or ten houses where the Chin race was hatched ; but as to the race of the people who lived in

[1] Tenth Edition, Vol. XXVI. p. 46.

that hamlet, tradition naturally says nothing. To this day, out of gratitude to the benefactor of their ancestors, **the Chins will not kill or eat the king-crow (or the long-tailed edolius) which they will still speak of as their father and mother.**

"After the boy and girl were born they were separated. When **the boy** grew up, as he had no mate, he **made a bitch his wife.** The Chin girl also grew up by herself, and was carried off by a bear, who placed her in a tree and kept her there. From this captivity she was delivered, by a bee, which came to her and directed her to tie a piece of cotton to his tail, by means of which he guided her to where the male Chin was living in the valley of the river called by the Burmese, the Chindwin. In commemoration of this, when children are born a piece of cotton is tied to their hands. The man wished to make this woman his wife, but the woman objected, because the bee had told her that they were brother and sister. To settle this dispute they went to their Mother 'Li. Her order was that as the man had married a bitch, **the bitch should be sacrificed,** and the man should then marry the woman; that their sons and daughters should also intermarry, but after that the brother's daughters should marry the sister's sons. Hence arose the Chin customs of offering up a dog **to the household spirits** and of **giving the daughters of brothers in marriage to those brothers' sisters' sons.**

"Mother 'Li loved her youngest born son, but before she found him she had already partitioned off the world among her other children, and there was nothing but inhospitable mountain ranges left for the Chin. These she assigned to him, and she gave him also elephants and horses and cattle, and directed his Burman brother to look after his education. This **Burman brother,** however, turned out to be a very wicked and unscrupulous guardian. He pretended to educate the 'ignorant wild Chin,' but he showed him nothing but the blank side of his slate; so that he never learned a single letter. Before he put him on an elephant, he rubbed the elephant's back with cowhage, which so tickled the poor Chin's bare skin that he refused to have anything to do with such animals in future, and gave them all to his elder brother the Burman. The buffalo, too, the Burman managed to deprive him of. When the Chin tried to ride it, the Burman's wife put herself in the way and got knocked down. The Burman complained to Mother 'Li, who decided that the buffalo should be given over to the Burman in compensation for the injury done. Ultimately of all the animals which had been given to him, goats and fowls and pigs were the only ones which remained in his possession.

"The grasping Burman did not even permit his brother to remain in undisturbed possession of his mountain home. When the boundaries of the different countries were marked out, the Burman took care to mark his with permanent objects, but the Chin set up no marks save some twisted knots of grass. These were burnt up by the jungle fires, and then as the Chin had no marks to show, he was ordered to live wherever the Burman allowed him. Thus his race has never had a country of its own, and wanders still over the mountain ranges of Burma.

"**The origin of every Chin law and custom is religiously assigned by the Chins to the orders of Mother 'Li,** the great mother of the human race, who is said to have laid down a complete code of laws for the guidance of her Chin progeny."[2]

As **Mother 'Li gave letters** to other nations, so she did to the Chins also. The Burman paid not very much attention to the gift, but wrote the letters on leaves and stones; the Chin in his veneration towards the Giver wrote his language on parchment (deer's skin); but when no one was in the house, the dog came along and ate the skin. The Chin submitted as patiently as he could to the loss, but he still hopes, when he eats the flesh of his young dogs, as he

[2] Col. Horace Browne, *Gazetteer of Thayetmyo* (1874), pp. 48, 49.

frequently does, to imbibe some of the wisdom which that progenitor of the race of dogs then swallowed.[3]

Like the other hill-tribes, the Chins are much addicted to drinking 'kaung, or rice-beer, and this gift is also attributed to Mother 'Li, and the Chins say that when it is prepared in the orthdox fashion it has the same consistency as Mother 'Li's milk. It was given them, they say, to maintain their strength after the lake of milk with which Mother 'Li had first endowed them was dried up. '*Kaung*, however, is not offered to Mother 'Li, though it is always offered to the spirits (*penates*, or otherwise), and forms an essential part of every Chin marriage or funeral. Among the wild Chins, I believe, at the end of a big wedding, often not a single man, woman, or child is sober; and charges made before the village elders of adultery committed on such occasions have been summarily put aside on the ground that there was no person present at the time who was sober enough to know and to remember what took place. The Burmans, as Buddhists, are all, at any rate in theory, total abstainers from alcoholic liquors; and the Southern Chins, who have come very much in contact with them, have, at least, learnt to believe that it is not meritorious to get drunk, and many of them are free from the vice of intemperance. It should be added that it is not the Chin custom to drink '*kaung* regularly, but they are addicted to very heavy drinking on the occasion of a feast or of making sacrifices (to the spirits).

Tribal System.

The Chins are divided into forty or more of clans, called a'so, each clan having its common ancestry, called 'kun. The '*kuns* are often spoken of as male. There is also the (n)zö-yai ancestry worshipped only by the women, with an offering of dog's flesh; but of this, and of another tribal distinction called 'kô, little information can be got. The (*n*)*zö-yai* does not seem to be a female ancestry, but it is reckoned to be in the female line of natural birth. One may be adopted into a different 'kun, for the name is used of the clan, as well as of the original ancestor and of his deceased descendants, male and female; but one's (n)zö-yai can never be changed.

The Chin clans are all exogamous, *i. e.*, a man may not marry a woman of his own clan; but, as we shall see later on, after the marriage ceremonies are over, the wife is initiated into her husband's clan, and has her wrists wrapped round with cotton-yarn as a witness to all evil spirits that she is under the guardianship of the '*kun* of her husband. So, too, all children, four or five days after birth, are admitted in like manner into the '*kun*; and at the same time children have their ears bored. As to the origin of this last custom, the Chins have a strangely childish tradition. They say that if Pôi 'Kleuk, the Lord of the Underworld, spies a man who has not his ears bored, he will think that this is not a man but a rabbit, and will give chase. So to avoid this mistake, and the disaster that might attend it, all Chin infants have their ears bored.

If a Chin dies leaving a widow with young children, some months after his death she will return to her parents or elder brother, and she will be readmitted, with the children also, into her ancestral '*kun*. Afterwards when the children are grown up, they *may* be readmitted into their father's '*kun*. The widow, too, may marry again; and in that case will, of course, be

[3] Of recent years the American Baptist Missionaries have, with somewhat modified success, adapted, for the Chin language, the Pwo-Karen alphabet, which is again a modification of the Burmese one. They have also published in that form a Chin spelling-book, an elementary catechism, a hymn-book, and a translation of St. John, i—vi. They are, however, I understand, doubtful as to the advisability of continuing to use these characters. In 1892, Mr. Bernard Houghton, I.C.S., issued his "Essay on the Language of the Southern Chins" (with grammar, vocabularies, and sentences), in which he used the Roman characters, and this has been found far more suitable for the purpose, although as there is as yet no reading public very little has been produced in that form.

admitted into the *'kun* of her second husband. If the string were not tied round their wrists on their admission into the *'kun*, they would probably soon come to an untimely end, and on their death they would not be permitted to arrive at the land of Pói 'Kleuk.

When two Chins who are strangers meet and enter into conversation, the first question is ordinarily, "What is your clan?" All of the same clan are regarded as brothers.[4] Like all the hill-tribes and the people of the plains, too, of Burma, the Chins are hospitable according to their means, — and more especially so towards their brethren of the same clan.

The explanation which the Chins themselves give of their **origin of the clans** is that long, long ago each tribe, or clan, lived by itself on one mountain side, *e. g.*, that the Mendet tribe originally lived in Mendet village. Nowadays even a small village may have members of an indefinite number of tribes.

Some of the clans, as the Mendet and Talau, are to be held in more honour than others; but as their daughters must marry into other clans than their own, and their own wives also must have come from other clans, there is a complete absence of caste feeling.

Certain **sacrifices to the guardian nat** (the Burmese name for "spirit") are performed by the Mendet and Talau clans alone. When they make these sacrifices, one person from each house, partaking in the sacrifice, brings a small measure (*salè*) of uncooked rice with a little cotton-yarn on the top of it. A pig is sacrificed, and the rice is cooked. A stand for the offering to the *nat* is erected before the house where the worshippers assemble, and all the persons taking part in the sacrifice have their wrists wrapped round with the yarn. Then, after the *pa'san 'sayá* (their teacher or priest) has uttered the incantations, and the *nat* is satisfied and gives permission, they all fall to and feast.

Every year each clan will have a **special sacrifice to their deceased forefathers**, and will offer them pork and rice and *'kaung*. The *pa'san 'sayá* invites the spirits to the feast, calling over their names, and if there have been any comparatively recent deaths (say within two or three years) in the clan, the spirits of these their relatives are enrolled in the *'kun*.

Propitiatory Ceremonies.

The Chins have a custom of **offering first-fruits** to Mother Ceres, whom they call **Pók Klai.** They say that if she gives them but one look they will have plenty of rice, and they tell a somewhat gruesome story to explain the origin of the custom of offering first-fruits. "Once upon a time a woman had a daughter. Before her death, as she lay adying, she said to her daughter, 'After I am dead and cremated, I shall return, wearing my intestines as a necklace. . You must remain on the stairs. I shall come up by the back stairs and verandah. When I come you must throw some of the *kadu*-water (with which the corpse had been washed) over me. If you throw it I shall become a human being again.' Now when her mother came wearing her intestines as a necklace, the daughter was afraid, and durst not throw the *kadu*-water upon her mother; so, because she dared not, this woman could not become a human being again. Yet afterwards, her mother showed her where the cucumber seeds and the sweet cucumber and pumpkin seeds were,[5] and, giving her a command, said: 'My daughter, eat the first-fruit of the corn in its season.' So to this day the Chins eat the first-fruits of their corn, as a religious function. Before the men eat they make offerings in their *yas* (corn, or vegetable patches) for their deceased ancestry to eat."

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[4] Perhaps "cousins" would be the better rendering; for the Chins, like the Burmese, call their cousins of the first, and even of the second or third remove, by the same words as are used for "brother" or "sister."

[5] *i. e.*, taught her how to grow the vegetables required for their curry.

The Chins also propitiate **the rain fairy, Plaung 'Saw,** with offerings of cattle, pigs, and chickens, and, of course, with rice and *'kaung* too. When this sacrifice is being held all the women must remain standing from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

When the Chins have sown their corn, they gather together in their fields and **pray the Earth** to lend herself (*i. e.*, her increase) to them once again. If they do not thus petition the Earth to lend herself to them, but thanklessly and gracelessly clutch at what they can get without even so much as 'By your leave,' they may expect poor crops, and their children too will fall sick of fever through **possession by the spirit.** So they make an offering of a pig, a fowl, and a pot of *'kaung*, and also of three large and one small wicker-basketfuls of rice. They also wrap cotton-yarn on a piece of bamboo about three-quarters of a yard long, and pour some water from the bamboo on the baskets of offerings and on the worshippers. Again, as has been already stated, after the harvest is reaped, they assemble in the fields to make to the ancestor and others an offering of the first-fruits, and then they can eat the new corn.

In their houses, too, some Chins will, before they take a meal, call upon their ancestral *'kun*, or some other spirit, and then throw away a little ball of rice for the summoned spirit to eat ; but of late the custom has not been performed with much devotion, even where it is still kept up.

Chins will also offer on sundry occasions to their ancestors the flower of the *thabyé* or *eugenia*, stones, cooked glutinous rice, and cotton.

The Chins have **no images** of Mother 'Li, of their *penates*, or of the other spirits whom they fear ; and the figures of the king-crow and of the elephant, which are often carved on the top of the memorial posts placed in their ancestral cemetery, are not worshipped by them. Neither have they any chapels, temples, or other set places for assembly and for worship. Possession by an evil spirit does not connote with them either madness or moral turpitude, but merely sickness or some untoward accident.

Sickness or other trouble is supposed to be **due to** the animosity of **some spirit-being,** who has been provoked by something some one has done, probably unintentionally and in ignorance ; but the consequence is the same, the spirit holds the man in his grip. The spirits are considered as capricious rather than wicked ; though the people do not shrink from saying that they worship them because they (the spirits) are bad and therefore dangerous to them.

If a man strikes his naked toe against the **ground,** for they wear no boots or shoes, and his foot grows more and more painful after two or three days, he must propitiate **the spirit of the ground, (n)Ḍek'san'put,** by an offering of cooked rice, which is placed in a small bamboo basket, and buried at the place where the man hurt his foot. So, it is hoped, the spirit may be appeased by the food given him.

Immediately after the **birth of a child,** *nats* have to be appeased by the offering of two chickens made underneath the house ; otherwise they would cause the child to be for ever crying, and to be in bad health.

The Spirits.

The names and number of these spirits is legion, and the duty of the teacher is to show the people how to perform the sacrifices duly, and to utter the right incantations ; otherwise the offerings would be ineffective. The common name for the teacher is **yai-shĕn,** (called by the Burmans *pa'san 'sayá*), or **ok-mi** if skilled and respected. All these teachers recite rhythmically the customs relating to Mother 'Li, which they have received orally from their own teachers, and all of them are much given to the drinking of *'kaung*. The **lai-lö,** who holds forth at marriages, is a less esteemed teacher, and is especially fond of liquor. The office of teacher is not hereditary ; neither are they intent on keeping the knowledge of their sacred

lore to themselves. They are, at least among the Southern Chins, agriculturists like their neighbours, and a villager who is not skilled enough in the traditions to be a *yai-shĕn* may yet be a **mong 'tăn** (*i. e.*, of "skilled lip") and able occasionally to make certain offerings in the absence of one more skilled than himself.

Some spirits may be satisfied if a chicken is offered in sacrifice, and a little of the flesh and some cooked rice thrown on the ground for them to eat; but generally a **miniature house** has to be constructed **for the spirit** (or *nat*, as the Burmese would call him), and offerings made of dogs, or pigs, or bullocks, or buffaloes. Sometimes whatever offerings may be made, the mind of the *nat* cannot be appeased; and in such cases, of course, the man dies. The *pa'san 'sayâ* would not find the people so ready to listen to him, I imagine, were it not that the occasion of a sacrifice is almost the only time that the Chins eat any other than vegetable curry with their rice.

Cosmology.

The Chins conceive of the world as a flat surface, which is supported by two giants **(n)Sông and (n)Hói.** Sometimes to ease their shoulders they change the position of the load somewhat, and this is the cause of the earthquakes. The weight of the earth has caused awful sores on their shoulders, and as, after the manner of Chins, they do not wash the sores freely, much less use antiseptics, maggots have bred on their wounds, and these maggots are as big as elephants, so I have heard them say.

Forked lightning is considered to be the work of a spirit called **(n)Glet;** and meteorites sometimes found are called **(n)Glet's teeth.** Of the **sheet lightning,** so common in mild evenings, sundry accounts are given; but there seems to be common to these varying traditions the attributing of the lightning to two spirits (one or both female), the one placed in the east and the other in the west, who wink at one another out of mutual affection.

The rainbow is called the yawning of the dragon, and when they speak of an **eclipse** of the sun or moon they say that "the dog bites" or "catches" them; but I have not heard from any Chins the explanation of these sayings.

Witches.

The Chins are afraid of witches; but, as has been the case with other peoples, they find great difficulty in learning for certain whether a given woman is a witch or not. If they knew it they would certainly drive the woman out of the village, and perhaps resort to further violence. Like the Burmese, they believe that witches have the power by their incantations to introduce foreign matter into the bodies of those whom they hate, and so to cause them to sicken and die. It is the custom of the Chins to cremate the dead, and they think that when a witch is cremated, her bowels, which they conceive to be anything but human in their formation, will explode with a loud noise; and so the relatives of one who is suspected of being a witch will, when she is cremated, take care to put some big bamboos on the pyre, along with the cutch wood which is always used on such occasions, so that when the explosion takes place they may be able to affirm confidently that it was not her body that exploded, but the bamboos.

Law.

In the former days the Chin elders would decide all manner of questions and disputes that might crop up in a village, in accordance with Chin **customary law**; and the expenses of litigation were but pots of *'kaung*, and sometimes also a pig for sacrifice and consumption. Nowadays, the powers of the elders are limited to their religious customs, including, of course, questions of marriage and divorce. Other matters come before the Government representative, the *thugyi* (*i. e.*, head man), to whom they must give "the cost of a quid of betel" (commuted in these jungle villages at one rupee), on referring any matter for his decision. The Chin

national custom of taking an oath was to hold a sprig of the *Eugenia* (*thabyé*) in his hand whilst giving his evidence. It may be noted that the Burmese when victorious in war would crown themselves with chaplets made of the leaves of the same tree. Disputes are not frequent in Chin villages, and even under the British rule, which in practice unfortunately seems to foster litigation, it is very rare that the Chins ever appear in any case in the courts.

Manner of Life.

The Chin manner of life is of the simplest, and before the days of the British occupation they were very chary of leaving their homes. The Chin requires very little, excepting salt and a *dâ* (or chopper), which he cannot get for himself; though he frequently nowadays has all kinds of luxuries unknown to his forefathers, *e. g.*, *ngapî* (*i. e.*, pickled fish, generally more or less putrid), earthenware jars, matches and lamps. The bamboo alone gives him material for the walls, floor, and roof of his house, for his mats, cups, and waterjugs, for handles to his tools, for his weaving implements, for his baskets of all sizes, and for his substitute for twine. By rubbing two little pieces of bamboo together he can at once make a fire; and he can also make musical instruments of sorts from the bamboo. He grows his own corn (rice), and threshes and pounds it himself. In his *ya* he also grows all the vegetables he requires for his curry, beyond what can be found growing wild in the jungle, and cotton too, which his wife spins into yarn and weaves into garments and blankets. The dyes which he requires, and he has a considerable number of them, including indigo, he manufactures himself mainly from plants, either wild or cultivated. He grows his own tobacco, though, like the Burman, he spoils it in the drying, and he manufactures his pipe from a little bamboo. Formerly the Chins were only able to take up the laborious and wasteful *taung-yâ* method of cultivation, whereby fresh patches of jungle must be cleared each year for that year's crop, as they had no paddy-fields (*lè*) and often neither bullocks nor buffaloes: but of recent years they have slowly been improving their condition. In all his work, excepting the cutting of the jungle for *ya*, or the cutting down of bamboos and timber generally, and in ploughing, in the few cases where he has paddy-fields, the wife and daughter of the Chin take their full share.

The Chins are a very simple-minded people, and have not that facility in lying which most Orientals seem to possess; that is to say, the Chins may lie freely, but they cannot ordinarily lie boldly and consistently. I have been told by a magistrate who had lived among the Northern Chins, a savage people whose greatest delight, until the British occupied the country a few years ago, was to go head-hunting along the neighbouring mountains, that a bold liar was considered a great acquisition in any of these villages, and that whenever a Government enquiry was to be made on any point "the liar" was brought forward to answer all questions. The Chins have been, and are, perpetually being defrauded by their more wily Burmese neighbours, who keep up the character ascribed to their ancestor in Chin folklore. The Chins have a saying that "the Burman language is the most simple and straightforward of languages, but the Burmese man is the most crooked and deceitful of men."

Tattooing.

Until a few years ago every girl on reaching the age of puberty had her face tattooed. In the Northern Chin Hills this tattooing is done chiefly in rings and dotted lines; but among the Southern Chins, who were hemmed in by the Burmans, the whole face from the roots of the hair on the forehead, round by the ear to the neck, including even the eye-lids, was tattooed, and that so thickly and darkly that at a distance the whole face looked indigo, and only a close inspection would disclose the patterns worked on the face. It is not the Chin hereditary custom for boys or men to be tattooed; but now they mostly have their body and thighs tattooed as the Burmese do, whose manner of dress they also generally follow. The reason generally given by the Chins themselves, and by others, of this strange custom of tattooing their women's faces is that they wished to make them ugly, so that there would be less danger of their

being forcibly carried off by the Burmese; though some Chins attribute this custom also to Mother 'Li's injunctions. I should imagine that the custom of tattooing the faces of the women goes back far beyond the time when the Burmans grew strong enough to harass the Chins.

Burmese Influence.

In the days before the British occupation of Lower Burma, the Southern Chins who had been driven down southwards along the mountains by pressure from their fellow countrymen in the north, had found for their abode a land naturally more fertile than their old home; but they were perpetually harassed by the Burmans. Whenever a Burman was seen near a Chin village, the whole population would flee, if there was opportunity; for the Burmese, and more especially the officials, seem to have regarded the Chins as their legitimate prey. In those days the Chins were desperately poor: sometimes a man would be sold into slavery, or would sell his children, on account of a debt amounting to no more than a shilling, and few Chins had any cattle. Occasionally a band of Burmans, villagers who lived perhaps a day's march away, would surround a Chin village and carry off forcibly as slaves all the youths and maidens; on such occasions they would sometimes give Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 to the parents, as a proof, I suppose, should the matter ever possibly come to the ears of the Government, that these were slaves lawfully purchased. Sometimes the women were set free after a number of years when they had ceased to be attractive to their captors or purchasers, and when they could no longer get through as much work as when they were young. At other times the Chins fared still worse. The village would be surrounded by armed men, generally headed by a Government official, and the men who were not able to make good their escape into the surrounding woods were slaughtered. The Chin women, too, were first ravished and then slaughtered; and sometimes even the babes would be thrown up in the air and caught on the points of spears. The village, and all that could not be carried away, was burnt or destroyed; and many even of those who had escaped into the woods died of starvation and exposure. As the Chin who told me said, "those were terrible times."

Latterly, the Chins have largely **copied the language and dress of the Burmans, and to some extent their religion and other customs, — though without throwing over their own hereditary practices altogether.** "If you do not know the fashion in dressing your hair, follow the mode in your village," says a Burmese proverb; and certainly, if we may judge from their acts, the Chins seem largely to approve of that motto. In some few villages not only have the Chins given up most of their national customs, but the children do not even know the Chin language.* In the Census Reports, decade by decade, a larger percentage of the Chins and other hill-tribes is returned as **Buddhist**; thus in the Prome District in 1872 there were 15,200 persons returned as animists, in 1901 the number was 8,632. "Nor is Buddhism yet a moribund faith, for it is still attracting to it Shamanist or *nat*-worshipping Karens that have not yet fallen within the influence of the Christian missionaries . . . . The fact that no attempt at proselytising is attempted by the Buddhist clergy is probably an inducement to the uncultured to join them. The savage looks upon the missionary with suspicion. He cannot readily understand that the missionary's motives are disinterested, whereas he sees the advantage of joining such a religion as Buddhism, as it raises him in the social scale.[6] Moreover, he need not abandon his tutelary gods. It is this easy tolerance that has facilitated the spread of Buddhism. It may be taken as an axiom that the more thorough the conversion from one religion to another is, the more difficult it becomes to obtain converts. But this easy tolerance of Buddhism has led to its becoming adulterated in the process of absorption of the wilder creeds.[7] As a matter of fact, however, the Chins are at present between two stools and there is much room for Christianity as a means of raising them. As a rule they will more or less

[6] He thereby practically becomes a Burman, much as the Turcoman becomes a Russian by joining the Orthodox faith.

[7] *Census Report* (Burma), 1891, pp. 59-60.

frequently kneel before the Buddha's image and join with the Burmese in their festivals, and yet they follow the customs of their forefathers. They dread the evil spirits and revere the name of the Great Parent of all good, but hardly worship that power. Their worship is mainly a propitiation ; and what need, think they, is there to propitiate their Parent who loves them dearly, and ever does them good? Very few Chins have any real affection for Buddhism, though they can see the beauty of the moral law laid down as binding on the Buddhist 'householders' or laity. Since the British occupation the Chins have been less attentive, as I have been informed by the people themselves, to the religious ordinances incumbent on Buddhists than they were before ; for now they do not need the material protection which the profession of Buddhism used to give them, by raising them from the state of 'savages,' the lawful prey of any one, to that of civilized men.

Marriage Customs.

When a little girl is born she is placed under the guardianship of an elder brother, or cousin or uncle, on her father's side, and when she grows up she may not marry without his consent, — though this is rarely denied when there is persistence on the part of the sweethearts. Of course, the parties to a Chin marriage must be of different clans, and the ancient customs must be followed. Pre-nuptial chastity does not seem to be very highly esteemed among the Chins, and the parties often, if not generally, live together openly before marriage. Infidelity after marriage is not very common in the remote villages. Girls are generally married at fifteen years of age onwards ; boys when two or three years older. If a girl reaches twenty or twenty-five years of age and is yet unmarried, she is counted an old maid and avoided by the young men ; indeed, it is not considered creditable, and hardly reputable. A marriage should take place only in the hot weather, on or just before the full moon of the months of *Tabodwè* and *Ka'sóng*. If the parties elope together, the youth may then, or afterwards, be fined Rs. 60 ; but this is rather a following of Burmese customary law.

Some time previous to the marriage the youth will have gone with some comrades to the house of his prospective brother-in-law, taking some '*kaung* with him. This time nothing is said about marriage ; but, I suppose, if the '*kaung* is tacitly accepted it implies consent on the part of the guardians of the girl. After that the parents of the youth will go with him to her brother or parents, and formally ask for her in marriage for their son. The girl's parents or brother will then settle what kind of wedding feast the youth's parents must provide, that is to say, what pigs have to be sacrificed for the feast. On the day fixed for the wedding the friends and relatives of the bridegroom will assemble very early at the bride's house, the men bringing the pigs required, and the girls carrying '*kaung* in gourds. Sometimes there will be as many as twenty or thirty girls thus carrying '*kaung*. These will all sit on or by the steps of the house where the bride lives, and none of the bridegroom's party may go in without contributing a pot of '*kaung*. The friends and relatives of the bride also bring '*kaung* in pots, and in addition chickens and rice for the feast. The '*kaung* is put into a huge jar into which two bamboo tubes are inserted, and through these they all suck the beer.

In the meanwhile a little porker has been killed, and the village elders examine its liver. If certain marks are seen on the liver, it is declared to be inauspicious, and a second porker is killed. When the bridegroom is in real earnest, if this second liver, too, is pronounced to be inauspicious, a third little pig is offered ; but if now, too, the fates declare against it, the marriage may not take place. The brother or parents of the girl would not allow the marriage, for there would be no children born of it, or, if there should be, they would die early, or some other dread misfortune would befall them. So the wedding is stopped, and they give the youth a present on account of the expense and inconvenience he has been put to, and this present is called a "wiper away of tears." But if, as is ordinarily the case, the fates have been more propitious, the *tanzö* pig, of medium size, which has been presented by the youth to his father-in-law, is slaughtered and cooked to serve as food for the bride's company,

the "superior" company as it is generally called. The bridegroom's or "inferior" company on the other hand eat of the chickens provided and cooked for them by the "superior" company. This rule about eating is strictly kept, or at least any breach of the rule brings about a fine of a pot of '*kaung*. The two companies sit and eat separately, but drink from the same jar, though through different tubes.

The two pigs mentioned above are always killed at a Chin wedding, and sometimes the bride's brother or parents insist also on the offering of a huge tusker, and occasionally even of a fourth pig as a special offering to the spirits. Under certain special circumstances yet other pigs may have to be offered, over and above what may be demanded to satisfy the appetites of the guests. The "inferior" company cook the pigs which they have brought, and wait on the bride's relatives and friends at the wedding breakfast; then these in their turn serve those with the chickens and rice they have brought. After that, all young and old men and women drink freely. The marriage is considered as settled and confirmed when the bride's brother eats of the pork which the groom's party have prepared.

After that one of the bride's party, or some other of their friends who may be skilled in the precepts of Mother 'Li, will recite these to the bridegroom. Presents are also interchanged, and her parents give the bride her share of their property. Before and during the marriage the bridegroom has to pay very great deference to his elder brother-in-law. The bridegroom is also exhorted to treat his wife kindly and with due respect. "Do not beat our sister," say they, "so as to make blood flow, or to raise a festering sore. If she is stupid and will not obey you, correct her by word of mouth, or at least with moderation. If you beat her so as to break a bamboo over her, or to break her bones, she will run away back to her brother." After this the drunken *lai-lö* "teacher" also recites rhythmically the precepts of Mother 'Li amidst his liberal potations of '*kaung*. Soon after mid-day the function is over, and the bridegroom's friends are summarily dismissed; the "superior" party will pour water over them, or beat them with the tubes through which the '*kaung* has been drunk. The bride is then conducted to her father-in-law's house, where she is admitted into her husband's clan, the bridegroom's mother and sisters wrapping cotton-yarn round her wrists. She afterwards gives them a chicken or a pig, yarn or money for this service. After a woman has been married, and the young people have been established in a new home, she has by Chin law no more inheritance in her parents' house.

Should the young husband be violent in his treatment of his wife, she can demand to be separated from him, receiving a full share of their united property and also in addition a bullock as compensation. More frequently, however, matters are settled peaceably by apologies and offerings of pigs and of '*kaung* for a feast. Husband and wife may mutually agree to part, and then, as is the Burmese custom, they divide equally their acquired property between them. If the husband alone wishes to separate, he must give his wife Rs. 60 over and above her half of the property; and very few Chins have so much money. If the wife wishes to leave her husband without any offence on his part, she must leave behind everything she possesses. Still there are among the Chins but few cases of separation, *i. e.*, of divorce, and the husband and wife generally get on fairly well together. In these days it is more customary for the young people to continue to live, until perhaps a second child may be born, with the parents of one of them; and if with the bride's parents, they would only receive the dowry when they set up house for themselves. A few days' labour, or a few weeks' labour, would make all the difference between a mean house and one above the average, — and this built at no other cost than their own labour at a time when they might otherwise have been doing nothing.

Sometimes, on account of the expense, a man is unable to marry the woman with whom he lives, and who may have borne him two or three children. Should she die without ever having been lawfully married, the husband is bound to go through the marriage ceremony with the corpse; and the wife at last will be admitted into the '*kun* of her husband.

Burial Customs.

All sickness or accident is, as has been already stated, supposed to be directly due to the action of some supernatural being, and when this spirit refuses to be appeased by the offerings made to him, the man must die. The body is then washed with water, in which the leaves of the *kadu* plant have been steeped, and the hair is combed. A small chicken is killed, and tied by a string to the big toe of the deceased. This chicken will accompany the deceased to the other world, and will peck at the caterpillars lying in the way, which might otherwise incommode the traveller to that far-off land. Other chickens are sacrificed, and pigs also; and if the man was fairly well-to-do, buffaloes and bullocks too, — for the welfare of the deceased and to provide a feast for the visitors. Whenever bullocks or buffaloes are sacrificed, the blood is mixed with rice or "bread" and then put into the large intestines and roasted. A portion of this, too, is thrown away for the spirits to eat, and the rest is eaten by the guests.

Rice-beer (*'kaung*) is prepared before a man dies, for it takes four or five days to brew; and were all left to the last, there might not be found time to make it before the body would have to be disposed of. Should this happen, or should there be no *yai-shĕn* present to utter the incantations, the corpse is buried; and then after a year it is unearthed, and the burial customs are duly performed. Chicken and rice and *'kaung* are from time to time given to the corpse to eat; and the *yai-shĕn*, sitting between the liquor and the corpse, chants the customs of Mother 'Li. All the village, and many visitors from a distance, flock to a big funeral; but if the body is to be buried there will only be a very few present. Often the women, and formerly the men too, would dance in front of the dead man's house.

A piece of wood, nearly four feet in length, is carved with a figure of the bird (the king-crow) or an elephant on the top of it; or in the case of a poor man a piece of bamboo is cut, and the end of it is made into a fringe. This is called the *(n)'klo-'seung*, and is put into the dead man's hand. The *yai-shĕn* utters his charms, and the spirit of the deceased is bidden to take up his abode in this stick. Before the corpse is removed from the house, the *(n)'klo-'seung* is taken away and set up in the ground somewhere outside the village.

Frequently, too, a wooden spear and a wooden gun were put into the hands of the dead man: or in the case of a woman the lath of her loom. There is also put into the dead man's hand money to pay as ferry-charge over the stream of death. Sometimes a pice or two, or two annas it may be, or sometimes as much as Rs. 10, or even more, is given. This money, as well as the little chicken tied to the big toe of the deceased, and the *pawn-zĕng* thread is burnt at the cremation of the body. Five small pieces of bamboo, wound round with thread (red, white, black, green, and yellow) called *pawn-zĕng*, are also put into the hands of the deceased for him to take with him to the land "over there." The neighbours make an offering of a pig for sacrifice, also called *pawn-zĕng*; and the master of the house gives a big pig (called *lawn-gá*) for the guests to eat. A wake is kept up the whole night before a funeral; "There can be no sleeping." The whole village attend the corpse to the burning-ground, which is not far away; but all, excepting a few men, return before the cremation actually takes place. The funeral pyre is of no great height, and is made of cutch-wood, as this is found to be the best for burning. The few who remain by the fire imbibe still more *'kaung*, and keep the fire up until the body is consumed. Then they gather the charred bones and put them in a new earthen pot of the ordinary kind, such as are in daily use. The pot is for a time, at least in the rains, or when the people are otherwise busy, placed on a small stand made for it under a tree outside the village fence. Afterwards, at a convenient season, the bones are conveyed away

to the ancestral burial-place, which is generally situated in some remote jungle. It is usual for a person to be cremated about three days after his death. A burial would normally take place within twenty-four hours of the death.

The spirit of the dead man should take up its abode in the (*n*)'*klo-'seung*; but the living are much afraid that it may not do so. They do not believe that the life "over there" is a very joyous one; being rather of the view of Achilles, whose shade told Ulysses that it was better to be a slave on earth than a prince in Hades. The dead man is told that he may not linger more than seven days in his old house; for they believe that the spirits of the dead look with envy on the living, and that they will harm them. The night before they take away the charred bones to the cemetery (*ayódaung*) they interrogate the pot of bones. They ask him what disease he died of, and will say "Let it be that he died of fever if the pot feels light; of some other disease if it feels heavy"; and then they test it. Again they ask him if he is still lingering about here, or does he now inhabit "that country," and the answer is given in the same way as before.

Next morning they start off early, and if the deceased was a person of any means at all, they will carry with them an elaborately carved memorial post of cutch-wood to erect in the cemetery. On the top of the post will be carved the figure of an elephant or of a bird; and beneath that six-parallel circles will be cut round the post in the case of a male, and five in the case of a female. In the case of an unmarried girl all her private belongings are taken and deposited by the pot of bones, and in every case rice, chicken, *ngapi*, chillies, betel, and tobacco will be left for the soul of the departed to enjoy.

I do not find it possible to reconcile all the traditions and ideas held by the same individual Chin; and perhaps it would be too much to expect that they should admit of being harmonized, — and more especially so with regard to matters concerning the future life. Certainly the Chins generally do not seem to believe in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; yet my chief informant gave me the following information in Chin writing: — "We, Chin people, must die when the rice given to our spirits on their departure from their former existence is finished. We can only remain in this existence as long as that rice lasts. The people who had much given them [*lit.* "brought much with them"] live long. This rice is put in small baskets outside the village fence before the corpse is removed from the house for cremation." The writer went on to add, what is indeed more in accord with the general traditions, but scarcely consonant with the above. "When a woman dies her husband will cry out by the corpse, 'when you come to Póì 'Kleuk tell him that I am left behind here; and ask him to call me before long.' Now when [he adds] people with some little property die, bullocks and buffaloes are offered in sacrifice that they may find favour when they present themselves before Póì 'Kleuk; but if the people are poor they make offerings of pigs and fowls."

But to return to the funeral. When the people convey the pot of bones to the cemetery, they take with them some cotton-yarn, and whenever they come to any stream or other water, they stretch a thread across, whereby the spirit of the deceased, who accompanies them, may get across it, too. When they have duly deposited the bones and food for the spirit in the cemetery they return home, after bidding the spirit to remain there, and not to follow them back to the village. At the same time they block the way by which they return by putting a bamboo across the path.

The spirit, however, has not finished his travels yet. It must go on until it comes to the stream of white water, on the other side of which dwells the Lord of Hades, Póì 'Kleuk. He will cry out to Póì 'Kleuk, and after he appears will let the breeze waft, streamer-like

across the water, the thread which is let loose from the *pawn-zëng* bamboos that were burnt along with the corpse at the cremation; for the shades of the little chicken and of this thread have accompanied the deceased on his journey to his comfort and assistance. Then, after the thread has been duly fastened, the spirit goes across to receive his judgment for the deeds done in the body. Sometimes a spirit is terrified on account of his past misdeeds, and will endeavour to escape. But though the spirit may run, there is no remedy; for Pói 'Kleuk has a dog, who will bite the runaways, and they dare not face him. In his terror the spirit will climb the tree of hell; but the mighty Pói 'Kleuk will shake the branches, and the poor wretch will fall into the cauldron of hell, which is full of boiling water. Or, if he climb to the top of the tree, the dreadful vulture, *hak-kyi*, will devour his vitals. There is no escape. He must come down and receive his just punishment. There is no need to utter the sentence of condemnation. Pói 'Kleuk merely points to them with his fourth, called "the nameless," finger, and they go away to be roasted in hell.

The Chins have some belief in a happier land, but their ideas on this subject are not very tangible; and it is difficult to know how far the hope, which they sometimes express, that they may be enabled to go by the straight and narrow way into the presence of the Great Parent of all good, and there for ever abide, is derived, directly or indirectly, from Christian teaching.

BOOK-NOTICE.

DIE MON-KHMER-VÖLKER EIN BINDEGLIED ZWISCHEN VÖLKERN ZENTRALASIENS UND AUSTRONESIENS. VON P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Brunswick, 1905. (Reprinted from the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Neue Folge, Band v, Heft 1 u. 2.)

THIS work, also from the pen of Pater Schmidt, appeared originally in the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, and has been reprinted in another form at Brunswick in the same year. In it, we have the summing up of the author's researches into the Mon Khmer languages and his final conclusions as to their relationship, whether mutual or to other forms of speech. A detailed account of its contents would occupy too much space, and moreover can be found in the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society for January 1907 by those who are interested in the subject. I confine myself here to stating the results to which his enquiries have led Pater Schmidt, and which, in my opinion, he has conclusively proved. Briefly, they are these:—

(*a*) There is a group of languages called Mon-Khmer, which is closely connected not only with several tongues spoken on the Burma-Chinese frontier, such as Palaung, Wa, and others, but also with the speeches of certain aboriginal tribes of Malacca, with Nicobarese, with the Khâsi of Central Assam, and with the Muṇḍâ languages of Central India. It is further to be remembered that under the last head must be included a number of extinct sub-Himalayan dialects, reaching as far west as Kanâwar, traces of which still plainly survive in the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the descendants of those who employed them. To this group of Mon-Khmer-Malacca-Muṇḍâ-Nicobar Khâsi languages Pater Schmidt has given the name of "Austroasiatic," and he shows that not only are all the different forms of speech mutually related, but that their speakers have the same physical type.

(*b*) In former works the learned author showed the existence of another group of languages, the "Austronesic," which included three related sub-groups, the "Indonesic," the "Melanesic," and the "Polynesic," covering the areas indicated by their respective names. In a second part of the work under notice, he undertakes the task of comparing, by rigorously scientific methods, the Austroasiatic and the Austronesic languages, and of proving that these two groups of speeches are ultimately related to each other, and form together one great united whole which he calls the "Austric" family. This speech-family is the most widely spread of those whose existence has been established since the birth of comparative philology. The tract over which it extends reaches from the Panjâb in the West to Easter Island, off the coast of South America, in the East; and from the Himâlaya in the North to New Zealand in the South. Such a result,—and I do not think that any one can seriously impugn the arguments on which it is founded,—amply justify us in maintaining that Pater Schmidt's work is one of the most important contributions to comparative philology which has issued from the press in recent years.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Continued from p. 203.)

II.

The Theory of Universal Grammar applied to the Andamanese Languages.

Prefatory Remarks.

I.

The Andamanese are divided into **twelve Tribes belonging to three Groups or Divisions**, as under, from North to South (*vide* Map attached): —

1. The Yērewa or Northern Division, consisting of the Châriâr, Kôrâ, Tâbô, Yēre and Kede Tribes.
2. The Bojigngīji or Southern Division, consisting of the Jūwai, Kôl, Bojigyâb, Balawa and Bēa Tribes.
3. The Önge-Järawa or Outer Division, consisting of the Önge and Järawa Tribes.

Port Blair is situated in the Bēa Territory, and that Tribe and its language are consequently by far the best known and the Bojigngīji is the best known Group or Division.

Every Tribe has its own set of names for itself and all the others, and these names have constant conventional prefixes and suffixes attached to them, making the names long and unwieldy. In this *Grammar* the Bēa set of names has been adopted, and for convenience of presentation they have been stripped of the habitual prefixes and suffixes attached to them (*vide* Appendix **C**).

Also, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from the Bēa (âka-Bēa-da) speech. Diacritical marks are not used except where unavoidable.

Lastly, it is necessary to note that Colebrooke's *Järawa Vocabulary* made in the XVIIIth Century was gathered from one individual of the Tribe and not from several persons, as has been hitherto supposed.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — Philological Value.

The Andaman Languages are extremely interesting from the philological standpoint, on account alone of their isolated development, due to the very recent contact with the outer world on the part of the speakers. Of the speech of the only peoples, who may be looked upon as the physical congeners of the Andamanese, — the Samangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippine Archipelago, — no *Vocabulary* or *Grammar* is available to me of the latter, and the only specimens of the Samang tongue I have seen bear no resemblance or roots common to any Andamanese Language.

The Andamanese Languages exhibit the expression only of the most direct and simplest thought, show few signs of syntactical, though every indication of a very long etymological, growth, are purely colloquial and wanting in the modifications always necessary for communication by writing. The Andamanese show, however, by the very frequent use of ellipsis and of clipped and curtailed words, a long familiarity with their speech.

[1] Largely reprinted with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV. of Part I. of the *Census Report, India*, 1901, Vol. III. Since this article was written, Skeat and Blagden's *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* has appeared, but I have not been able to collate it for the present purpose.

The sense of even Proper Names is usually immediately apparent and the speakers invariably exhibit difficulty in getting out of the region of concrete into that of abstract ideas, though none in expanding or in mentally differentiating or classifying ideas, or in connecting several closely together. Generic terms are usually wanting, and specific terms are numerous and extremely detailed. Narration almost always concerns themselves and the chase. Only the absolutely necessary is usually employed and the speech is jerky, incomplete, elliptical and disjointed. Introductory words are not much used and no forward references are made. Back references by means of words for that purpose are not common, nor are conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs and even pronouns. An Andamanese will manage to convey his meaning without employing any of the subsidiary and connecting parts of speech. He ekes out with a clever mimicry a great deal by manner, tone and action; and this habit he abundantly exhibits in the form of his speech. His narration is, nevertheless, clear, in proper consecutive order and not confused, showing that he possesses powers of co-ordination.

b. — Savage Nature.

The general indications that the Languages give of representing the speech of undeveloped savages are confirmed by the intense anthropomorphism exhibited therein. As will be seen later on, the Andamanese regard not only all objects, but also every idea associated with them, as connected with themselves and their necessities, or with the parts of their bodies and their attributes. They have no means of expressing the majority of objects and ideas without such reference; *e. g.*, they cannot say "head" or "heads," but must say "my, your, his, or ——— 's, this one's, or that one's head" or "our, your, their, or ———'s, or these ones', those ones' heads."

But though they are "savage" languages, limited in range to the requirements of a people capable of but few mental processes, the Andamanese Languages are far from being "primitive." In the evolution of a system of pre-flexion in order to intimately connect words together, to build up compounds and to indicate back references, and in a limited exhibition of the idea of concord by means of post-inflexion of pronouns, they indicate a development as complete and complicated as that of an advanced tongue, representing the speech of a highly intellectual people. These lowest of savages show themselves to be, indeed, human beings immeasurably superior in mental capacity to the highest of the brute beasts.

c. — Agglutinative Form.

The Andamanese Languages all belong to **one Family, divided into three Groups,** plainly closely connected generally to the eye on paper, but mutually unintelligible to the ear. They are agglutinative in nature, synthesis being present in rudiments only. They follow the general grammar of agglutinative languages. All the affixes to roots are readily separable, and all analysis of words shows a very simple mental mechanism and a low limit in range and richness of thought and in the development of ideas. Suffixes and prefixes are largely used, and infixes also to build up compound words. As with every other language, foreign words have lately been fitted into the grammar with such changes of form as are necessary for absorption into the general structure of Andamanese speech.

d. — Samples of Minuteness in Detailed Terms.

The following are examples of the extent to which the use of specific terms to describe details of importance to the Andamanese is carried by them.

Stages in the growth of fruit: — *Oṭdāreka*, small: *chimiti*, sour: *pūtungaij*, unripe:[2] *chēba*, hard: *telebich*, seed not formed: *gad*, seed forming: *gama*, seed formed: *tela*, half-ripe: *munukel*, ripe: *ròicha*, fully ripe: *otyōb*, soft: *chôrore*, rotten.

Stages of the day:— *Waingala*, first dawn: *elawainga*, before sunrise: *bōdola dōatinga*, sunrise: *wainga*, early morning: *bōdola kågalnga*, morning: *bōdola kågnga*, full morning:[3] *bōdo*

[2] *Lit.*, black skin.

[3] *Lilti*, early to-morrow morning: *dilma*, *lili*, early morning that is past: *dilmaya*, *dilmalen*, *liliya*, *lilinga*, this morning: *wainga dilu-rēatek*, early every morning.

chânag, forenoon: *bōdo chàu*, noon: *bōdola lōringa*, afternoon: *bōdo l'ardīyanga*, full afternoon: *elardīyanga*, evening: *dīla*, before sunset: *bōdola lōtinga*, sunset: *elākàddàuya*, twilight: *elartinga*, dark: *gūrug chàu*, midnight.

e. — Specimen of Andamanese Method of Speech.

The following account of a story, abstracted with corrections from Portman, of an imaginary pig-hunt as told by a Bēa *ēremtâga* (forest-man) for the amusement of his friends, will go far to explain the Andamanese mode of speech, and the form that its Grammar takes.

The narrator sits on the ground, facing a half circle of lounging Andamanese. After a short silence, he leans forward with his head bent down. Suddenly he sits erect with brightening eyes and speaks in a quick, excited way, acting as if carrying on a conversation with another person. "In how many days will you return?" And then answering as if for himself: "I will come back early in the morning, I am off pig-hunting now." A pause. "I am going." Very suddenly. "You stay here in my place." Moving as if going away. "I am going away." Squeaking like a young pig with pantomime of shooting it. "It is only a little pig. I will bring it to the hut." Moving his shoulders as if carrying. "They can roast it here." Wave of the hands signifying that the pig was of no account. Pause. "I will start early to-morrow morning after a big one, —— a big pig." Motions of hands to show length and breadth of pig. To an imaginary friend. "I will sharpen pig arrows to take with me. Come after me and we will hunt together." Imitation with the hands of a pig running, shooting arrows, slap on the left breast, squeals of several wounded pigs, and so on. A pause. "You bring them in readiness to cook for me." Directions by pantomime to other persons as to the pigs. "They were cooking them for me in the hut, cooking them well." Brightens up and begins again. "I will bring several more." Pretends to listen. "We have got them here. The dogs have barked." And so on for hours.

The actual expressions for such a story are:—

Kichikan—tūn? *ârla—l'—eâte* *ngo* *òn* . *Wainga —len* *do* *òn* . *N̄â* *do* *reg*
How ——many? day ———past you come. Morning—in I come. Then I pig

dele . *Kam* *wai* *dol*. *Kam* *wai* *do* *òn* . *D'—ârlōg—len*
hunt. Here indeed I . Here indeed I come (go). Me-place—in

kā . *Wai* *do* *jūla* ——— *ke*. *Reg— bā* . *Kam* *wai* *do* *ik* *òn* .
here. Indeed I go-away ——do. Pig—little. Here indeed I take come.

Wai *kā* *eda* *otjōi* . *Do* *lilti* *dōga* ———— ——*lat*. *Reg*
Indeed here they roast. I (in—the)—early—morning[4] big —(pig)— for. Pig

dōga. *Do* *ēla* *l'igjit* —— *ke*. *D'—okanumu—kan.*[5] *Kaich* *d'—ârōlo*.
big I pig-arrow sharpen—do. I —go ———do . Come me—after.

Do—ng'—igalele. *D'—ōkotōlima* *ik* *òn* . *Wai* *d'—at* *otjōi* —— *ka*
I —you—hunt . Me—before take come. Indeed me—sake cooking — were

būd—len. *Tūn* *ròicha—bēringa—ke*. *Nâ* *do* *ikpāgi —ke* . *Īk —re* *ka* .
hut—in . More ripe —good——do. Then I several —do. Get—did here.

Wai *eda* *ikkānawa—re* .
Indeed they bark ———did.

Nothing could show more clearly how "savage" the speech is in reality, how purely colloquial, how entirely it depends on concurrent action for comprehension. When the party, who were out with Mr. Vaux when he was killed by the Jārawas in February, 1902, returned, they explained the occurrence to their friends at the Andamanese Home in Port Blair by much action and pantomime and few words. The manner of his death was explained by the narrator lying down and following his movements on the ground.

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[4] *i. e.*, of to-morrow.

[5] This is not a Bēa form; probably borrowed from Bojigyāb.

f. — Bibliography.[6]

a. — Books.

1877. Man and Temple. *Lord's Prayer in the Bojigngijida (South Andaman) Language*: Calcutta.

1883. Man. *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*: London. (Many references to older writers.)

1887. Portman. *Andamanese Manual.*

1898. Portman. *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*: Calcutta (Government). (Many references to older writers.)

b. — Journals.

1794. Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches.*

1882. A. J. Ellis, in *Journal*, Philological Society.

J. R. A. S., Temple, Man, Portman.

c. — Pamphlets.

1899. Temple. *Theory of Universal Grammar, as applied to the South Andaman Language*: London.

II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — History of the Study.

I have taken so large a share in the development of the knowledge of the Andamanese tongue that a brief personal explanation is here necessary to make clear the mode of presenting it that now follows.

The first person to seriously study the Andamanese Languages and reduce them to writing was **Mr. E. H. Man**, and in this work I joined him for a time soon after it was commenced, and in 1877 we jointly produced a small book with an account of the speech of the Bojigngīji Group, or more strictly, of the Bēa Tribe. We then worked together on it, making such comparisons with the speech of the other Andaman Tribes as were then possible and compiling voluminous notes for a Grammar and Vocabulary, which are still in manuscript. In 1882 the late **Mr. A. J. Ellis** used these notes for an account of the Bēa Language in his Presidential Address to the Philological Society.

In compiling our manuscript, Mr. Man and myself had used the accepted grammatical terms, and these Mr. Ellis found to be so little suited for the adequate representation for scientific readers of such a form of speech as the Andamanese, that he stated in his Address that: — "We require new terms and an entirely new set of grammatical conceptions, which shall not bend an agglutinative language to our inflectional translation." And in 1883 he asked me, in a letter, if it were not possible "to throw over the inflectional treatment of an uninflected language."

b. — History of the Theory of Universal Grammar.

Pondering, for the purpose of an adequate presentation of Andamanese, on what was then a novel, though not an unknown, idea, never put into practice, I gradually framed a Theory of Universal Grammar, privately printed and circulated in that year. This Theory remained unused, until **Mr. M. V. Portman** compiled his notes for a *Comparative Grammar of the Bojigngīji (South Andaman) Languages* in 1898, based avowedly, but not fully, on my theory. These notes I examined in a second article on the Theory of Universal Grammar in the *Journal*

[6] In addition to the article mentioned in the Preface to this article.

of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1899, which again was subjected to the favourable criticism of **Mr. Sidney Ray,** who has since successfully applied it in outline to sixteen languages,[7] selected because unrelated and morphologically distinct, *viz.*, —

1. English.
2. Hungarian.
3. Latin.
4. Khasi, Hills of N.-E. Bengal.
5. Anam, French Cochin China.
6. Ashanti, West Africa.
7. Kafir, South Africa.
8. Malagasy, Madagascar.
9. Olo Ngadju or Dayak, South East Borneo.
10. Nufor, Dutch New Guinea.
11. Motu, British New Guinea.
12. Mortlock Ids, Caroline Group, Micronesia.
13. Mota, Banks' Islands, Melanesia.
14. Samoan, Polynesia.
15. Awabakal, Lake Macquarie, Australia.
16. Dakota, North America.

c. — Position of the Andamanese Languages in the General Scheme of the Theory.

The next point for consideration is: — Where do the Andamanese Languages come into the general scheme? This will be shown in the following general account of them, and as the grammatical terms used will be novel to the reader, the corresponding familiar terms will be inserted beside them in brackets, wherever necessary to make the statements clear in a familiar manner. **Diacritical marks will only be used when necessary to the elucidation of the text.**

d. — Examples of Sentences of One Word.

The Andamanese Languages are rich in integer words, which are sentences in themselves, because they express a complete meaning. The following examples are culled from Portman's lists:—[8]

TABLE OF INTEGER WORDS.

English.	Bēa.	Balawa.	Bojigyāb.	Jūwai.
Hurrah	Wē	Yui	Yui	Yui
I don't know	Uchin	Maka	Konkete	Koien
Very well: go (with a lift of the chin)	Uchik	Kobale	Kōī	Kōī
Humbug	Ākanòiyadake	Akanoiyadake	Omkotichwake	Okamkoti-chwachin.
Oh: I say (ironical)	Pētek	Ya	Kalaiītata Kalat	Yokokene
It's broken	Turushno[9]	Turuit	Turush	T'ruish
Back me up Say 'yes'	Jegô	Jegô	Jeklungi	Atokwe
Not exactly	Kak	Kak	Kaka	Alō
Nonsense	Cho	Ya	Aikut	Kene
Yes (ironical)	Wai (drawled)	Wai (drawled)	Kōle	K'le
What a stink	Chuñgē	Chunye	Chunyeno	Chunye
How sweet (smell, with a puffing out of the lips)	Pue	Pue	Pue	Pue

[7] See *ante*, Vol. XXVIII. pp. 197 ff., 225 ff.; Vol. XXXI p. 165 ff.

[8] Portman is so frequently inaccurate that it must be understood that throughout this article, wherever he is quoted it is with corrections.

[9] This is doubtful.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYĀB.	JŪWAL.
It hurts	Iyī	Yi	Yi (drawled)	Eyô (indignantly)
Oh (shock)	Yite (with a gasp)	Yite	Yite	Jite
Don't worry	Ijiyomaingata	Idiyomaingata	Iramyolano	Remjolokne
What? Where?	Tăn?	Tan?	Ilekot?	Alech?
Is it so?	An wai?	An yatya?	En köle?	An k'le?
Lor	Kâkàtek	Kakate	Kelcba	Alōbai

e. — Elliptical Speech.

Portman's *Vocabulary* shows that the habit of speaking by integers, *i. e.*, single words, or by extremely elliptical phrases, is carried very far in Andamanese, and the *Fire Legends*[10] themselves give the clearest instances of it, in so far as these legends have been recorded by Portman.

The Bēa version winds up with the enigmatic single word "Tômolola," which has to be translated by "they, the ancestors, were the Tômolola." In the Kôl version occurs the single-word sentence "Kôlotatke," *lit.* "Kôlotat-be," which has to be translated: — "Now there was one Kôlotat." In the first instance, one word in the indicator (noun) form completes the whole sense; in the second, one word in the predicator (verb) form does so. Such elliptical expressions as the above and as the term of abuse, "*Ngabgôrob*" (*ng* + *ab* + *gôrob*, you + special—radical—prefix + spine), would be accompanied by tone, manner, or gesture to explain its meaning to the listener. Thus, the latter would be made to convey "You humpback," or "Break your spine," by the accompanying manner.

f. — Portman's Fire Legend in the Bēa Version dissected to illustrate Grammar.

The Andamanese sentence, when it gets beyond an exclamation or one word, is capable of clear division into subject and predicate, as can be seen by an analysis of the sentences in a genuine specimen of the speech, Portman's "Fire Legend" in the five languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngīji) Group. In the Bēa Language it runs thus: —

BĒA VERSION OF THE FIRE LEGEND.

Tôl-l'oko-tima-len Pūluga-la mâmi —ka. Lūratût-la[11] *châpa tâp —nga ōmo —re.*
(a Place)——in God asleep—was. (a Bird) firewood steal-ing bring-did.

châpa-la Pūluga-la pūgat ——ka. Pūluga-la bōi ——ka. Pūluga-la châpa
firewood God burning—was. God awake—was. God firewood

eni —— ka. a ik châpa ——lik Lūratūt l'ot-pūguri—re.[12] *jek Lūratūt-la*
seizing—was. he taking firewood—by (Bird) throw-at —did. at-once (Bird)

eni ——ka. a Târcheker[13] *l'ot-pūguri—re. Wòta-Èmi-baraij—len Chāuga-tâbanga*
taking—was. he (a Bird) throw-at —did. Wòta-Emi-village-in The —ancestors

oko —dal-re.[14] *Tômolola.*
made-fires. Tomolola.

g. — Portman's Rendering (amended).

God was sleeping at Tôl-l'okotima. Lūratūt came, stealing firewood. The firewood burnt God. God woke up. God seized the firewood; took the firewood and threw it at Lūratūt. Then Lūratūt took (the firewood); he threw it at Târcheker in Wòta-Èmi village, (where then) the Ancestors lit fires. (The Ancestors referred to were) the Tômolola.

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[10] *Cf.* Man's *Andaman Islanders*, p. 99.

[11] One of the (?) six kinds of the Andamanese Kingfisher.

[12] This expression means "threw a burning brand at," a common practice among the Andamanese. It has been extended to meet modern requirements to denote "shooting with a gun," the flash from which is likened to that from a burning brand when thrown.

[13] Probably an error for Chältekar, the generic term for the kingfishers.

[14] This expression is elliptical. *Châpa,* firewood: *châpa-l'idal,* the eye of the firewood, a fire:, *châpa-l'okodal-ke,* firewood-eye-do (make), make a fire.

h. — Subject and Predicate.

Taking this Legend sentence by sentence, the subject and predicate come out clearly thus: — (P. = predicate: S. = subject).

(1) Tollokotimalen (P.) Pulugala (S.) mamika (P.).
(2) Luratutla (S.) chapatapnga (S.) omore (P.).
(3) Chapala (S.) Pulugala (P.) pugatka (P.).
(4) Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).
(5) Pulugala (S.) chapa (P.) enika (P.).
(6) A (S.) ik (S.) chapalik (P.) Luratut (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
(7) Jek (P.) Luratutla (S.) enika (P.).
(8) A (S.) Tarcheker (P.) lotpugurire (P.).
(9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (P.) Chauga-tabnga (S.) okodalre (P.).
(10) Tomolola (S.) (P. unexpressed).

i. — Principal and Subordinate Words.

That the words in the above sentences are in the relation of principal and subordinate is equally clear thus: —

(1) In the Predicate, *Tollokotimalen* is subordinate to the principal *mamika.*
(2) In the Subject, *Luratutla* is the principal with its subordinate *chapatapnga.*
(5) In the Predicate, *chapa* is subordinate to the principal *enika.*

And so on, without presentation of any difficulties.

j. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the above sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used: —

Abbreviations used.

int.	integer.	intd.	introducer.
in.	indicator.	r. c.	referent conjunctor.
e.	explicator.	r. s.	referent substitute.
p.	predicator.	c. in.	complementary indicator.
ill.	illustrator.	c. e.	complementary explicator.
c.	connector.	c. ill.	complementary illustrator.

In this view the sentences can be analysed thus: —

(1) Toll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
(2) Luratutla (in.) chapa-(c. in.)-tapnga (p., the whole an e. phrase) omore (p.).
(3) Chapala (in.) Pulugala (c. in.) pugatka (p.).
(4) Pulugala (in.) boika (p.).
(5) Pulugala (in.) chapa (c. in.) enika (p.).
(6) A (r. s., in.) ik (e.) chapalik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).
(7) Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).
(8) A (r. s., in.) Tarcheke (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).
(9) Wota-Emi-baraijlen (ill. phrase of P.). chaugatabanga (in. phrase) okodalre (p.).
(10) Tomolola (in. P. unexpressed).

k. — Order of Sentence.

By this analysis we arrive at the following facts. The purposes of all the sentences is information, and the Andamanese indicate that purpose, which is perhaps the commonest of speech, by the order of the words in the sentence thus: —

(1) Subject before Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) boika (P.).

(2) Subject, Complement (object), Predicate:
Pulugala (S.) chapa (c. in.) enika (P.).

(3) Indicator (noun) before explicator (adjective):
Luratutla (in.) chapa-tapnga (e. phrase) omore (p.).

(4) Illustrator of Predicate (adverb) before Subject:
Toll'okotimalen (ill. of P.) Pulugala (in.) mamika (p.).
But illustrators can be placed elsewhere,[15] thus:
A (r. s. used as in.) ik. (p. of elliptic e. phrase, c. in. unexpressed) chapa lik (ill.) Luratut (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).

(5) Referent conjunctor (conjunction) commences sentence:
Jek (r. c.) Luratutla (in.) enika (p.).

(6) Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow position of the originals:
A (r. s. in.) Tarcheke (c. in.) l'otpugurire (p.).

From these examples, which cover the whole of the kinds of words used in the sentence, except the introducers and connectors, the absence of which is remarkable, we get the following as the order of Andamanese speech: —

A. (1) Subject, (2) Predicate.

B. (1) Subject, (2) Complement (object), (3) Predicate.

C. (1) Indicator (noun) before its explicator (adjective).

D. Illustrator (adverb) where convenient.

E. Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) before everything in connected sentences.

We have also a fine example of an extremely elliptical form of speech in the wind up of the story by the one word "Tomolola" as its last sentence, in the sense "(the ancestors who did this were the) Tomolola." *Jek Luratutla enika* is also elliptic, as the complement is unexpressed.

l. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are used in the order of principal and then subordinate:

Pulugala chapa enika (principal sentence) and then *a ik chapalik Luratut l'otpugurire* (subordinate sentence), after which *jek Luratutla enika* (connected sentence joined by "*jek*, at once"), and then a *Tarcheker l'otpugurire* (subordinate to the previous sentence).

The sentences quoted show that the Andamanese mind works in its speech steadily from point to point in a natural order of precedence in the development of an information (story, tale), and not in an inverted order, as does that of the speakers of many languages.

m. — Interrogative Sentences.

It may also be noted here, though no interrogative phrases occur in the Fire Legend, that the Andamanese convey interrogation by introducers (adverbs) always placed at the commencement of a sentence or connected sentences.

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[15] We have this in English: — "suddenly John died; John suddenly died; John died suddenly."

The introducers of interrogation in Bōa are *Ba ?* and *An ?* And so, too, "Is ——— ? or ——— ?" are introduced by "*An* ——— ? *an* ——— ?" Either these introducers are used, or an interrogative sentence begins with a special introducer, like "*Tān ?* Where *Michiba ?* What ? *Mijola* (honorific form), or *Mija ?* Who ?" and so on.

n. — The Mode of expressing the Functions and the Interrelation of Words.

But the Andamanese do not rely entirely on position to express the function of the sentence and the functions and interrelation of its words. By varying the ends of their words, they express the functions of such sentences as convey information, and at the same time the functions of the words composing them.

Thus, the final form of *Pulugala, Luratula, chapala, Tomolola* proclaim them to be indicators (nouns): of *mamika, boika, pugatka, omore, okodalre, l'otpugurire,* to be predicators (verbs): of *chapa-tapnga* (phrase) to be an explicator (adjective): of *Toll'okotimalen* (phrase), *chapalik, Wota-Emi-baraijlen* (phrase) to be illustrators (adverbs).

o. — Expression of Intimate Relation.

• The intimate relation between words is expressed by change of form at the *commencement* of the latter of them.

Thus in *Luratut* (c. in.) *l'otpugurire* (p.), where *Luratut* is the complement (object) and *l'otpugurire* is the predicator (verb), the intimate relation between them is expressed by the *l'* of *l'otpugurire.* So again in *Tarcheker l'otpugurire.*

In phrases, or words that are fundamentally phrases, the same method of intimately joining them is adopted.

Thus *Tol-l'oko-tima-len* means in practice "in Tôll'okotima," a place so named, but fundamentally

Tol ———— l' ———— okotima - len
Tol (tree) —— (its) —— corner — in

means "in (the encampment at, unexpressed) the corner of the Tol (trees, unexpressed)." Here the intimate relation between *tol* and *okotima* is expressed by the intervening *l'*.

The actual use of the phrases is precisely that of the words they represent. Thus,

Wota—Emi—baraij——len
Wota—Emi—village——in

Here a phrase, consisting of three indicators (nouns) placed in juxtaposition, is used as one illustrator word (adverb).

p. — Use of the Affixes, Prefixes, Infixes, Suffixes.

It follows from what has been above said that the Andamanese partly make words fulfil their functions by varying their forms by means of affixes.

Thus they use suffixes to indicate the class of a word. E. g., *ka, re,* to indicate predicators (verbs); *la, da,* for indicators (nouns): *nga* for explicators (adj.): *len, lik* for illustrators (adverbs). They use prefixes, *e. g., l',* to indicate intimate relation, and infixes for joining up phrases into compound words, based on the prefix *l'.*

It also follows that their functional affixes are prefixes, infixes, and suffixes.

It is further clear that they effect the transfer of a word from class to class by means of suffixes.

Thus, the compound indicator (noun) *Toll'okotima* is transferred to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: indicator (noun) *chapa* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *lik*: indicator (noun) phrase *Wota-Emi-baraij* to illustrator (adverb) by suffixing *len*: predicator (verb) *tap* (*-ke, -ka, -re*) to explicator (adj.) by suffixing *nga.*

A very strong instance of the power of a suffix to transfer a word from one class to another occurs in the Kôl version of the Fire Legend, where *Kôlotat-ke* occurs. Kôlotat, being a man's name and therefore an indicator (noun), is transferred to the predicator (verb) class by merely affixing the suffix of that class. The word *Kôlotatke* in the Kôl version of the Fire Legend occurs as a sentence by itself in the sense of "now, there was one Kôlotat."

q. — Differentiation of the Meanings of Connected Words by Radical Prefixes.

Fortunately in the sentences under examination, two words occur, which exhibit the next point of analysis for elucidation. These are: —

chapala	Pulugala	pugat——ka
firewood	God	burning—was

and then

a	Tarcheker	l'otpuguri-re		
he	(a Bird)	throw-at—did		
a	ik	chapa—lik	Luratut	l'otpuguri-re
he	taking	firewood-by	(Bird)	throw-at—did

Here is an instance of connected words, one of which is differentiated in meaning from the other by the affix *ot*, prefixed to that part which denotes the original meaning or root (*pûgat, pûguri*) of both. Therefore in Andamanese the use of radical prefixes (prefixes to root) is to differentiate connected words.

The simple stem in the above instances is *pûgat* and the connected compound stem *otpûguri*. Similarly *okotima, okodalre,* occurring in the Fire Legend, are compound stems, where the roots are *tima* and *dal*.

r. — Indication of the Classes of Words — Qualitative Suffixes.

The last point in this analysis is that the words are made to indicate their class, *i. e.*, their nature (original idea conveyed by a word) by the Andamanese by affixing qualitative suffixes, thus: —

ka, re to indicate the predicator class (verbs): *nga*, to indicate the explicator (adj.) class: *la, da* to indicate the indicator (noun) class: *lik, len* to indicate the illustrator (adverb) class.

s. — Composition of the Words.

The words in the sentences under consideration can thus be broken up into their constituents as follows: —

Using the abbreviations R. = Root: S. = Stem: P. F. = Prefix, functional: P. R. = Prefix, radical: I. = Infix: S. F. = Suffix, functional: S. Q. = Suffix, qualitative.

(1) Mami (S.) —ka (S. Q.).
Sleeping——was.
So also pugat-ka, boi-ka, eni-ka.

(2) Chapa (S.).
firewood.

(3) Tap (S.)—nga (S. Q.).
steal —— ing

(4) Omo (S.) — re (S. Q.).
bring —— did.

(5) Chapa (S.) — la (S. Q.).
firewood—— (honorific suff.).

(6) A (S.).
He.

(7) Ik (S.).
tak — (ing).

(8) Chapa (S.) — lik (S. F.).
firewood—— by.

(9) l' (P. F.)—ot (P. R.)—puguri (R.)—re (S. Q.).
(referent prefixes)——throw-at —— did

(10) Jek (S.).
At-once.

(11) Baraij (S.) — len (S. F.).
village —— in.

(12) Oko (P. R.) — dal (R.) — re (S. Q.).
— eye-make——did (lighted).

— The Agglutinative Principle.

Words are therefore made to fulfil their functions in the Andamanese Languages by an external development effected by affixes and to express modifications of their original meanings by a similar internal development. Also, the meaning of the sentences is rendered complete by a combination of the meanings of their component words with their position and form.

The sentences analysed further show that the Languages express a complete communication chiefly by the forms of their words, and so these languages are Formative Languages; and because their affixes, as will have been seen above, are attached to roots, stems and words mainly in an unaltered form, the languages are Agglutinative Languages. It will be seen later on, too, as a matter of great philological interest, that the Languages possess premutation (principle of affixing prefixes) and postmutation (principle of affixing suffixes) in almost equal development: intromutation (principle of affixing infixes) being merely rudimentary.

u. — Identity of the Five Languages of the Southern Group of Tribes.

The above observations, being the outcome of the examination of the ten sentences under analysis, are based only on the Bēa speech, but a similar analysis of the sentences conveying the Fire Legend in the five South Andaman Languages (Bojigngīji Group), as given in Appendix **A**, would fully bear out all that has been above said. With the aid of this Appendix is here attached a series of Tables, showing roughly how these languages agree and differ in the essentials of word-building, premising that they all agree in Syntax, or sentence-building, exactly. An examination of the Tables goes far to show that the Andamanese Languages must belong to one family.

Comparative Tables of Roots and Stems of the same meaning occurring in the Fire Legend.

English.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyâb.	Jūwai.	Kôl.
		Indicators (nouns).			
camp	baraij	baroij	...	...	pôroich
fire	chapa	choapa	at	at	at
		Predicators (verbs).			
seize	eni	ena	di, li	...	...
take	ik	ik	ik	...	...
light-a-fire	dal	dal	kadak	kôdak	kôdak
sleep	mami	...	pat	ema	pat
steal	tap	...	...	top	...
bring	omo	omo	lechi	...	...
burn	pugat, puguri	puguru	...	...	...
wake	boi	..	konyi	...	...
		Referent Substitutes (pronouns).			
he	a	i, ong	ong	a	...
(they)	...	ongot	n'ong	..	n' a

Comparative Table of Affixes occurring in the Fire Legend.

English.	Bēa.	Balawa.	Bojigyâb.	Jūwai.	Kôl.
		Prefixes, functional, of intimate relation.			
(hi-, it-)-s	l'-	l'-	l'-	l'-, t'-	l'-
(hi-, it-)-s	...	...	k'-	...	k -
(their-)-s	...	...	n'-	...	n'-

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
		Prefixes, radical.			
...	ot-	oto-	oto-	...	otam-, oto-
...	...	atak-	...	atak-	...
...	oko-	oko-	oko-	ôkô-, ôko-	oko
...	...	...	o-	...	a-
...	...	ar-	...	...	ir-, iram-
...	i-	i-	...	...	...
...	...	ong-	...	on-	...
		Suffixes, functional.			
by	-lik	-te	-ke	...	-lak
in	-len	-a	-in, -an, -en	-in	-en
to	...	...	-len	-lin	-kete
		Suffixes, qualitative.			
was	-ka	-kate, -ia	...	-chike	-ke
-ing	-nga	-nga	-nga	...	...
did	-re	-t, -te	-ye, -an	-t	-an, -chine
(hon. of in.)	-la, -ola	-le	-la	...	-la

Many further proofs of the existence of the Andamanese Languages as a Family, sub-divided into three main Groups, will be found later on when considering that great difficulty of the Languages, the use of the prefixes, and it will be sufficient here to further illustrate the differences and agreements between those of the South Andaman Group by a comparison of the roots of the words for the parts of the human body, a set of words which looms preponderatingly before the Andamanese mental vision.

Comparative Table of Roots and Stems denoting Parts of the Human Body.

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
head	chēta	chekta	ta	tô	toi
brains	mūn	mun	mine	mine	mine
neck	lōngota	longato	longe	longe	longe
heart	kūktâbana	kuktabana	kapōne	poktô	poktoi
hand	kôro	kôro	kôre	korô	kôre
wrist, shoulder	tôgo	tôgo	to	to	to
knuckle	kûtur	godla	kutar	kutar	kutar
nail	bōdoh	bôdo	pute	pute	pute
foot	pâg	pog	ta	tok	tok
ankle	tōgur	tôgar	togar	togar	togar
mouth	bang	boang	pong	pong	pong
chin	âdal	koada	teri	t'reye	t'reye
tongue	ētel	atal	tatal	tatal	tâtal
jaw	ēkib	toa	ta	tô	teip
lip	pai	pa	pai	paka	pake
shoulder-blade	pôdikma	pôdiatoa	bea	bea	bein
thigh	paicha	poaicho	baichato	boichatokan	baichatôkan
knee	lō	lo	la	la	lu
shin	chûlta	chalanta	chalta	choltô	chaltô
belly	jōdo	jôdo	chute	chute	chute
navel	èr	akar	tar	takar	takar

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
armpit	âwa	ôkar	kôrting	kôrteng	kôrteng
eye	dal	dal	kôdak	kôdag	kôdak
eyebrow	pūnyūr	punu	beiu	beakaiñ	beakiñ
forehead	mūgu	mugu	mike	mike	mike
ear	pūku	puku	bo	bôkô	bokô
nose	chôronga	chôronga	kôte	kôte	kôte
cheek	âb	koab	kap	kap	kap
arm	gūd	gud	kit	kit	kit
breast	kâm	koam	kôme	kôme	kôme
spine	gōrob	kategôrob	kinab	kurup	kurup
leg	châg	chag	chok	chok	chok
buttocks	dama	doamo	tome	tome	tome
anus	tūmur	bang	tomur	kôlang	kôlang

Pulled to pieces, Andamanese words of any Group of the Languages seem to be practically the same, but this fact is not apparent in actual speech, when they are given in full with their appropriate affixes, thus :—

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
head	otchētada	ôtchekta	otetada	ôtotôlekile	ôtetoiche
knee	ablōda	ablo	abluda	alulekile	oluche
forehead	igmūguda	idmugu	irmikeda	remikelekile	ermikeche

Any one who has had practice in listening to a foreign and partially understood tongue knows how a small difference in pronunciation, or even in accentuation, will render unintelligible words philologically immediately recognisable on paper.

III. — ETYMOLOGY.

a. — The Use of the Roots.

As the Andamanese usually build up the full words of their sentences by the simple agglutination of affixes on to roots and stems, the word construction of their language would present no difficulties, were it not for one peculiarity, most interesting in itself and easy of general explanation, though difficult in the extreme to discover. *experto crede.*

The Andamanese suffixes perform the ordinary functions of their kind in all agglutinative languages, and the peculiarity of the infixed *l'* occurring in compound words depends on the prefixes. It is the prefixes and their use that demand an extended examination.

b. — Anthropomorphism colours the whole Linguistic System.

To Andamanese instinct or feeling, words as original meanings, *i.e.*, roots, divide themselves roughly into Five Groups, denoting—

(1) mankind and parts of his body (nouns):
(2) other natural objects (nouns):
(3) ideas relating to objects (adjectives, verbs):
(4) reference to objects (pronouns):
(5) ideas relating to the ideas about objects (adverbs, connecting words, Proper Names).

The instinct of the Andamanese next exhibits an intense anthropomorphism, as it leads them to differentiate the words in the First Group, *i.e.*, those relating directly to themselves, from all others, by adding special prefixes through mere agglutination to their roots.

c. — The Use of the Prefixes to the Roots.

These special radical prefixes, by some process of reasoning forgotten by the people and now obscure, but not at all in every case irrecoverable, divide the parts of the human body into Seven Classes; thus, without giving a full list of the words in each class—

Radical Prefixes in Words denoting Parts of the Human Body by Classes.

CLASS.	ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
I.	Head, Brains, Neck, Heart	ot-	ôt-	ote-	ôte-	ôto-
II.	Hand, Wrist, Knuckle, Nail, Foot, Ankle	ong-	ong-	ong-	ôn-	ôn-
III.	Mouth, Chin, Tongue, Jawbone, Lip	âkà-	aka-	o-	ôkô-	o-
IV.	Shoulder, Thigh, Knee, Shin, Belly, Navel, Armpit	ab-	ab-	ab-	a-	o-
V.	Eye, Eyebrow	i-, ig-				
	Forehead, Ear, Nose, Cheek, Arm	ig-, ik	id-	ir-	re-	er-
	Breast	i-				
VI.	Spine, Leg, Buttock, Hip	ar-	ar-	ar-	ra-	a-
VII.	Waist	ôto-				

d. — Prefixes to Words referring to the Human Body.

Next, in obedience to their strong anthropomorphic instinct, the Andamanese extend their prefixes to all words in the other Groups, when in relation to the human body, its parts, attributes and necessities, and thus in practice, refer all words, capable of such reference, to themselves by means of prefixes added to their roots. In an Andamanese Language one cannot, as a matter of fact, say "head," "hand," "heart," one can only say—

my
your
his
(so & so) — 's
(that one) — 's
(this one) — 's } head, hand, heart.

e. — The Prefixes of Intimate Relation.

It is thus that the otherwise extremely difficult secondary functional prefix (always prefixed to the radical prefix, which is usually in Bojigngiji *le-* or *la-* (but practically always used in its curtailed form *l'-*, or *k'-*, *n'-*, *t'-* in certain circumstances) is clearly explainable. It is used to denote intimate relation between two words; and when between two indicators (nouns) it corresponds to the English connector (of), the Persian *isâfat* (-*i*-), and so on, and to the suffix denoting the "genitive case" in the inflected languages. The Andamanese also use it to indicate intimate relation between predicator (verb) and complement (object); when it corresponds to the suffix of the "accusative case" in the inflected languages, and indeed to "cases" generally.

f. — The Prefix System.

Starting with these general principles, the Andamanese have developed a complicated system of prefixes, making their language an intricate and difficult one for a foreigner to clearly apprehend when spoken to, or to speak so as to be readily understood.

As examples of this, let us take the stem *bēri-nga* good: then *â-bēri-nga*, good (human being); *un-bēri-nga* (good hand, *ong* pref. of hand), clever; *ig-bēri-nga* (good eye, *ig* pref. of eye) sharp-sighted; *âkà-bēri-nga* (good mouth or tongue, *âkà* pref. of mouth and tongue), clever at (other Andamanese) languages; *ot-bēri-nga* (good head and heart, *ot* pref. of both head and heart), virtuous; *un-t'ig-bēri-nga* (good hand and eye, *ong* pref. of hand, *ig* pref. of eye, joined by *t'* pref. of intimate relation), good all round.

So, too, with *jābag*, bad: *ab-jābag*, bad (human being); *un-jābag*, clumsy, *ig-jābag*, dull-sighted; *âkà-jābag*, stupid at (other Andamanese) languages, also nasty, unpalatable; *ot-jābag*, vicious; *un-t'-ig-jābag*, a duffer.

So again with *lâma*, failing: *un-lâma* (failing hand or foot), missing to strike; *ig-lâma* (failing eye), failing to find; *ot-lâma* (failing head), wanting in sense; *âkà-lâma* (failing tongue).

Lastly, in the elliptic speech of the Andamanese, the root, when evident, can be left unexpressed, if the prefix is sufficient to express the sense, thus: —

i-bēri-nga-da! may mean, "his-(face, pref. *i*-)-good-(is)." That is, "he is good-looking!"

d'-âkà-chām-ke! may mean "my-(mouth, pref. *âkà*-)-sore-is." That is, "my mouth is sore!"

g. — Prefixes to Words relating to Objects.

The system of using radical prefixes to express the relation of ideas to mankind and its body is extended to express the relation of ideas to objects in general. Thus:—

ad-bēringa, well (of the body): *ad-jābag*, ill (of the body): *ôko-lâma* (applied to a weapon), failing to penetrate the object struck through the fault of the striker. So *ig-bēringa* means pretty (of things): *âkà-bēringa*, nice (to taste): all in addition to the senses above given.

This is carried, with more or less obvious reference to origin, throughout the language. Thus:—

In Bēa: *yōb*, pliable, soft. Then a cushion, wax or sponge is *ot-yōb*, soft: a cane is *ôto-yōb*, pliable: a stick or pencil is *âkà-yōb*, or *ôko-yōb*, pointed: the human body is *ab-yōb*, soft; Class II. of its parts (hand, wrist, &c.) are *ong-yōb*, soft; fallen trees are *ar-yōb*, rotten; an adze is *ig-yōb*, blunt.

So again, in Bēa: *chôrognga*, tying up (whence also that which is usually tied up in a bundle, *viz.*, a bundle of plantains, faggots). Then *ôt-chôrognga* is tying up a pig's carcase: *âkà-chôrognga*, tying up jack-fruit: *ar-chôrognga*, tying up birds: *ong-chôrognga*, tying up the feet of sucking pigs.

h. — General Sense of Prefixes to Roots.

Possibly the feeling or instinct, which prompts the use of the prefixes correctly, could be caught up by a foreigner, just as the Andamanese roots might be traced by a sufficiently patient etymologist, but it would be very difficult and would require deep study. The Andamanese themselves, however,

unerringly apply them without hesitation, even in the case of such novel objects to them as cushions, sponges and pencils; using *ot* in the two former cases, because they are round and globular, and *âkà* in the latter, because they are rounded off to an end. In both these cases one can detect an echo of the application of the prefixes to the body: *ot* of head, neck, heart, &c.; *âkà* of tongue chin, &c.

Portman gives somewhat doubtfully the following as the concrete modifying references of such prefixes to the names of things:—

ot-	round things
ôto-	long, thin, pointed, or wooden things
ákà-, ôko-	hard things
ar-	upright things
ig-	weapons, utensils, things manufactured
ad-	speech (noises) of animals

With this habit may be compared the use of numeral coefficients in Burmese and many other languages.

From Portman also may be abstracted, doubtfully again, the following modifying abstract references of some of the radical prefixes:—

ot-, oto-, ôto-	special relation
ig-, ik-, i-	reference in singular to another person
iji-	reference in plural to another person
eb-, ep-	reference to ideas
âkan-	reference to self
ar-, ara-	plural reference to persons generally
ar-, ara-	(also) agency
ad-	action of self
ab-	action or condition transferred to another in singular
oiyo-	action transferred to others in plural

The following preliminary statement of the function of the radical prefixes can, therefore, be made out: *viz.*, to modify the meanings of roots by denoting —

(1) the phenomena of man and parts of his body:
(2) the phenomena of objects:
(3) the relation of ideas to the human body and objects:
(4) reference to self:
(5) reference to other persons:
(6) ideas; *i. e.*, (*a*) actions of self, (*b*) actions transferred to others, (*c*) actions of others (agency):
(7) reference to ideas.

i. — The Use of the "Personal Pronouns."

The habit of the Andamanese of referring everything directly to themselves makes the use of the referent substitutes for their own names (personal pronouns) a prominent feature in their speech. These are in full in the Bojigngîji Group as follow:—

The "Personal Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
I	d'ol-la	d'ol	t'u-le	t'u-le	la-t'u-le
Thou	ng'ol-la	ng'ol	ng'u-le	ng'a-kile	la-ng'u-le
He, she, it	ol-la	ol	u-le	a-kile	laka-u-le
We	m'òlòi-chik	m'ôlo-chit	m-u-le	m'e-kile	la-m'u-le
You	ng'òlòi-chik	ng'olo-chit	ng'uwe'l	ng'e'l-kile	la-ng'uwe'l
They	òlòi-chik	olo-chit	n'u-le	n'e-kile	kuchla-n'u.

J. — Limited Pre-inflexion.

In combination with and before the radical prefixes the "personal pronouns" are abbreviated thus in all the languages of the Bojigngiji Group ;—

Abbreviated "Pronominal" Forms.

I, my	d'- in Bēa, Balawa t'- in Bojigyab, Jūwai, Kôl
thou, thy	ng'- in all the Group
he, his, &c.	not expressed in the Group
we, our	m'- in all the Group
you, your	ng'- in Bēa, Balawa, Bojigyâb ng'______'i in Jūwai, Kôl
they, their	not expressed in Bēa, Balawa n'- in Bojigyâb, Jūwai, Kôl
this, that one	k'- in Bēa, Balawa, Kôl not expressed in Bojigyâb, Jūwai
that one	t'- in all the Group

In this way it can be shown that there are no real "singular possessives" in Andamanese, as the so-called "possessive pronouns" are merely the abbreviated forms of the "personal pronouns" plus *ia* (*-da*), &c. = belonging to, (property) : thus—

"Possessive Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
my, mine	d'ia-da	d'ege	t'iya-da	t'iyea-kile	t'iye-che
thy, thine	ng'ia-da	ng'ege	ng'iya-da	ng'iyea-kile	ng'iye-dele
his, her, its	ia-da	ege	iya-da	eyea-kile	iye-dele

The "plural possessives" have been brought into line with the expression of plurality by radical prefixes, as will be seen later on.

Now, it is easy enough to express on paper the true nature of the above abbreviations by the use of the apostrophe, but in speech there is no distinction made. Thus, one can write "*d'un-lâma-re*, I missed (my) blow," but one must say "*dunlâmare*." So one can write *ng'ot-jābag-da*, "you (are a) vicious (brute)," but one must say *ngotjābagda*. So also one can write :

âr-tâm	*d'un-t'ig-jābag*	*l'edā-re*
formerly	I-hand-eye-bad	exist-did
âchitik	*d'un-t'ig-bēri-nga*	
now	I-hand-eye-good	

(once I was a duffer, now I am good all round).

But one must say "*ârtâm duntigjābag ledāre, âchitik duntigbēringa.*" It would, therefore, be correct to assert that, though Andamanese is an agglutinative tongue, it possesses a very limited pre-inflexion, *i. e.*, inflexion at the commencement of its words.

Limited Correlated Variation (Concord).

The Andamanese also express the intimate relation of the "personal pronouns" with their predicators (verbs) by a rudimentary correlated variation (post-inflexion in the form of concord) of forms thus :—

mâmi-ke	mâmik-ka	mâmi-re	mâmi-nga
sleeping-is	sleeping-was	sleep-did	sleep-ing

Then,

do mâmi-ke ...	... ...	I am sleeping
da mâmi-ka...	... ...	I was sleeping
da mâmire ...	... ...	I slept
dona mâminga	... ...	I (me) sleeping

This peculiarity is shown in all the Bojigngiji Group, except Kôl; thus: —

English.	Bēa.	Balawa.	Bojigyâb.	Jūwai.
		"In the Present Tense" (ke).		
I	do	do	tuk	te
Thou	ngo	ngo	nguk	nge
He, she, it	a, o	ong	uk	a
We	môicho	môt	môt	me
You	ngôicho	ngôngot	nuk	ngel
They	eda	ôngot	net	a
		"In the Past Tense" (ka and re).		
I	da	do	tong	te
Thou	nga	ngo	ngong	nge
He, she, it	a	ong	ong	a
We	meda	mongot	môt	me
You	ngeda	ngongot	ngonget	ngel
They	eda	ongot	net	ne
		"In the Present Participle" (nga).		
I	dona	...	tong	tôn
Thou	ngona	...	ngong	ngôn
He, she, it	oda	...	ong	ôn
We	moda	...	môt	mon
You	ngoda	...	ngowel	ngôwel
They	oda	...	nong	no

1. — Expression of Plurality by Radical Prefixes.

The examination of the "pronouns" shows that the Andamanese can express things taken together (plural) as well as things taken by themselves (singular). This in their language generally is expressed by changing the forms of the radical prefixes, in Bōa and Balawa habitually and in Kōl and Jūwai occasionally. Thus: —

Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
		In Bēa.			
ot-	otot-	ong-, on-	oiot-	ig-, ik-, i-	itig-
ab-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	iji-	ijit-, ijet-
ôko–	ôkot–	ad–	ad–	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				
		In Balawa.			
ôt-	ôtot-	ông-	ôngot-	id-	idit-
ap-	at-	ar-, ara-	arat-	aka-	akat-
ôto-	ôtot-	eb-	ebet-	idi-	idit-
ôko-	ôkot-	ad-	ad-	akan-	akan-
en-	et-				

SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.	SING.	PLU.
		In Jūwai.			
ir-	ir-	ab-	at-	iche-	iche-
iram-	iram-	in-	in-	...	...
		In Kôl.			
re-	ri-	a-	o-	eche-	iche-
rem-	rim-	en-	in-	...	...

As has been already noted, the plural of the "personal pronouns" in the "possessive" form has been made to fall into line with the plan of expressing plurality by means of the radical prefixes. Thus :—

Table of Singular and Plural "Possessives."

	ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
Sing.	my	dīada	dege	tiyeda	tiyeakile	tiyiche
Plu.	our	mētat	matat	miyeda	miye	miyedele
Sing.	thy	ngīada	ngege	ngiyeda	ngiyeakile	ngiyedele
Plu.	your	ētat	ngatat	ngiyida	ngiyel	ngiyil
Sing.	his	īada	ege	iyeda	eyeakile	iyedele
Plu.	their	ôntat	atat	niyeda	niye	niyiche

m. — Qualitative Suffixes.

The suffixes of Andamanese are (radical) qualitative (expressing the class of a word)' or functional (expressing its function in the sentence). The radical qualitative suffixes usually employed are :—

For Indicators (Nouns).

BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
-da	-da, -nga, -ke	da	-lekile, -kile	-che, la
-la, -ola	-le	-le	...	-le
-la, -lo	-o, -ô	-o	-ó	-o
-ba				

The first of these is usually dropped in Balawa, and in all the languages also unless the word is used as an integer, or sentence in itself. The second is an honorific, and is always added in full. The third is "vocative" and is suffixed to the name called out. The fourth is a negative: thus, *ablīga-da*, a child; *ablīga-ba*, not a child, a boy or girl.

For Explicators (Adjectives).

-da	...
-la	...
-re	-et, -ot, -t

The second is honorific: the third applies to attributes, &c., of human beings. Generally these affixes follow the rule for those of the indicators (nouns).

For Predicators (Verbs).

ENGLISH.	BEA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
(kill)s	-ke, -kan	-ke, -ken	-ke, -kan	-che, -chine	-ye
was (kill)ing	-ka	-ka, -te, -kate	-ya, -ye	-chike	-ye, -k
(kill)ed	-re	-t, -et	-nga, -nen	-chikan	-an, -wan, -nen
may-not (kill)[16]	-kok	-ton	-k	-chik	-k
(kill)ing	-nga	-t, -et, -ña	-nga	...	-in
(kill)s not	-ba	-ba	-na	...	...
was (kill)ing not	-ta	...	...	...	...
will (kill)	-bo	...	...	...	...

[16] Precative.

The last three suffixes are added to the suffix — *nga* in Bēa, thus :—

do	mâmi-nga-ba	
I	sleep-ing-not (I am not asleep)	
dona	mâmi-nga-bo	
I	sleep-ing-will (I shall sleep)	
kârama	dol-la	kōp-nga-ta
bow	me-by	cutt-ing-(was)-not (I was not making a bow)

n. — The Functional Suffixes.

The usual function al suffixes in Andamanese are :—

Table of Suffixes.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BALAWA.	BOJIGYÂB.	JŪWAI.	KÔL.
In, to, at	-len	-len, -kan, -a	-an	-an	-an
From	-tek	-te, -le	-e, -te, -le	-e, -lak	-e, -lake, -kate
To, towards	-lat	-lat	-lat	-late	-late
Of	-līa	-lege	-liye	-leye	-liye
For	-leb	-leb	-leb	-lebe	-lebe
After	-lik	-le	-le	-le	-le

o. — The Functional Suffixes are Lost Roots.

Attempt at Recovery.

It may be taken as certain that the functional suffixes are roots, now lost to Andamanese recognition, agglutinated to the ends of words by the usual means in their languages, as exhibited in the prefixes; *viz.*, by prefixing to them *l'*-, *t'*-, *k'*-in the manner already explained. The roots of some of the suffixes can be fairly made out thus, from the *Vocabularies* :—

(1) *Len*, *kan*, *a*, *an*, "in, to, at," seem to be clearly *l'*-, *k'*- + the root *en*, *e*, *ik*, "take, hold, carry, seize."

(2) *Tek*, *te*, *le*, *e*, *lak*, *lake*, *kate*, "from" seem to be *l'*-, *t'*-, *k'*- + the root *ik*, *i*, *eak*, "take away."

(3) *Lat*, *late*, "to, towards," seem to be *l'*- + the root *at*, *ate*, "approach."

(4) *Lia*, *lege*, *liye*, *leye*, "of" seem to be *l'*- + the root *ia*, *ege*, *ii*, *eye*, "belonging to."

(5) *Leb*, *lebe*, "for" seem to be *l'*- + a root not traced.

(6) *Lik*, *le*, "with, after" seem to be *l'*- + the root *ik*, *e*, *ak*, "to go with, follow on."

IV. — PHONOLOGY.

a. — The Voice of the Andamanese.

The voice of the Andamanese, though occasionally deep and hoarse, is usually pleasant and musical. The mode of speech is gentle and slow, and among the women a shrill voice is used in speaking; but though the tendency is towards a drawled pronunciation, they can express their meaning quickly enough on occasion, too quickly, indeed, for a foreigner to clearly follow the minutiæ of pronunciation without very close attention. The general tone of the voice in speaking is low.

On an examination of the prevalent vowels and vowel interchanges and tendencies in the languages of the South Andaman (Bojigngīji) Group of Tribes, as described by Portman, it may be said that they relatively speak thus from a close to an open mouth :—

Jūwai	with closed lips
Bojigyâb and Kôl ...	with flattened lips
Balawa	with open lips
Bēa	with lips tending to open wide.

It is interesting to note that the above results carry one straight from North to South.

b. — History of the Reduction of the Language to Writing.

The Andamanese speech, as it is now studied, was first committed to writing on a system devised by myself, which was an adaptation of the system, invented by Sir William Jones in 1794 for the Indian Languages, and afterwards adopted, with some practical modifications introduced by Sir W. W. Hunter, by the Government of India as the "Hunterian System." My method of writing Andamanese was subsequently modified for scientific purposes by Mr. A. J. Ellis in 1882, and having so highly trained and competent a guide, one cannot do better than use here a modification of his system, adapted to the needs of a general publication. Portman, unfortunately, has, in his publications, gone his own way to the great puzzle of students.

In this view, there is no necessity to say anything of the consonants used, and as to the vowels, the following table will sufficiently exhibit them in the Bēa Language:—

The Vowels in Bēa.

		English.	Bēa.			English.	Bēa.
a	...	ide*a*, c*u*t	alaba	o	...	ind*o*lent	boigoli
ā	..	c*u*r	bā, yāba	ō	...	p*o*le	jōb
à	...	cas*a*	elàkà	ö[17]	...	k*o*nig (Ger.)	tö
â	...	f*a*ther	dâke	ò	...	p*o*t	pòlike
ä	...	f*a*thom	jarawa	ô	...	*aw*ful	tôgo
e	...	b*e*d	ēmej	u	...	infl*u*ence	būkura
ē	...	f*a*de	âkàbēada	ū	...	p*oo*l	pūdre
è	...	p*ai*r	èr	ai	...	b*i*te	daike
i	...	l*i*d	igbadigre	au	...	h*ou*se	chopaua
ī	...	pol*i*ce	yâdī	àu	...	h*au*s (Ger.)	chàu
...	...	...	...	òi	...	b*oi*l	bòigoli

c. — Peculiarities of Speech.

Stress in Andamanese is placed on every long vowel, or on the first syllable of the root or stem. Peculiarities of pronunciation in the South Andaman Languages are as follow:—

Bēa.

Sibilants tend to become palatals, *s* to *ch*: ō and ô are interchangeable: final open *â* and *ē* tend to *a* and *e*: *t* is an indistinct palato-dental.

Balawa.

t is palato-dental and lisped, *cf.* Irish pronunciation of English *t* and *d*. The *a* vowels tend to be drawn out: *a* to become *o*, and *â* to become *oâ*. There is also an incipient *sandhi* in words ending in gutturals: *e. g.*, *râk*, pig; *râg-dōamo*, pig's flesh.

Bojigyâb

ch is palato-dental and tends to *t*, and the *ch* of Bēa tends in Bojigyâb to become *s*; *i. e.*, palatals tend to become sibilants.

Jūwai.

Short vowels are not clearly marked: *e* and *a* are interchangeable: final *e* and *ē* tend to *i*. Vanishing short vowels are common and are shown thus, *f'rōngap*; *o* is often drawled, to *ô*; penultimate *e* is lengthened to *ē*, and stressed *ē* is drawled to *ēa*. There is *sandhi* of final and initial vowels in connected consecutive words. Dental, palatal and cerebral *t* all exist: palatals tend to dentals, *ch* to *t*: *p* tends to soften to *ph* and almost to *f*.

Kōl.

â interchanges with *ō*: *â* tends to *eâ*, *cf.* old English pronunciation *gyarden* for *garden*: *e* tends to *ē*: final open vowels are uncertain.

17 Found in Önge only.

V. — THE NORTHERN AND OUTER GROUPS.

a. — Proofs of the identity of the Northern and Southern Groups of Languages.

Of the Five Languages of the Northern (Yērewa) Group, two, Kôrâ and Tâbô, are still quite unstudied, the knowledge of the existence of the Tribes speaking them being of less than two years' standing; and the Language of the Yēre Tribe is very little known. Portman has, however, preserved long lists, unfortunately to be treated with much caution, of Kede and Châriâr words, together with many sentences, and it will be sufficient here to give a series of roots and stems, showing where the Northern and Southern Languages meet and how closely related they are by roots: premising that the syntax and word-structure of the Northern Group is identical with that of the Southern Group, and that affixes, notably the radical prefixes, are used precisely in the same way in both Groups. It is in the names for common objects and things that languages show their relationship, and the Bojigngīji and Yērewa Groups form no exception to this rule.

Table of some Bojigngīji and Yērewa Roots, showing a common origin.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BOJIGYÂB.	KEDE.	CHÂRIÂR.
pig	reg	re	ra	ra
turtle (hawkbill)	tau	tare	tôrô	tôrô
clam	chōwai	chowai	chowai	choa
grub	būtu	peti	pata	pata
fish	yât	taiye	tajeu	tajeu
bow (N.)	chôkio	chokio	chokie	chokwi
bow (S.)	karama	ko	ku	ku
wooden arrow	tirlech	tolô	tirleich	tirleit
wooden pig a.	pâligma	paligma	paligma	paligma
wooden a. head	châm	cham	chôm	chom
harpoon string	betma	kôri	betmô	luremô
bamboo bucket	gōb	bire	kup	kup
shell-dish	chīdi	kar	kar	kar
shell-cup (nautilus)	ôdo	kor	kur	kor
adze	wōlo	wole	wo	olo
baby-sling	chīp	chepe	chipa	chiba
cord-ornament	râ	ra	ro	iku
leaf-wrapper	kâpa	kaba	kôbo	kôbu
red-ochre	kòiob	keyep	keip	keip
stone hammer	tailibana	me	mio	meô
stone anvil	râraр	rarap	rôrop	rôrop
canoe	rōko	ro	ro	rua
c. outrigged	chârigma	charikma	chorok	chorok

The same community of roots is to be seen in the names of the trees on the islands, establishing beyond doubt the close common origin of the Andaman Tribes of the Yērewa and Bojigngīji Groups, though it will, of course, be understood that in full form, with prefixes and suffixes, very nearly related words are in practice unintelligible to the ear. There are, equally of course, a great number of words, the roots of which, while common to each other in the Yērewa Group, differ entirely from those common to the Bojigngīji Group: thus—

Table of varying Bojigngīji and Yērewa Roots.

ENGLISH.	BĒA.	BOJIGYÂB.	KEDE.	CHÂRIÂR.
ornamental net	râb	rap	chirebale	chirbale
jungle-cat	baian	beyan	chau	chau
belt, round	bōd	bel	tôtô	tôtô
b. flat, broad	rōgun	rogan	kuto	kudu

English.	Bea.	Bojigyâb.	Kede.	Châriâr.
iron fish-arrow	tôlbod	pôt	rautul	rautul
larvæ in comb	tô	to	jotu	joto
honey	âja	koi	tumel	tumel
black honey	tōbul	tipal	maro	maro
cockles	ôla	tale	bun	bun

It is to be observed that in the above list, the compound stem in Bēa for iron fish-arrow, *tôlbod*, is made up apparently of the roots *pôt* and *tul* in the other languages quoted: while *rautul* seems to have become transferred from the pig, *ra*, to the fish, *tojeu*. A similar transfer has taken place between *tumel*, *timel*, the "black honey" of the North, and *tōbul*, *tipal*, the "honey" of the South. All the above observations tend to confirm the close connection between the Tribes and the Languages of both Groups.

b. — The Outer Group (Önge-Järawa) examined.

In turning to the Önge-Järawa Group, one finds that the hostility of the Järawas, and the only recent friendliness of the Önges, combined with the inaccessibility of the island they inhabit, has caused the knowledge of their language to be but slight. However, we have the careful *Vocabulary* of **Colebrooke** made in 1790, and those made by **Portman** and **M. Bonig**[18] just a century later. An examination of these affords sufficient results for the present purpose: *viz*., proof of the fundamental identity of the language of these people with that of the rest of the Andaman Tribes, and what is, perhaps, quite as interesting, proof that Colebrooke's informant really was a Järawa.

c. — The limited knowledge of it.

A comparison of such of Portman's words as can be compared with Colebrooke's, when shown with roots and affixes separated, and reduced to one system of transcription, produces the following results; noting that in their actual lists, both enquirers fell into the natural error of taking the prefixed inflected "personal pronouns" to be essential parts of the words to which they were attached: —

A List of Önge-Järawa Words.[19]

English.	Colebrooke's Järawa.	Portman's Önges.	Bonig's Önges.
arm	*pi*-li	oni-*bi*-le	oni-*bi*-le
arrow	*batoi*	*batoi*	*bato*
bamboo	o-*ta*-li	o-*da*-le	o-*da*-le
basket	*tere*-nge	*tô*-le	*tô*-le
bead	*tahi*	*taiyi* (stone)	*kwoi*
beat	ingo-*taiya* (b. a person)	*yokwo*-be	on-*yokwö*-be
belt	oto-*go*-le	are-*kwa*-ge	...
bite	m-o-*paka*-be (b. me)	oni-*baga*-be (b. a person)	öni-*baga*-be
black	*chigiu*-go	*be*	i-*kiu*
blood	ko-*che*-nge	ga-*che*-nge	*che*-nge
bone	ng-i-*to*-nge (your b.)	öni-*da*-ge	...
bow	*ta*-nge (? wood), *ta-hi* (as shown in ng-i-*tahi*) (your bow).	*aai*	*aē*
breast	*ka*	ga-*ka*-ge	ga-*ga*-ge
canoe	*läk*-ke	*du*-nge	*da*-nge
chin	pi-*to*-nge (c. bone)	ibi-*ta*-nge (c. bone)	...
cold	*chōma*	on-*gitē*-be (to be c.)	...
cough	ingo-*ta*-lie (? *ta*-be) (to c.)	*udu*-be	*udu*-be
drink	m-*inggo*-be (I d.)	*injo*-be	...
ear	*kwa*-ge	ik-*kwa*-ge	...
earth	*totanga*-ge	*tutano*-nge	...

[18] See Appendix C.

[19] Roots shown in italics.

ENGLISH.	COLEBROOKE'S JARAWA.	PORTMAN'S ÖNGES.	BONIG'S ÖNGES.
eat	ingo-*lo*-lia (? imp. *lo*-ba)	öni-*lokwale*-be	öni-*kwawo*-be
elbow	m-ahā-*lajebe* (my e.)	aha-*lagebòi*	...
eye	*jebe*	öni-*jebòi*	öni-*jebòi*
finger	m-*ome* (my f.)	*ome*	ono-*boda*-nge
fire	m-*ona* (my f.)	*tu*-ke	*tu*-ke
fish	ga-*bohi*	*cho*-nge	*chau*-nge
hair	*otti*	*ode*	*ode*
hand	ng-*oni* (your h.)	*ome*	ön-*ome*
	m-*oni* (my h.).	...	...
head	*tebe*	oni-*tolagibòi* (man's head)	ön-*ota*-be
honey	*lo*-ke	*tanjai*	*tanja*[20]
house	*bede*	*bedai*	...
iron (adze-head)	*dahu*	*dòii*	*dau*
jump	i-*to*-le (a j.)	akwa-*tokwa*-be (to j.)	...
knee	ingo-*le*.ke (man's k.)	o-*la*-ge	...
laugh	onke-*me*-be	onge-*ma*-be	...
nail	m-o-*bejeda*-nga (my n.)	m-o-*bedu*-nge (my n.)	...
neck	*tohi*	oni-*ngito*	...
net	*bato*-li	*chi*-kwe	*chi*-kwe
nose	m-*e*-li (my n.)	oni-*nyai*-boi	...
paddle	m-*ekal* (my p.)	*taai*	*tae*
path	*echo*-li	*iche*-le	...
pig	stwi	*kwi*	...
pinch	ingi—*gini*—cha body-pinch-don't (don't pinch me).	oni-*gini*-be	gi-*gine*-be
plantain-tree	*chole*-li	*yolô*-le	*chago*-la, *yaulo*-la
pot	*buchuhi*	*buchu*	*buchu*
pull	*toto*-be (+ tigikwa)	*toto*-be (go)	...
rain	*oye*	*gujo*-nge	*beja*
run	ng-aha-*bela*-be (you r.)	aha-*bela*-be	...
scratch	ing-*bea*-be	a-*kwea*-be	...
sing	*goko*-be	*gògaba*-be	...
sit	ng-*ongtahi* (s. you)	*on-antokò*-be	*namtokö*-be
sleep	ng-*omoka* (s. you)	*omoka*-be	...
sky	*madamo*	*be*-nge-nge (flattened out)	...
sneeze	o-*che*-ke (a s.)	e-*chi*-be (to s.)	...
spitting	inga-*hwa*-nge	òna-*kwa*-nge	...
star	*chilo*-be (? shines)	*chilome*-be (moon: ? shines)	*kòia-kòia*
stone	*wu*-le	*taiyi*	*kwòi*
sun	*ehe*	*eke*	*eke*
swim	*kwa*-be	*kwane*-be	...
take up	ng-a-*toha* (you t. u.)	*genge*-be	i-*do*-be (t. away)
teeth	m-*ahoi* (my t.)	m-*akwe* (my t.)	...
tongue	*ta*-li	alan-*da*-nge	...
walk	*bunijwa*-be	*bujiö*-be	*bujo*-be
water	m-*igwe* (my w.)	*i*-nge	*i*-nge
weep	*wana*-be	*wana*-be	*wana*-be
wind	*tomjame*	*totôte*	*totôte*
wood (tree)	*ta*-nge	*da*-nge	*tada*-nge

[20] Bonig has *lei* for honeycomb.

In addition to this list of words offering comparisons, the following from Colebrooke can more or less clearly be made out on the same lines:—

Colebrooke's Järawa Words.

English.	Järawa.	English.	Järawa.
(white) ant	do.nge	friend	padu
bat	witwi-le	leg	chi-ge
belly	ng-a-poi (your b.)	man	ng-amo-lan (you are a man ?)
bind	to-be, toto-be	mouth	m-ona (my m.)
bird	lohe	seed	kita-nge
bracelet	a-le	smoke	bali-ngi
charcoal	wahi	swallow	bi-b[illegible]
crow	nahe	thigh	poi
flesh	wuhi	wash (self)	igna-doha-be

Portman is unfortunately always difficult to follow in his linguistic statements, as they are so uncertain. His vocabularies are apt to differ frequently from the statements in his lists of sentences, and where his vocabularies can be compared they are inconstant: but at p. 731, Vol. II., of his *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, he gives a comparative list of Járawa and Önge words from his own observations:—

Portman's Önge-Järawa Words.

English.	Jarawa.	Önge.
arrow	bartoi	bartoi
axe	doii	dou
bamboo	otale	ôdale
bow	aaii	aai
bucket	uhu	ukui
crab	kagai	kagais
drink	injowa	injobe
eye	injamma	unijeboi
fire	tuhawe	tuke
foot	monge	muge
hair	enoide	môde
hand	mome	mome
iron	tanhi	doii (iron adze)
leaf	bebe	bebe
nautilus	gaai	gaai
navel	inkwa	onikwale
net	bortai	ohikwe
nose	inama	uningaiboi
road	ischele	ichele
run	ahabelabe	akwebelabe
sea	etale	detale (Passage Id, an islet in the sea)
sit down	atôn	unantokobe
sky	baingala	bengonge
sleep	omohan	omokabe.
string	etai	ebe
stone	uli	taiyi
tooth	anwai	makwe
water	enule	inge

In some of the above words, where Colebrooke differs from Portman, it will be found that Colebrooke's forms, when reduced to a common transcription, are nearest the Önge.

d. — Recovery of Colebrooke's Järawa Vocabulary of 1790.

By pulling the words in the first list to pieces, the identity in race of Colebrooke's native (Järawa) with Portman's natives (Önges) will be at once evident. Many roots and affixes are common, and the words are clearly built up precisely as are all other Andamanese words by radical prefixes to roots relating fundamentally to the body and its parts and by qualitative suffixes. In addition to this, the prefixes are joined to the "personal pronouns" by pre-inflexion in the manner peculiar to the Andamanese languages. And although we have nothing more on record of the Järawa tongue than Colebrooke's list, supplemented by Portman's, of any value, we have thus enough to establish the relation of Järawa and Önge as languages of the same Group, and the relation of both as languages of the same Family as the other Andamanese tongues.

In Järawa the *k* of Önge tends to interchange with *h*, and by inference the Järawas appear to use *ngg* for the Önge *ng* and to say *i-nggo* in place of *önge.*

Leaving the roots to explain themselves, the inflected forms of the "pronouns" show themselves, thus :—

Önge-Järawa "Pronouns."

ENGLISH.	JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
I, my	m' -	m' -
You, your	ng'-	ng'-

The qualitative suffixes appear to be as follow :—

Önge-Järawa Qualitative Suffixes.

for "nouns"	-li, -le	-le
for "verbal nouns"	-nge, -nga, -ge, -ke	-nge, -ng, -ge, ke
for "verbs"	-be	-be, me

The radical prefixes are given in a great variety of forms, which will probably disappear on closer knowledge of the languages.

Önge-Järawa Radical Prefixes.

JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
ingo-, ingi-, inga-, onke-, öng-, ö-	öni-, öna-, önu-, öno-, öaan-, ina-, ine-, eng-eni-, önge-.
uni	u-
o-, i-, ôt-	ô-, ö-, a-, e-
i-	eje-, ichin-, e-
pi-	ibi-, ebe-
i-	akwa-, akwe-, ako-, ik-, ig-, i-
aha-, a-	aha-, a-
omo-	omo-
oto-	are-
	alan-

Of these, as prefixes relating to mankind and its body, the following occur :—

önî-, a general prefix of the body, and then,

Class I.	... öni-	head, lip, neck, nose, navel, hip, testicles, stomach
Class II.	... ik-, ig-, i-	cheek, ear
Class III.	... ibi-	chin
Class IV.	... o-	fist, knee, nail, throat
Class V.	... alan	teeth

That the relation between concrete words for the parts of the body and those for ideas belonging to them is shown by the prefixes, comes out neatly in *ik-kwa-ge*, ear : *ik-aibene*, deaf. So, too, the words *ichin-da-nge* and *i-to nge* given for "bone" probably refer to a bone of Class II.

e. — Grammar of Önge.

Mr Bonig made a slight attempt at this by providing a few sentences and phrases. It is only an attempt, but it shows that the principles of the Onge are those of Andamanese generally. Thus we have :—

ode, hair.
on-ode, animal hair.
miga m'ode, thy hair.
ngi m'ode, your hair.
otangka g'ode, { his / your } hair.
jeloto g'ode, our hair.
gotaloto g'ode, the hair of all of us.
yetadakwe g'ode, some one's[21] hair.
otiedaka g'ode, their hair.

oduleda, sick.
......
miga-m'oduleda, I am sick.
ngi m'oduleda, you are sick.
otangka g'oduleda, { he is / you are } sick.
jeloto g'oduleda, we are sick.
gotalota g'oduleda, we are all sick.
yetadakwe[21] g'oduleda, some one is sick.
otiedaka g'oduleda, they are sick.

This would seem to give *m'* as to the prefix of 'my' and 'your,' *g'* as the prefix of all persons not the 'self.'

The few sentences are very obscure.

on-ibiti dode, what have you?
ön-ibiti dali ilekwale-be, what are you saying?
g'ati bama, what do you call this?

wanawe otang, where is he?
on-akuchöbe ötang, call him.
ötangka akuchwa, you are called.
g'oangkinkö-be, you go away.

le chune, there it is.
m'injaiche nehe, I don't understand.

f. — Proof of the Identity of Önge-Järawa with the other Groups.

Among an untutored people, so long isolated even from the other Andamanese, one would hardly look for many roots now in common with them, but the following, which occur in such short lists as those available, sufficiently establish a common origin for the Family :—

Some Roots common to the Andaman Languages.

ENGLISH.	ÖNGE-JÄRAWA.	REMAINING LANGUAGES.
bat	witwi	wôt, wat, wot
cold	choma	chauki (Bēa)

[21] The sense is that the person referred is absent.

ENGLISH.	ÖNGE-JÄRAWA.	REMAINING LANGUAGES.
red ochre	gyalap	bilap, upla
net	chi	chi
sneeze	che, chi	chiba (Bēa, Balawa)
"God"	Uluga: (*äluge*, thunder)	Puluga, Bilak (Bēa, *wul-nga*, storm)
turtle	chöbe	chokbe (Kede, Châriâr)
water	i, ig	ina (Bēa, Balawa)
bone	to	ta, toa (Bēa, Balawa)
wood	ta, da	ta, toa, to

Colebrooke showed all sorts of impossible things to his Järawa to name, and one interesting result is the following:—

ENGLISH.	JÄRAWA.	ÖNGE.
cotton-cloth / paper	pa — nge — be flat – become – is	be — nge — be flat – become – is

Of course, no Järawa had ever seen before anything approaching to either object, and this man's one expression for both means "it is (has been) flattened," which is what the savage meant to convey, when asked anything so impossible as to name them.

In Appendix B will be found a further list of Önge words to aid in the study of this interesting language.

g. — Derivation of Mincopie.

We are now in a position to solve a great puzzle of ethnographists for a century and more: why were the Andamanese called Mincopie by Europeans? What word does this transcription represent? It can now be split up thus:—

M-ö——nge—be
I—man-kind-am
(I am an Önge)

Or, as the Järawas perhaps pronounce the expression, "M-inggo-be," or even "M-injo-be," I am an Inggo (Injo). The name given by the Önges to themselves is a "verbal noun," *ö-nge*, man-being. So that when questioned as to himself by Colebrooke, his Järawa replied "**M'inggobe,**" or something like it, which compound expression by mistranscription and misapprehension has become the well-known **Mincopie** of the general ethnological books in many languages for an Andamanese. The Önges call their own home, the Little Andaman, Gwabe-l'Önge. **Järawa** is a modern Bēa term, possibly radically identical with **Yērewa,** the Bēa name for the Northern Group of Tribes.

It is just possible that Colebrooke's Järawa misunderstood what was wanted altogether and simply said, "I am (will be, would be) drinking: *m-inggo-be*, I-drink-do."

I have now to record a great disappointment. The proof that the method herein adopted for recovering the Järawa Language was correct lay in the fact that the word *i-nge* for "water" was ascertained from a little Järawa boy captured during an expedition in February, 1902, and the identical word was quite independently unearthed from Colebrooke's and Portman's Vocabularies as Önge-Järawa for "water." The only other word clearly ascertained from the boy, *walu-ng* for "pig," has not been gathered independently as yet. This little boy was the last of the prisoners left, who were captured on that occasion, as the women and small children and girls were all returned and only two boys kept back for a while, in order to get their language, &c., from them. Of these, the elder died of fever, and on the very day that their language was fairly recovered, and we were in a position to set to work to learn quickly from him, the younger died very suddenly of pneumonia, without any warning illness.

APPENDIX A.

The Fire Legend in the Bojigngiji Group.

(The Bêa Version has been already given.)

Balawa Version.

Dim-Dôra — le rita *Keri-l'ong-tôwer — te Puluga* *l'i toago* *choapa l' — omo*
(a Man) long-ago (a Place) — by God his platform fire bringing

— kate | *ong ik* *akat-pôra* *puguru — t l' — a — re* | *Bolub* *ka* *Tarkôr*.
— was | he taking all—men burn — t di — d | (a Man) and (a Man)

ka *Bilichau* *ongot oto — jurugmu* *— t — ia* | *ongot* *at — yôhat* *mo*
and (a Man) they in-the-sea-wen — t — did | they fish becom-

— nga | *ongot oaro — tichal-ena* *— te* *Rokwa-l'ar-tonga-baroij — a* *oko — dal*
— ing | they carry-taking — by (a Place) -village— in fire-mak-

— nga l' — a — re
— ing di — d

Portman's Rendering. — Dim-Dôra, a very long time ago, at Keri-l'ong-tôwer, was bringing fire from God's platform. He, taking the fire, burnt everybody with it. Bolub and Tarkôr and Bilichau fell into the sea and became fish. They took the fire to Rokwa-l'ar-tonga village and made fires there.

Bojigyâb Version.

Tôl-l'oko-tim — an Bilik l'ong — pat — ye | *Luratut* | *l'ong at* *ab — lechi — nga* |
(a Place) — in God sleep— did | (a Bird) | he fire bring — ing |

Luratut l'ong — di — ye | *kota ong Bilik l'ab — ıki — ye* | *kota Bilik* *l'ong — konyi*
(a Bird) seiz — ed | then he God burn — t | then God awaken

— ye | *Bilik* | *l'ong at* *ki — ye* | *ong e* *Luratut* *l'oto* *— toi-chu — nga* |
— ed | God | he fire seiz — ed | he then (a Bird) (with) fire hitt — ing |

kota *kol* *ong* *e* *Tarohal* *l'ote — toi-chu — ye* | *Chalter* *l'ong — di — ye* |
then again he then (a Man) (with) fire-hit — did | (a Bird) seiz — ed |

ong Lau-Cham — len da — nga | *Wôta-Emi — en ota* *Lau-Cham* | *n'ong o — kodak — nga.*
he ancestors — to giv — ing | Wota-Emi — in then ancestors | they fire-mak-ing.

Portman's Rendering. — God was sleeping in Tôl-l'oko-tima. Luratut went to bring fire. Luratut caught hold of the fire, then he burnt God. Then God woke up. God seized the fire. He hit Luratut with the fire. Then again he hit Tarohal with the fire. Chalter caught hold of it. He gave it to the ancestors. Then the ancestors made fire at Wôta-Emi.

Jûwai Version.

Kuro-t'on-mik — a *Mom Mirit — la* | *Bilik l'ôkô — ema — t* | *ysakar at — lo* *top* |
(a Place) — in Mr. Pigeon | God slep — t | wood fire — with stealing |

— *chike at laiche Lech — lin a* | *kotak a ôko — kodak — chine at — lo*
— was fire the-late (a Man) — to he | then he fire-make — did fire — with

Karat-tatak — emi — in
(a Place) — at

Portman's Rendering.—Mr. Pigeon stole a firebrand at Kuro-t'on-mika, while God was sleeping. He gave the brand to the late Lech, who then made fires at Karat-tatak-emi.

Kôl Version.

Tôl-l'oko-tim — en Bilik — la pat — ke | *Luratut — la Oko-Emi — t at kek — an* |
(a Place) — in God asleep — was | (a Bird) (a Place) — in fire too — k |

Kôlotat — ke | *lin l' — a — chol — an Min-tong-ta — kete* | *Min-tong-ta — kete — lak*
(a Man) — was | by (he) — wen — t (a Place) — to | (a Place) — to — by

l' — ir — bil — an | *Kôlotat l'ir — pin l'ir — dôk — an* | *k'irim—kôdak — an* |
(it) —out-wen—t | (a Man) charcoal break — did | fire-make-did |

n'a n'otam — tepur — an | *at — ke n'ote — tepur — an* | *Min-tong tôk-pôroich —*
they alive — became | fire — by (they) — alive — became | (a Place) village —

in Jangil | *n'a l'oko — kôdak — an* |
in ancestors | they fire-make — did |

Portman's Rendering. — God was sleeping at Tôl-l'oko-tima. Lura̤tut took away fire to Oko-Emi. Kôlotat went to Min-tong-ta, (taking fire with him from Oko-Emi). At Min-tong-ta the fire went out. Kôlotat broke up the charred firewood and made fire again, (by blowing up the embers). They (the people there) became alive. Owing to the fire they became alive. The ancestors thus got fire in Min-tong-tôk village.

APPENDIX B.

Önge Vocabularies.

The "Outer Group" of the Andamanese (**Önges and Järawas**) bears the closest resemblance in customs, &c., *i. e.*, assuming them to bear any at all, to the **Semangs and Aetas**, of all the Andamanese Tribes, and hence there is much interest exhibited in their languages. In this Appendix, therefore, is gathered together as much of the Önge Vocabulary as can be with any degree of safety extracted from Portman's *Andamanese Manual*, the information in which is not, however, unfortunately as clear as is desirable.

Subsequently to the compilation of this article, **Mr. M. Bonig,** Assistant Harbour Master at Port Blair, made, at the present writer's request, several trips, in January 1903, to the Little Andaman, the home of the Önges. He brought back with him **three Önges from Kwâtinyâbòi Creek on the East Coast** of that island, named Tâkōâte, Antiōkâne, and Antidēōkâne, with the object of learning their language. When these men were taken home again, four others, named Idabòi, Gōgamin, Agodēle and Nyâbòi, of the Palankwe Sept were induced to go to Port Blair. Mr. Bonig found that they understood the words he learnt from the East Coast, but altered a good many, showing that **Portman's words were collected in Ekita Bay, which belongs to the Palankwe Sept,** and that differentiating dialects exist on the island.

In the first of the accompanying *Vocabularies*, wherever Portman's words have been verified by Mr. Bonig, the fact is shown in square brackets [ ]. In the second are recorded the words as to which Mr. Bonig either entirely differed from Portman or which he collected in addition. In both the roots have been separated from the prefixes and suffixes.

I. — Portman's Vocabulary.

Bonig's variants in square brackets.

abundant	gene
abuse (to)	önn-kweba-be
ache (to)	öni-dang-wule-be (? bones a.)
acid	a-ñòii
adze [chisel]	dòii [dau][32]
ant [small black)	chantibo-de [yan°]
apron (women's)	ga-kwinyoga-le
armlet [fibre]	iibi-kwe
arrow (iron) [reed]	batoi [bato]
arrow (wood)	tota-le
arrow (fish)	tome
arrow (pig)	taköi
arrow-shaft	takete-le
ashes	tongku-te [tong°]
awake (to)	löga-be
bag (of netting)	kumumwi, taugu-le
bale out (to)	gaiye-böko-be
bamboo	ô-da-le [o-da-le]
banana	yolô-le
bark	gangwi
barb (arrow)	tome
basket	tô-le [tô-le]
beard	ön-gu-bo-de
beat (to)	[ön-]yökwö be [yökwo°]
beetle [dung]	todanchu [°ran°)
belt (round)	m-are-kwa-ge (my b.)
belt (broad, flat)	m-ino-kwe (my b.)
binder	tu-kwe
bite (to)	ön-i-baga-be [ditto]
black	be
blood	ga-che-nge [che-nge]
blow (to) [out fire]	a-kwöbö-be [ta-kuwö°]
boil (to)	tamboi-(be)
bone	ichin-da-nge
bone (human)	ön-i-da-nge
bow	a-ai [a-ē]
break (to)	gi-kwa-be [gi-kwa°]
breast	ga-ka-ge [ga-ge]
breathe (to)	kwaiö-be
broom	da-ge
bucket (wood)	ukwi [uku]
bucket (bamboo)	kubuda-nge
butterfly	bebe-le [ditto]
call (to)	ön-gyö-be, ön-ai-waba-be
cane	tati [ditto]
cane-necklace	i-deda-le
canoe	da-nge [ditto]
cast away (to)	yöböbine-be
cheek	gig-boi (your c.)
chin	ibi-da-nge
clam	taga-le
clap (to)	ako-bana bekwe-be
clay (white [yellow] for smearing [the body])	we [öē]
cloud	baije
cocoanut	da-ge (? wood, tree)
cold (to feel)	öngi-te-be
come (to)	inai-öba-be, önu-kwange-me [ön-aiya°]
copulate (to)	gö-tôlô-be
cough	udu-ge [ditto]
crab [large edible]	kagaia [kaga]
creek	kuai
cyrena-shell (scraper)	totu-le
dance	ön-ola-ge
dead (to be)	bechame-me
deaf	ik-aibene
dish (wooden)	da-nge-, (wood) töba-nge
drink (to)	injo-be
dugong	twowe
ear	ik-kwa-ge
earth	tutano
eat (to)	ön-i-lokwale-be
ebb tide	ga-de
embrace	ku-ge
eye	ön-i-jeboi [ditto]
fall (to)	i-teka-be [gi-°]
fastening (a)	gwi-kwe
feather	gô-de
fern (sp.)	tomojai, lakakai
fever (to have)	ungi-te-be
fight (to)	ön-ukwe-be
finger	ome
fire	tuke [ditto]
fish	cho-ge [chau°]
fist	o-boke [ön-°]
flip (to)	ön-i-tôtôge-be
flood tide	kobakwe-le
fly (a)	ngonoi [ngöno]

[32] This reads like a corruption of the Indian and Burman *dâ*, a universal instrument used as a knife, axe, adze, sword, &c., as the result of recent intercourse with strangers.

food (to take)	gi-da-be
foot	m-u-ge (my f.) [ön-u-°]
forbid (to)	go-bokwe-be
glad (to be)	a-kiokö-be
go (to)	ön-i-töto-be (come)
God	Ulu-ge
good	i-wado
grass	tokwongöye
green	totanda-nge
gun	ön-ini-nye
hair	m-ode (my h.) [ode]
hand	m-ome (my h.) [ön-ome]
head-dress (cane)	ng-i-deda-le (your h. d.)
heavy (to be)	ga-tukwô-be
hip	ön-i-boi
hiss	ng-ik-iki (you h.)
hit (with arrow)	gai-be
honey	tanjai [°ja]
hook (for fish)	tome
hop (to)	ichin-kwôle-be
hot (to be)	jonjome-be
how much ?	chiö ?
hum (to)	gojai
hungry (to be)	ön-gi-ai-me
hut	bedai [ditto]
I, my	mi
Indian (an)	i-nene
iguana	giti
iron (knife)	lea
jawbone (human) ornament.	ang-bo-de
jump (to)	akwa-tokwa-be
kick (to)	ön-i-tekwôme-be
kiss (to) (? smell)	nyônyô-be
knee	m-ola-ge (my k.)
kneel	ön-o-lakwöchö-be
laugh (to)	önge-ma-be
leaf	be-be (to be flat)
lick (to)	gi-tome-be
lie down (to)	ng-amyi-be (you l. d.)
lip	ön-gume
lizard [sp.]	kô-ge [koichai]
man	ön-i-agi-le (married m.)
mangrove	tun-da-nge (*tun*-tree)
mangrove fruit	kwea
marry (to)	ön-ya-be
mat (sleeping)	emai
micturate	ö-chölö-be
moon	chile-me [chilo-me]
mouse	ala-nge
much	liwa-nga

murder (to)	ölölaji-be
nail	m-obeda-nga (my n.)
nautilus-shell (cup)	gaai
navel	ön-i-kwa-le [ön-o°]
neck	öu-a-ngito
necklace	m-a-ngitoke (my n.)
net	chi-kwe [ditto]
nose	ön-i-nyaiboi
orchid (sp.)	köyö
ornament (of shavings)	kwibo-le
outrigger	i-bedu-ge
paddle	taai [tai]
pandanus fruit	ba-le
path	iche-le
peel	gangwi
pig	kwi
pinch	ön-i-gini-be [gi-gine°]
prick	ön-i-takwa-be
pot (cooking)	bûchu (*tô-le*, its case) [ditto]
quick, be !	ing-kö !
rain	gujö-nge
red ochre	alame
red wax	kwengane
resin	mone [ditto]
ringworm	jwichwi
rope	kwôla-ge
rub (to)	ob-ele-be
run (to)	[ön] akwe-belo-be [akwa-beta°]
saline	ngie
saliva	ina-kwe-nge
salt	inje
sand	belai
scar	ön-i-bane
scratch (to)	akwe-ö-be
sea	i-nge (water)
shampoo (to)	ön-i-ö-be
shark	kadu
sharp	gi-echare
sharpen (to)	totôkwe-be
shave	ön-o-tale-be
shell	todandwi
shoot (arrow)	gai-be [ditto]
sing (to)	gö-gaba-ba [nyö°]
sit (to)	ön-nantökö-be [nantoka°]
skin	gangwi (peel)
sky	bengo-nge (what is flat)
sleep (to)	omo-ka-be

small	baiai
smoke	ön-o-taboi
snake	tomogwi
snake (sea)	tebu-le
sneeze	è-chi-be
sore (a)	ön-i-bai [ditto]
spill (to)	gi-bu-be
spine	ön-o-noda-kwoi
spitting	ön-a-kwa-nge [ön-akwi°]
sprinkle (to)	òn-a-nadi-be
squeak (to)	gi-lako-be
squeeze (to)	òn-ege-be
stand	doka-be
stomach	ön-a-nga-nge
stone	taiyi
stool (to)	ön-i-yu-be
stretch (to)	on-a-kwombwoke-be
stretch (to s. oneself)	gi-gotò-be
strike (to)	kwòke-be
string (to)	e-be
stroke (to)	on-a-oe-be
sun	eke [ditto]
surf	balame
swallow (a)	tugede-le
sweep (to)	tote-be
swim (to)	kwane-be
take away (to)	ge-akingko-be
take hold (to)	ge-nge-be
tattoo (to)	ng-ulukwone-be (you t.)
tear (to)	i-dokwo-be
testicle	on-i-kwò-ge [ditto]
thorn	tandankie
throat	ò-ngito
throw	waikwô-be
thunder	ölu-ge ("God")
tiptoe (to be on)	ön-u-jagaiö-be
tongue	alan-da-nge
tooth	m-a-kwe (my t.)
torch	to-kwe [ti-kwe]
tray (for food)	toba-ge
tumble (to)	i-teka-be
turtle	nadela-nge [ditto], takwatoai
turtle eggs	kwagane
tusk (pig)	a-kwo
umbrella (leaf)	o-modu
untie (to)	i-lebu-be
vomit (to)	ò-bulò-be
walk	bujio-be [bujo-be]
water	i-nge [ditto]
wax (white bees')	chileme
weep (to)	wana-be
whetstone	tijio-be
whisk (for flies)	tomo-ge
whistling	on-i-anga-le
white	tonkute
wife	ön-i-au-le
wind	totôte [ditto]
wound	òn-i-ba-le [i-bäi]
yawn (to)	òn-a-langòto-be
yes	on-a-laije

II. — Bonig's Vocabulary.

Portman's variants in square brackets.

adze (small, for canoes)	gan-kwe
ant (large, red-tree)	lalu-lalu
arm	ön-ibi-le
arise	dobinkate-be
arrive	gi-gu-be
awake (to)	gi-tanji-be [löga-be]
bad	i-bi-te
bath	ön-a-kwantamule
bee	gu-ki
bird	no-kai
black	i-kiu [bê]
blind	nebobene
bottle	botale
breast, to support the (women)	ön-wetaka-be
bring back	ga-tiko-be : che-be
brow	ejala
bundle (palm-leaf)	na-nge
burn	duleji-be
burn (oneself)	ön-o-mama-me
buttock	ön-nena-bòi
call (to)	ön-a-kuchò-be [ön-gyö-be : ön-ai-waba-be]
carry	yegote-be
catch (to)	gi-bogulä-be
chew	ön-i-lokwale-be
child	o-chile
climb (to)	o-twake-be
close (to be)	gai-chebene-be
cloth	kwelabô
cohabit (to)	ga-ele-be [gò-tôlô-be]
collect, heap up (to)	gi-mbu-be
cook (to)	gi-wolai-be
coral	taie
crab (large, edible)	kaga

creep (to) ön-a-lakachyö-be
cry (to) wana-be
cut (oneself) akite-be
cut (iron) ugatike-be
cut (with a knife) gi-ji-be
cut (with an adze) gö-ete-be
dance (a) wanda-nge
day ekuje
deep öma
dirty ga-bitima
dog (generic term) i-kita : wöme
dog (female) chinge-ge
dog (male) takwado
dress (to) tòikute-be
drift (to) gi-buko-be
[dry unkata ?]
dull ngi-kuno
eat (to) ön-i-kwawo-be [ön-i-lokwale-be]
egg aie
empty out (to)[23] gi-bu-be
fern (sp.) tikwanchute-le
fetch (to) alemaji-be
fill wötangle-be
few giwe
fin gi-bole
finger ön-o-boda-nge [ome]
finished ! (I have no more !) ön-a-ngele
fire-brand gi-dakwe
firewood name
flame (to flame up of fire) boloji-be
flower totibuli
forehead ojala
forenoon ekeome
fry (to) gi-ga-be
full (of the belly) i-bö-dia
give (to) ebòieka-be
go (to) gö-angkinko-be [ön-i-töte-be]
hammer kaula-le
head ön-ota-be
headache o-duleda
hide (to) ön-a-kwe-be
hold (to) ge-nge-be
hook (large, iron) adu
honeycomb lai
hot (to be) o-bentelenene-be [jonjome-be]
hurt (to) ön-ega-be
iron (or any metal) take
knife chule [lea]
knife-handle chule-yan-kwe
leaf tomoji
lift (to) ga-ntakwa-be
light (lamp) mone
limp (to be) ga-ji-be
little ö-kiwea
liver gide
lizard (flycatcher) ketekete-le
lost (to be) logukonji-be
man gae-le [ön-agi-le, married m.]
month ön-a-ngume
mosquito kwina-nge
mushroom kwatikwa-ge
night o-tebebelan
orchid (sp.) tomotui
pack (a bundle, to) gi-kwe-be
pain ön-a-ngitöwe
perspiration ön-o-tage-le
pigeon (imperial) umu-ge
pigeon (Nicobar) tututu
plantain chagola ; yaulola
present (to) gi-bone-be
rain beja [gujö-nge]
recover (lost article, to) gi-tekwabeche-be
recovery (from illness) gi-gangula
red i-jedo
return (come back, to) ön-i-katako-be
rub (to) ön-kweta-be
run away (to) alemakė-be
row (paddle, to) ö-glanji-be
scar ge-ki-nge [ön-i-bare]
screwpine mane
see (to) ga-teaba-be
shallow i-kata
sharp ngi-gi-lekuta [gi-echare]
shave (to) kwedale-be [ön-o-tale-be]
shell tenje [todandwi]
sick o-duleda
silent (to be) kwemetamòi-be
skate (fish) dugadode
skin gati [gangwi, peel]
small mintainene : giwe [baiai]
smear (the body, to) ön-a-kwawe-be
smoke (to) nanto-be
speak (to) gi-lekwalinka-be
spear gi-takwatewe

[23] But see "collect, heap up."

star	kòiakòia
stear	gi-ngulü-be
sting (of a mosquito, to)	ön-i-bulnkö-be
sting (of a bee, to)	ön-a-e-be
stone	kwòi [taiyi]
stop (to)	kwalakaji-be
stout	ön-i-deame
sunrise (to)	(eke)[24] gi-bete-be
sunset (to)	(eke)[24] gi-otukitibieji-be
sweep (to)	gatie-be [tote-be]
take away (to)	i-do-be [ge-akingkö-be]
tall	midokwalenene
throw	toko-be [waikwö-be]
tick	nana-ge
tickle (to)	ön-a-ngedegede-be
to-morrow	ekajetu
tongs (bamboo, to use)	wako-be
tortoise-shell	o-dati
turn over (to)	jule-be
understand !	ön-ilokalema !
wash (to)	gi-kwantai-be
wax (black bees')	tibii
white	òikala
whistle	gwana [ön-i-anga-le]
wood	tada-nga
yam	kalu
yellow	gi-kita
yes	niai [ön-a-laije]

APPENDIX C.

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bēa Language.

Full.		*Abbreviated.*
Âkà-ChAriâr-(da)	...	Chariar
Âkà-Kôrâ-(da)	...	Kora
Âkà-Tâbo-(da)	...	Tabo
Âkà-Yēre-(da) (also Âkà-Jàro-da)		Yere
Óko-Jūwai-(da)	...	Juwai
Âkà-Kôl-(da)	...	Kol
Âkà-Bojigyâb-(da)	...	Bojigyab
Âkà-Balawa-(da)	...	Balawa
Âkà-Bēa-(da)	...	Bea
Önge	...	Önge
Järawa-(da)	...	Järawa

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:— in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water	*Bea* ...	Âkà-Bēa-da	Akat-Bea	O-Bea-da	Oko-Beye-lekile.	O-Bea-che
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	Âkà-Bala-wa-da.	Akat-Bale	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole-lekile.	O-Pole-che
Our language	*Bojigyab*	Âkà-Bojig-yâb-da.	Akat-Bo-jigyuab-nga.	O-Puchik-war-da.	Oko-Puchik-yar-lekile.	O-Puchik-war-che.
Patterns cut on bows ...	*Juwai* ...	Âkà-Jūwai-da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai-lekile.	O-Juwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste ...	*Kol* ..	Âkà-Kôl-da	Akat-Kol	O-Kol-da	Oko-Kol-lekile.	O-Kol-che

So too Yēre, Jeru or Järo for the Âkà-Yēre Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Önge means "a man" on its own language.

[24] eke means the sun.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SURVIVAL OF OLD ANGLO-INDIAN COMMERCIAL TERMS.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE.

Any one who has had occasion to struggle with such a book as Stevens' *New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade*, 1775, or with Anglo-Indian terms occurring in the old Company's *Factory Records* and similar documents will appreciate the value of settling precisely what is meant by **Anglo-Indian commercial terms.** There is a chance of doing this in certain instances by an examination of the Indian commercial newspapers of to-day, as many more of the old terms have survived in commerce than would at first appear possible to the outside public.

Here are a few taken from a Supplement to *Capital*, published in Calcutta in 1902.

Surviving Anglo-Indian Terms.

Coir. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1510.
"Coir fibre. Demand has somewhat improved."

Doll; dal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673.

"Dal or split peas. Demand for all kinds is slack . . . . Masuri dal and Khari Masuri . . . . Oridh or kolye dal . . . . gram dal . . . . greenpeas dal . . . . arhar dal . . . . khasri dal . . . . . khasari or mutta."

Gingerly. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1726.

"Jinjeli, sesamum or tilseed oil. Prices continue very high owing to light supply."

Gunny. Oldest quotation in Yule, c. 1590.

"Australian Gunny Market, bags and bagging."

Gram. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1702.

"Gram supplies have overtaken deliveries."

Golah. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1785.

"Salt. The market continues steady and the sales during the week are as follows; ex ships . . . . . ex golahs . . . . .

Madapollam (piece-goods). Oldest quotation in Yule, 1673: see Bowrey's *Countries round the Bay of Bengal* (1669—1679), p. 100, n. 1.

"Grey Madapollam."

Myrabolam. Oldest quotation in Yule, c. B. C. 340.

"Myrabollams . . . . There has been no life in the trade: . . . . for export to the Australian Colonies for some **Bimlinuts.**"

Shellac. Oldest quotation in Yule (s. v. Lac), c. 1343.

"There is a fair enquiry for ready parcels . . . . Button lac, a small business is passing: **garnet** . . . . there is nothing to report . . . . There is very little movement . . . . 300 cases **button** arrived this week in free condition for the American market."

Tincal. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1525.

"The article is selling . . . . superior Cossipore is reaching."

Weights.

Maund. Oldest quotation in Yule, 1610.

[This very old word and its variants at the present day are well worth comparing with the old books.]

"The Indian Maund is $82\frac{2}{7}$ *lbs.*: the Factory Maund is 74 *lbs.* 10 *oz.* 11 *dwt.*: the Bazar Maund is 82 *lbs.* 2 *oz.* 3 *dwt.*: 1 *cwt.*, *i. e.* 112 *lbs.*, equals Bazar 1 *md.* 14 *seers* $8\frac{3}{11}$ *chittacks.*"

Modern Terms.

Kerosine Oil. "Indian named brands . . . . Mango, Ram, Sumatra, Rangoon."

Rice. "Commercial terms for Bengal Rice: table, white Patna, Brushed Seeta, Seeta, gross Seeta, chunichalla, khud or B. T., cleaned gross, prime Patna, gross Patna."

Names for **Boiled or Brown Rice**: "Boiled Patna, ballam, nagra, moonghy, zaree, kazla, kuttuck."

Sugar. Names for **Indian sugar**: "Cane, Benares, Shomsara, Dummah, Vally Gour, Bobarah, Akharah, Goburdanga and Jadurhat Dollo, Akrab."

Names for **refined sugar.**: "Cossipore, Cossipore Grossery, Madras and Arcot granulated, China granulated, Penang, Mauritius."

Tea. Names for **Indian tea**: "Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, Darjeeling, Dooars, Terai."

HINDUISM IN THE HIMALAYAS.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Concluded from Vol. XXXVI. p. 48.)

IV. — The Legend of Mahâsû Deotâ.

Mahâsû, doubtless a corruption of **Mahâ-Siva**, is the god who gives his name to the Mahâsû Hill near Simla and other places in the Simla hills. In the legend that follows he appears in quadruple form as four brothers, just as Bânâ Sur had four sons.[35]

When Krishna disappeared at the end of the Dwâpar Yug, the Pâṇḍavas followed him. On their road to Badri-kâsharam they crossed the Tons, and Râjâ Yudhishṭhir, struck with the beauty of the place, ordered Biswâ Karmâ to build a temple there. Here the Pâṇḍavas, with Draupadî, halted 9 days. They named the place Hanol, and thence journeyed by the Gangotrî and Jamnotrî ravines, through Kedâr, to Badri Nâth, where they disappeared, and the Kalî Yug began.

At its commencement demons wandered over the Uttarâ Khaṇḍa, devouring the people and plundering towns and villages. The greatest of the demons was Kirmar, who had Beshî, Sengî, and a host of minor demons under him at Maindarth, on the Tons, whence they ravaged towns and villages, until the people sought refuge in cliffs, caves, and ravines. The demons devoured every one who came in their way. Once the seven sons of Hûnâ Brahman, who practised penance in the Deoban forest, went to bathe in the Tons river and encountered Kirmar, who devoured them all.

As they did not return for some time, their mother set out in search for them, but when she reached the river without getting any clue to her sons, she sat down on its bank and began to weep bitterly. Meanwhile, Kirmar, passing by, was struck with her beauty and asked why she wept. Kirtakâ turned to him and said her seven sons had gone to bathe in the river and had not returned home. Hearing this, Kirmar said, "I am fascinated by thy beauty. If thou wilt accede to my heart's desire, I will extinguish the fire of my heart and will be grateful to thee and try to help thee in this difficulty. I am a brave man, descended from Râwan. I have won the kingdom of these hills through the strength of my own arm."

The chaste wife was terrified at these words and they increased her grief. In her distress she began to pray, saying, "O Lord, the giver of all boons, everything rests with thee."

Dohâ (couplet).

Puttar dukh dukhiâ bhai.
Par-bal abalâ âj,
Satti ko sat jât hai:
Râkho, Ishwar, lâj.

I was distressed at the loss of my sons.
To-day I am a woman in another's power,
A chaste woman whose chastity is like to be lost:
O God, keep my chastity!

After this she took her way home, and by the power of God the demon's sight was affected, so that Kirtakâ became invisible to him as she passed. She then told the story to her husband, saying with clasped hands that **Durgâ Dêvî** would be pleased with her devotion and destroy the demons, for she alone was endowed with the power of averting such evil. The demons had corrupted religion, outraged chastity, and taken men's lives.

On hearing this, her husband said they would go and worship **Hâṭ-koṭî Îshwarî Mâtâ**. So Hûnâ went to the goddess with his wife. He first offered her flowers, and then prayed to **Hâṭêshwarî Durgâ with the eight hands**. While he prayed he unsheathed a dagger

[35] Temple's *Legends of the Panjab*, III., pp. 364 *et seqq.*

and was about to cut off his own head with it, when the goddess revealed her spirit to him, caught his hand and said, "I am greatly pleased with thy devotion. Go to the mountains of Kashmîr, pray to God, and all thy desires will be fulfilled. Shiv-jî will be pleased and will fulfil thy desires. Go there cheerfully and there will be no obstacle in thy way."

Obeying the order of the goddess, Hûnâ went at once, and in a few days reached his destination. After his departure, he gave up eating grain and lived on vegetables. He also gave up clothes, using the bark of trees for his dress. He spent most of his time in worship, sometimes standing on one toe. When Shiv-jî was pleased with him, the spirit of the four-armed image addressed him, saying, "I am greatly pleased with thee: ask me any boon, which thou desirest."

On hearing these words from the god Śiva, Hûnâ clasped his hands and said, "O Śiva thou hast power to kill the demons. Thou hast power to repel all enemies and to remove all difficulties. I pray and worship the Ganges, the saviour of the creatures of the three worlds, which looks most beautiful as it rests on thy head. There are no words to describe thy glory. The beauty of thy face, which is so brilliant with the serpents hanging round thy neck, beggars all description. I am highly indebted to the goddess of Hâṭ-koṭî, at whose feet I bow my head, and by whose favour I and my wife are so fortunate as to see thee in the Kalî Yug."

Uttar Khaṇḍ meṅ râkshas basê, manukhoṅ kâ kartê âhâr;
Kul muluk barbâd kiyâ, âbâdî hogâî ujâr.
Tum hî Rudar, tum hî Bishnû Nand Gopâl.
Dukh huâ sur sâdhuoṅ ko; mâro râkshas tat-kâl.
Sât puttar mujh dâs ke nahâne gaye jab parbhât:
Jab ghâṭ gayê nadî Ṭoṅs ke jinko Kirmar khâyo ek sâth.

The demons who dwelt in the Northern Region are preying upon the people.
They have laid waste the country and the people have fled.
Thou only art Rudar (Siva); thou alone art Bishnû Nand Gopâl.[36]
The sages and devotees are in distress; kill the demons at once.
Early in the morning the seven sons of me thy slave went to bathe.
When they reached the banks of the River Tons, Kirmar ate them at once.

The god Śiva was pleased at these words and said, "O Rikhi, the people of the Kalî Yug being devoid of religion have lost all strength. I admire thy sincere love and true faith, especially as thou didst not lose heart in worshipping me. Hence all thy desires shall be fulfilled and I have granted thee the boon asked for. Be not anxious, for all the devils will be killed in a few days."

Dohâ (couplets).

Bidâ kiyo jab Bipra ko, dîyê akshat, phûl, chirâg.
Śaktî rûp pahle pargaṭ gaî, Maindârath ke bâg.
Ghar jâo Bipra âpṇe, râkho mujh par ṭêk.
Shakti rûp ke aṅg se, ho-gayê deb anêk.
Pargaṭê aṅg sê debtê, rôm rôm sê bîr.
Istrî sahit bidâ kiyô: 'râkho man mêṅ dhîr.'

When (the god) bade the Brâhman farewell he gave him rice, flowers, and a lamp,
A Saktî (goddess) first appeared in the garden at Maindârath.
Go home, Brâhman, and place reliance on me.
Countless divinities arose from the body of the Saktî.
Gods appeared from her body, and heroes from her every hair.
She dismissed him with his wife saying: 'keep patience in thy heart.'

[36] Explained to mean 'the son of Nand, *i. e.*, Kṛishṇa.

When the god gave Hûnâ Rikhî leave to go, he gave him rice, a vessel containing flower, and a lamp, and said, "O Rishi, go home and keep thy confidence in me. A Sakti (goddess) will first appear in the garden at Maindârath. Numerous demons will come out of her thimble, and every hair of her body will send forth a hero. Do not lose courage, but go home with thy wife. Keep the garland of flowers, the rice, and the lamp which I have given thee concealed beneath the *pîpal* tree which stands in the garden behind thy house, and perform the customary daily worship of all these. Light this lamp and offer me flowers and incense on the *amâvas* of Bhâdoṅ and thereafter worship me with a sincere heart. Also perform a *jâgaraṇ*[37] on that date for one day and night. By so doing, thou wilt, on the third day, observe a Shaktî emerge from the ground with a fountain. Flames will then be visible all around. From her forehead and other limbs will spring gods, who will be named after the member from which they were born. The four gods, called the **Nâg Chauth or Mahâsu,** will appear on the 4th of the light half of Bhâdoṅ. Those who appear on the following day, *i. e.*, the 5th, will be called **Kiyâlû and Banâr.** Moreover, many distinguished above the rest by their courage will spring from the Shaktî's hair. They will kill the demons and give great happiness to the people. They will fix their capital at Hanol, which was founded by the Pâṇḍavas."

When this boon was granted to Hûnâ Rikhî, he walked round the god and paid him obeisance. After this he went his way homewards and the god disappeared.

After many days the Rikhî reached home with his wife, and acting on the god's directions carefully placed the lamp, flowers, and rice on the prescribed spot. On the *amâvas* of Bhâdoṅ he worshipped and lighted the lamp. On the third day a fountain sprung up, wherein the Shaktî appeared.

Chaupai.

Bhûmî sê upnî Mâtâ Deo Lâṛî.
Thân Deo Mâtâ ko Kongo re Bâṛî.

Mother Deo Lîṛî appeared from the earth.
The temple of Deo Mata (was named) the Bâṛî of Kongo.[38]

Tû hî yog, yugtî, tû hî yog mâî.
Dê, Mâtâ, bachan dê paṁḍê meṅ lâî.

Thou only art devotion and the law, thou art the mother of the age.
O Mother, give us thy promise to lead us on the (right) path.

Mâthê balê Mâî rê agnî rê geṭhê.
Bothâ râjî Mahâsû hoî sûraj re bhekhê.

On the Mother's head burnt a fire of faggots.
Mahâsu was born with lustre like the rays of the sun.

Chhâtî sê mârtê Chakkar châl,
Janamâ Châldâ, Mâtâ re lâl.

Placing her hand round her breast,
The Mother brought forth her son, Châlḍâ.

Mâtâ Deo Lâṛî nê hâth kiê khaṛê.
Bâshuk Pabâsî dono hâth dô jhaṛê.

Mother Deo Lâṛî raised both her hands.
Bâshuk[39] and Pabâsi sprang from her two hands.

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[37] *Jâgaraṇ* (from Sanskrit *jâgaraṇa*) means keeping awake the whole night in devotion.
[38] By Mahâsû, because it was close to his own temple.
[39] Bâshuk is also called Châlḍâ, *i. e.*, 'the goer,' the serpent.

Chauth meṅ upnê Mahâsû châr.
Panchmî huî tithî dî Deo Kyâlû Banâr.

The four Mahâsus were born on the fourth.[40]
On the fifth were created the gods Kiyâlû and Banâr.[41]

Shêr Kâliâ Kyâlû hoê Bothê re wazîr.
Romô hoê romô de nau lâkh bîr.

Shêr Kâliâ and Kiyâlû became the ministers of Bothâ.[42]
Nine *lâkhs* of heroes sprang from every hair.

Ḥâth joṛê Hunâ gayâ pairê pê jâî:—
'Sab manukh lîê, Malkâ, râkshasê khaî.'

Hunâ fell at her feet with clasped hands:—
'All mankind has been devoured by the demons, O Mistress.'

Hâth bandê pair shir lâyâ jânû:—
'Maindârath Tâlo dâ Kirmar dâno.'

With clasped hands and feet he placed his head on her knees:—
'Kirmar, the demon, (dwells) in the Maindârath Lake.'

Kaṭhṭhî hoî sainâ Maindârath ke bâg.
Châr bhâî Mahâsû karḍî re âg.

The armies were arrayed in the garden of Maindârath.
The four Mahâsû brothers were like the fire.[43]

Hunê jaisê rikhiê ati binti lâi:—
Isî ke kâran châr Mahâsû âî.

Hûnâ the Rishi made a great prayer:—
'The four Mahâsûs for this purpose have come.'

Sabhî jabî debtê nê binti lâî:—
'Kyâ dewê âgyâ Deo Lâṛî Mâî?'

All the gods made a prayer (saying:—)
'What are the orders of the goddess Deo Lâṛî Mâî?'

Jab dî âgyâ Srî Devî Mâî:—
'Kirmar Keshi râkshas ko tum dô ghâî.'

Then Srî Dêvî Mâî gave orders:—
'You must kill the demons Kirmar and Kêshî.'

Chambola.

Râjâ Rikh-choliyâ lâyo tero nâw.
Râjân ko râj nâw tero nâw.
Thy name is King of Rikh-cholyâ.
Thy name is king of kings.

Kungû kastûri, Râjâ, guglâ ko dhûp,
Châr Bhâî Mahâsû Narain ko rûp.
Râjan ko râj nâw tero nâw.

With saffron, musk and fragrant resin and incense, Raja,
The four Mahâsû brothers are Narain incarnate.
Thy name is king of kings.

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[40] Of the light half of Bhâdon.

[41] That is to say, two of the four Mahâsûs were created on the 4th and two on the 5th of the light half of Bhâdon

[42] Mahâsû

[43] Of a cow-dung cake.

Háth shankh, chakkar gal sámp ke hár,
Chár bhái Mahású Buddar avatár;
Bhekh-dhárí rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

With conch and quoit in their hands and serpents round their necks,
The four brothers Mahâsû are Buddar[44] incarnate,
In spite of all disguise, thy name is king of kings.

Háth shankh, chakkar, gajjá, tirshúl,
Nách láyo parí ro, barkhá hoé phúl,
Bhekh-dhárí rájá láyo tero náw.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

Conch, quoit, mace and trident in hand,
Dance of fairies and rain of flowers,
In spite of all disguise kingly is thy name.
Thy name is king of kings.

Uliyá ko nátí Rájá Bhimlá ko jáyo.
Kashmíre chhorí Rájá Maindárath áyô.
Rájan ko ráj náw tero náw.

Uliyâ's grandson and Râjâ Bhimlâ's son has been born.
The Râjâ left Kâshmîr and came to Maindârath.
Thy name is king of kings.

Dohâ (couplet).

Tháro ant koí nahín jáne, lílá param apár.
Bhagat hit kárne tum kaí bidh seté ho avtár.

None knoweth thy infinity, thy glory is infinite.
Thou dost take many shapes in order to do good.

Bintí sun rikhí kí, parsan hué atyant.
Hukam diyé samápatión ko 'máro asur turant.'

Hearing the prayer, great was the joy of the saints.
They gave the order to the leaders 'slay the demons forthwith.'

Ágyá páí, Mahású kí mungar líyô háth.
Mahán rath par Cháldá baithé nau lákh sainá sáth.

Receiving the orders, the Mahâsûs took bludgeons in their hands.
Châldâ sat in his great war chariot at the head of nine *lâkhs* of men.

Pirtham yudh huá Maindárath men, saíná márí apár.
Aisé Shib Shankar bhaé jo santan prán adhár.

Battle was first joined at Maindârath and armies were slain.
It was Shiv Shankar who thus came to save his disciples.

When the whole army of the *rákhshasás* had been killed, Kirmar beat a retreat and came to Majhog, the abode of Singî the demon. There they collected their scattered forces, intending to give battle afresh.

Dôhâ (couplet).

Jab Majhôg men devat pahúnché án,
Singí máro jab dait, huá yudh ghamsán.

When the *déotás* reached Majhog,
They killed Singî the demon and a desperate battle was fought.

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[44] I. e., Siva.

On hearing of the slaying of Singî Râkhshas by Sher Kulî, and that most of his men were slain, Kirmar fled to Kinârî Khanḍâî, a village on the river bank, but was pursued by the *dêotâs.* When he was about to hide in a ravine of Mount Khanḍâ, he was overtaken by Châlḍâ Mahâsû, who rode on a throne of flowers borne by two soldiers.

Dôhâ (couplet in Pahâṛî).

Khanḍâî jâṇe khê pâwâ thâ ṭhâo,
Bîr bhâṅê[45] *thê Râjiê khâṇḍê rê lâo.*
He took refuge under a rock in the village of Khanḍâî,
Intending to smite with his sword his opponent.

When Srî Châlḍâ[46] killed the demon, a large force of other gods reached him.

Dôhâ (couplet in Pahâṛî).

Sâth laṛau deotê khaṛiê[47] *khâṇḍê,*
Ghâî huwê[48] *râkshas lâî lâî bâṇḍê.*
All the gods attacked with their swords
And cut the demons to pieces.

After killing the demon Kirmar, all the gods threw flowers over Srî Châlḍâ and paid homage to him.

Dôhâ (couplet).

Âdi Kali Yug meṅ Kirmar kiyô râj.
Sant mahâtmâ ko dukh diyô dait samâj.
Kirmar ruled the world in the beginning of the Kalî Yug.
The demon brotherhood caused great trouble to the saints and the men of God.

Sab devan kê deb hai Mahâsû kartâr.
Kirmar âdi mârkê, dûr kiyô mahi-bhâr.
The lord Mahâsû is the god of all gods,
Killing the great Kirmar, he has lightened the burden of the World.

Yah charitr Mahâdev kâ chit dê sunê jo koî,
Sadâ rahai sukh sampadâ aur mukti phal hoî,
He who listens to this story of Mahâdev with a sincere heart
Will always remain happy and attain the fruit of salvation.

After killing Kirmar, all the gods encamped in a field near Khanḍâî, and the place came to be called Dev-kâ-khâṭal. It still forms the *jâgîr* of Dev Banâr. The place in Khanḍâi, where Kirmar met his death, still retains the marks of his sword on a rock. Travellers and passers-by worship this stone by offering flowers, and also express gratitude to Mahâsû.

Next morning at daybreak Hûnâ Rikhi came to Mahâsû with clasped hands and expressed joy at Kirmar's death. He further begged that the demon, Keshî, who had made Hanol his abode and was destroying its people should be killed, adding that the place was a delightful one, as it had a fine temple, that the rippling waves of the river by which it lay added beauty to its scenery, that it was a place of sanctity and would be better under his rule than under the demon's, and that it was therefore right that the demon should be killed.

Hearing this the god marched his army in that direction, and on the march they passed Salnâ Patti, a village in Râwîngaṛh, near which lived another demon in a tank, receiving its water from the Pabar. When the flower-throne of Mahâsû reached this spot he saw a demon dancing in the tank and making a noise. Srî Naṭârî Jî said to Mahâsû: — "This is a fearsome sight." When Mahâsû heard the Umâ Shankarî's words he knew by the might of his knowledge that this was the demon spoken of by the *rikhî.* He stopped his throne and

[45] From *bhân-ṇâ*, to break, in Pahârî.
[46] *I. e.*, Mahâsû.
[47] *Lit.*, 'raising high.'
[48] *Ghâî huwê*, 'are killing.'

destroyed the demon on the spot by muttering some charms, which had such power that even to this day the river does not make any sound as it flows. Hence the place is called Nashudî.

Dôhâ.

Bâjâ jarî-bharthâ deotê rê bâjâ,
Bothâ Râjâ Mahâsû Hanola khê birâjâ.
Jarî-bharth, the music of the gods, was played,
When Bothâ, Râjâ and Mahâsû left for Hanol.'
Mahârâj Mahâsû Châldâ Pabâsî,
Hanol dêkhîrô bahutê mano dê hâsê.
Mahârâj Mahâsû, Châldâ and Pabâsî,
The gods laughed greatly in their hearts on seeing Hanol.
Chhotê chhotê bahutê deo;
Srî Bothâ Mahâsû deote râ deo.
There are many minor gods;
But Srî Bôthâ Mahâsû is the god of gods.

When Srî Mahâsû reached Hanol with his army, he asked Hûnâ Rikhî if it was the resort of Keshî the demon. The latter humbly replied that it was, but he added that the demon sometimes haunted the Masmor mountains, and had perhaps gone in that direction and that preparations for his destruction should be made at once. Upon this all the gods held a council and sent Srî Châldâ with Sher Kaliâ, Kôlû, and others to the mountains of Masmor to kill Keshî. Under these orders Srî Châldâ seated himself on a throne studded with pearls, and with the other warrior-gods set out in search of the demon. This song of praise was sung :—

'*Terî Hanolê, Râjeâ, phûlon ki bârî,*
Châ bhâî Mahâsû Mâtâ Deo Lârî.
Râjan ko râj nâw tero nâw.
Bhesh-dhârî Râjâ jî.
Rânî, Râjâ nâwê parjâ nâwê.'
'Râjâ, thou hast a garden of flowers in thy Hanol,
The abode of the four Mahâsûs and their mother.
Thy name is king of kings.
In spite of all disguise thou art Lord,
The queen, the king and his subjects bow down to thee.'

Potgî.

Khandâiê dâkû nâmî chôr,
Lê chalo pâlgi merî ubhî Masmôr.
Râjan ko râj nâw tero nâw.
Kâshmîrî Râjâ dewâ kethî? Bhimlâ kî ôr.

Thieves and famed robbers of Khandâi,
Bear ye my palanquin up to Masmor.
Thy name is king of kings.
Whither is the king of Kashmir gone? He is gone towards Bhimla.
Kailâs Kashmîr chhôrô râjasthân Maindârath âyâ.
Râjan ko râj nâw terô nâw.
Thou hast left Kailâs and Kashmir and came to Maindârath.
Thy name is king of kings!

When Srî Châldâ's throne reached the hill with his bandsmen playing music, the demon Keshî witnessed his arrival, and thought him to be the same who had killed his lord Kirmar, and had come there for the same purpose. So he made ready for battle and said, "It is not

right to fly." Thinking thus, he took a huge mace and spear to attack the god. When about to shatter the god in pieces with his mace, the god's glory was manifested and the demon's hand hung motionless. Srî Châlḍâ ordered Sher Kaliyâ to kill the demon at once. This order was instantly obeyed. The people of the place were exceedingly glad at this good news, and there was much throwing of flowers over Mahâsû.

Verse.

Khushî howê âdamî pahârô rê sârê:—
'Kârê tek khaumpanî kûtô rê mêrê.'

All the hill people rejoiced:—
'Accept as thy revenue the offerings made out of our (share of the) produce.'

'Kâr deo khaumpanî pârê Hanole lâê,
Sadâ bârwî de barshê deo Bharâṅsî lê bulâê.'

'We will work and send tribute in our turn to Hanol,
And will bring the god for worship to Bharâṅsî every twelve years.'

'Sadâ kahêṅ, Mahâsuwâ, mulak tihârâ,
Sâl deo samatô râ kûtô râ kârâ.'

'O Mahâsû, we say this land is thine for ever.
And we will give thee each year every kind of grain in due season.'

'Bhût, kar, râkshas, parêt, chhal,
Kâr deo khaumpanî sadâ rahai parjâ tumhârî.
Achhiddar dô aur karô rakshâ hamârî.'

'Protect us from the evil-spirits, demons, ogres and goblins,
And we will give thee tribute and ever remain thy subjects.
Give us prosperity and grant us protection.'

After killing the demon, Srî Châlḍâ Mahâsû seated himself on his throne and came with his forces to Hanol in great state. He brought with him all the offerings in gold and silver, as well as a gold *kaddû* taken from the demons.

On reaching the place he recounted the death of Keshî to Bothâ Mahâsû, saying: — "All the demons have been killed by thy favour, and all the troubles removed. Accept these offerings which I have brought and send them to thy treasury."

Hearing this, Bothâ Mahâsû said: "O Srî Châlḍâ, go with all these heroes to the places which I name and divide the country among them, so that they may rule there, and guard the people against all calamities. The people of these lands will worship thee as thy subjects and be dependent on thee. Every person will offer thee silver, gold, brass or copper on the attainment of his desires. Wherever thou mayst go, the inhabitants will worship thee, performing a *jâgrâ* on the Nâg-chauth and Nâg-panchami days, which fall each year in Bhâdoṅ. They will be amply rewarded for these annual fairs." And he added: "Thou shalt be worshipped like myself, and be highly esteemed throughout my kingdom, but thou wilt have to pay the *malikânâ* dues for each place to the other gods. When a grand *jâgrâ* is performed, thou wilt be invited to present offerings to me."

Bâjê tâl mardaṅg shaṅkh bâjê ghâṇṭê,
Sabhî Shrî Mahâsû jî ne debtoṅ ko râj dîno bâṇṭê.

The cymbal, the *mardang* and the conch were sounded and bells were rung.
When Srî Mahâsû divided his kingdom among his minor gods.

Râj sabê deoton kô is tarah bâṇṭâ,
Râjdhânî Pabâsî denâ Deban râ ḍaṇḍâ.

He divided his State to the gods thus,
Giving the territory of Mount Deban to Pabâsî.

Bâshuk ko Bâwár dino poru, Bilo boli Sâṭhî,
Pabâsî Bel dîno punwâsô jô Bel Pâshê.

To Bâshuk he gave the whole of the Bâwar territory with the part of Bilo on this side of Sâṭhi.
To Pabâsî he also gave the country of Shâthi which is on the bank of the Patwâl.[49]

Kâlû Kotlâ hû dino Kyâlûê Banâr.
Boṭhê Châldâ Mahâsû ro râj howâ sarab pahâr.

To Kiâlû and Banâr he gave Kâlû and Kotlâ also.
And Bôṭha and Châldâ Mahâsû became rulers of the whole of the hill tract.

Boṭhâ Châldâ Mahâsû sab deban re deo.
Pûjaṇê râ Mahâsû re jâṇadê nâ asau.

Bôṭha and Châldâ Mahâsû are the gods of all the gods.
The people do not know how to worship Mahâsû.

Sab richâ deṇî Hunâ Rikhî khe Vedo rî batâî.
'Isî bidhi kâr mere debte rî pûjan karâî.'

The hymns of the *Vedâs*[50] were dictated to Hunâ Rikhi:
'Perform my worship according to them.'

Sab guwê debte apne sathâno khe jâî.
Vedo rî richâ deṇî pûjaṇe lâî.

All the gods went to their own capitals.
The Vedic hymns should be used in worship.

Shrî Mahâsû ke sâth sab debte gae âî,
Is Khaṇḍ Uttar meṅ dete mântâ karâî.

All the gods who had come with Mahâsû.
Are worshipped in this Northern Region.

Noṭâre Pokho chhoṛâ jo marêshwar Mahâdeo.
Hanol meṅ Boṭhâ Mahâsû jo sab deban ke deo.

Notâre[51] and Pokhû remain, Mahadev the god of the burning places.
Bôṭhâ Mahâsû is the god of gods in Hanol.

Chûṛî meṅ Chûṛêshwar wahî Mahâsû hai deo.
Desh chhoṛê deshorê Ḍûm âdi Bhindrâ deo.

That same Mahâsû as Chûṛîshwar is the god of the Chûṛ Peak.
Dûm, Bhindrâ and others are in charge of the other parts of the plain country.

Narain, Ruddar, Dhaulû, Ghorḍû debte gaye Bashahro rî nâlî.
Hâṭkoṭî meṅ Mâtâ Hâṭêshwarî aur pahâṛ pahâṛ meṅ Kâlî.

The gods Narâin, Ruddar, Dhaulû and Ghorḍû were sent towards the valley of Bashahr.
Mother Hâṭeshwari was in Hâṭkoṭi and on every hill was Kâlî.

Sabhûṅ kî pûjan Bhaî huî 'jai jai' kâr.
Kirmar âdi mâr ke ânand bhayo sansâr.

All worship the Brothers and give them [the cry of] 'victory.'
The world became very happy at the death of Kirmar and the other demons.

Dêsh huwâ muluk, Shrî Châlḍeâ, tumhârâ.
Hanolo khê bhejṇâ kûto râ kârâ.

Srî Châlḍâ, all this country is thine.
Thy servants give thee tribute in Hanol.

Thus was a separate tract assigned to each, and they were sent each to his own territory. Hûnâ Rikhî was loaded with blessings in money. After this, Mahâsû disappeared and an image of him with four arms appeared of its own accord. It is worshipped to this day.

[49] This is the *meaning* as explained by the descendant of Kâverû. *Lit.*, the translation appears to be—to Pabâsî he gave Bel on the day of the full moon, and so it is (now) called Bel Pâshê.

[50] That is, in regard to the worship of this god.

[51] In Garhwâl.

Sab gayé debta âpṇé âpṇé asthân,
Jab Boṭhâ huê Shrî Mahâsû jî antar-dhyân.
All the gods went to their own places,
And then Boṭha Srî Mâhâsû disappeared.
Kyâlû Banâṛ dinâ uṛâo,
Kûî rî serî dâ pâkṛâ ṭhâo.
Kyâlû and Banâr flew away,
And took possession of the fields of Kûî.[52]

The following story is connected with these two places. The capital of the two gods is **Pujârlî**, a village at the foot of the Burgâ Hill, beyond the Pabar stream.

When all the gods had gone to their own places, all the land was regarded as the kingdom of Mahâsû, and his capital was Hanol. It is now believed that if any irregularity occurs in this territory, the gods in charge of it and the people are called upon to explain the reason. The people of this country believe Mahâsû to have such power that if a person who has lost anything worships the god with sincere heart, he will undoubtedly achieve his desire.

Dohâ (couplet).

Lîlâ iskî barnan sakke koî kaun?
Âdi deban ke dev hai, Mahâsû kahâwê jaun.
Who can praise him?
He is the chief god of all gods, and is called Mahâsû.
Jo jan dîn-ho-kar unko dhyâwê,
Wah ant samay man-bânchhit phal pâwê.
He who remembers him with humble mind,
Shall at last have all his desires fulfilled.
Aisê bhaê yah Ruddar avatâr,
Jin târâ sakal sansâr.
So (great) is the incarnation of Rudar,[53]
That all the world is delivered from transmigration.
Wahî Shib Shankar avatâr,
Jinkî mâyâ ne bândhâ sansâr.
He is Shiv Shankar incarnate,
And the whole world is enthralled by his illusion.
Aisê haiṅ wah Shib Shaṅkar ânandâ.
Jin-ke simran se kâṭê har phandâ.
Such is Shiv Shankar ever pleased.
Who remembers him passes safely through the whole maze.[54]
Jis-nê is-meṅ shaṅkâ uṭhâî,
Wah narak hî meṅ hai Shambhû nê pâî.
He who has doubts as to these things
Is doomed to hell by Shambhu.
Wah Shib Shaṅkar antarjâmî,
Jin-kô dhyâwat sur nar gyânî.
He is Shiv Shaṅkar, the heart-searcher,
On whom meditate the heroes and the sages.

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[52] Kûî is a place in Rawâîngarh, near the Burgâ Mountains. [53] Sivâ.

[54] Or we may read *Har phandâ* and translate: 'By remembrance of him (mankind) may be delivered from the maze of Har (Shiv).'

Yah Shambhû jagat sukh dâî,
Jin-kâ pâr kôû nahîn pâî.
He is Shambhu and gives blessings to the world
And no one can fathom his doings.

Bhâva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mhesha, mahân,
Jin ke gunânu-vâd-ko gâwai Veda Purân.
He is Bhâva, Sharva, Rudra, Pashu-pati, Girisha, Mahesha, the great one,
Whose virtue is sung in the *Vedâs* and *Purâns.*

Aisé bhaé wôh Mahâsû sukh-dâyî,
Jal thal men jo rahé samâyî.
Mahâsû comforts every man
And his glory pervades both sea and land.

Kôû barnan nâ saké unkî prabhutâî,
Brahmâ, Vishnu Sâradâ ant nahîn pâî.
We lack words to tell his greatness.
Brahmâ, Vishnu, and even Sâradâ could not know his reality.

Tîn lok kê nâth hain ant nahîn kachhu pâî,
Brahmâ, Vishnu, Sâradâ, hâr-gayé man-mâhî.
He is the king of the three worlds and is infinite.
Even the gods Brahmâ, Vishnû and Sâradâ could not stand before him.

Hâth jor-kê Brahmâ, Vishnu, kharî Sâradâ mâî :—
'Tîn lok men jâte bhaé pâr kîne nahîn pâî.'
Brahmâ, Vishnû, and Mother Sâradâ stood with clasped hands before him:—
'We have been round the three worlds, but could find no end (to his glory).'

Hâr mân-kar thakat bhaé pâr nahîn jab pâî,
Hâth jor-kar thâdê bhaé nâth-pad shîs nâî.
When they could find no end to his glory,
They came before him with clasped hands and bowed heads.

Sis nawâî ke nâth pad kê kînî bahut pukâr :—
'Tum deban ke deb hô lîlâ param apâr.'
They bowed their heads to the god and praised him aloud :—
'Thou art the god of all gods and wonderous is thy glory.'

'Hai chandra-chûra madanâksh-shûl pânî kar jaisâ.
Tîn lok kê hartâ kartâ deban deb Maheshâ.'
'Thy light is like that of the moon and thou art full of water like the ocean.
Thou art Mahâsû, the creator and destroyer of the three worlds.'

Jahân tahân bhaé Mahâsû antar-dhyân,
Tab se unkî astuti karat Hanôla Sthân.
From the time that Mahâsû disappeared,
He began to be praised in the Hanol Temple.

Wah sathân hai Uttar Khand mâhî.
Nadî kinâré Tons kê mandir banâ tahîn.
His place is in the Northern Region.
His temple is built on the bank of the river Tons.

When all the gods went to their own places, the other gods agreed to pay tribute to Hanol according to the directions of Mahâsû. They also agreed to pay *mâlikânâ* dues on the birthday of Mahânadâtâ to the inhabitants.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.[1]

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

I. — Tribes.

1. A detailed account of the **present tribes** is given under paragraph 36 below. **The original division** was as follows : —

(1) **Sub-divisions into castes according to the Hindu or Muhammadan Scriptures.**

(2) **Minor sub-divisions named after some great ancestor** : *e. g.*, there are two principal sections of the Brâhmans, *viz.*, Shukal and Krishan. Similarly, the Râjpûts are divided into the Sûraj and Chandar Bansî (Solar and Lunar) Dynasties.

The **Brâhmans** are divided **according to their occupations**, while **Râjpûts** are divided **according to their descent.**

2. Formerly there were four main tribes among the Hindus, and the same number among the Muhammadans, but they have been multiplied by difference of occupation. Hindus were originally divided into Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sûdras, and Muhammadans into Shaikhs, Sayyids, Mughals and Pathâns. Nowadays these main sections are divided into many other sub-sections.

II. — Tribal Designations.

3. The fixed designations of the tribes are known among themselves as well as to outsiders.

4. (*a*) Modern researches have brought to light many facts which were unknown before or were misunderstood. Not only the fact that all the tribes came from the same stock has been proved, but also that they had a common language ; Central Asia and the neighbourhood of Kailâs (Himâlayas) being the common home of the Aryas. According to the belief of the Hindus, the Aryas were the followers of the *Vêdas*, and each and every action of theirs was guided by the *Vêdas*, as they believed them to be sacred and of divine origin. The *Purâṇas*, the *Vêdas*, and other historical books show that the Himâlayan region was populated from ancient times, but the religion and race of the inhabitants of those days cannot be ascertained. However, an observation of ancient ruins proves that these people were idolaters and believers in the *Vêdas*. In support of this the following facts may be mentioned : — (1) Broken images are found in the mountain caves and old buildings. (2) The **worshippers of the mountain gods follow the ritual of the Vêdas.** They recite the Vedic hymns, and teach them to their children orally, as they have no sacred books. As the hill-language was not that of the *Vêdas*, these hymns have undergone changes, and have never been corrected by a literate man, yet on close examination they are found to be real Vedic hymns.

(*b*) The Brâhmans in winter go to the high peaks to worship the goddess Kâlî and recite hymns from the *Atharva Vêda*. This shows that this country was populated at the time when

[1] [Evidently consisting of answers to a series of ethnological questions set as a guide. — ED.]

the *Vêdas* ruled supreme in India. The people learnt them by heart, and the same practice is continued to this day. There is also mention of these treatises in the *Râmâyana* and the *Mahâbhârata*. It seems that there was not much caste distinction in those days. The only distinction among the Brâhmans, the Râjpûts, and the Kanaits was that they did not intermarry. Their food and customs were much the same. The few Kshatriyas and Brâhmans had come from the plains and settled here. The Kanaits are said to be the aborigines of the hill-tracts, and were independent, brave, and given to marauding. They raided one another's villages. Small huts and caves served as their habitations. They slept much during the day and held agriculture in light esteem, while at night they committed dacoities. Every party in a village had its own head, known as the movannâ (leader), who used to get his share of the plunder and a small tribute as his *haq-i-sardâri*. The whole mountainous country was divided in this way; the first quality of land being given to the gods as rulers, and the next to the *movannâs*. The ruins of the houses of the *movannâs* are to be found still. They are big castle-like buildings.

(*c*) As regards the agriculture of that time, the *kharîf* and *rabi* crops were cut at one time. The produce was scanty on account of excess of rain and snow. The people of the villages went armed for seed-sowing, owing to the fear of enemies. People, when going on business from one place to another, went armed in bodies of fifteen to twenty men. The women took part in agriculture and had much liberty. The Kshatriyas, who came up from the plains, were respected by the people on account of their skill in the arts of civilisation, and lands were granted to the Brâhmans, who accompanied the Kshatriyas as priests. The Kshatriyas, by their tact and skill, got the upperhand and, driving away or destroying the *movannâs*, took possession of their property. Thus the Kshatriyas became the masters of the whole country.

(*d*) There is no reliable source of information as to the time when and the place whence the Kshatriyas first came. But the tradition is that, at the time of the wholesale massacre of the Kshatriyas by Balrâmjî Balarâma, they left their country and settled in the hills. Many of them changed their caste and became Brâhmans, Baniâs, etc. Some of their women were kept by the Brâhmans and their children became known as the Khatrîs. The men who had saved their lives by changing their caste were named Râjpûts or Chhatrîs. This is proved by the fact that the *gôt* (sub-division of a caste) of the Chhatrîs of the hills is similar to that of the Brâhmans, and Brâhmans of the same brotherhood are found up to the present time and have social relations with them. In short, the Brâhmans came with the Kshatriyas as priests from various places in the south.

The Râjpûts came from different localities, such as Bengal, Râjputânâ, Central India, etc , etc.

The Vaisyas, consisting of Sûds, Baniâs, etc., came from the plains, and are very few in number.

The Sûdras, such as the Kanaits, who, as above said, are considered to be the aborigines of this part of the country, are said to have obtained their name by the following legend. When the Brâhmans and Râjpûts came from different parts of India and settled in the hills and took possession of the *movannâs*, they saw that the rites and customs of the villagers were not in accordance with the Scriptures; that there was only one caste; that religious ceremonies were not performed; that neither marriage nor funeral ceremonies were observed; and that all the ancient Hindu customs had been forgotten. So they called the high castes among the indigenous tribes by the name of Kanait, which really represents Kunit, *i.e.*, those who violate the law. Gradually they were acknowledged as high castes, and spread over all the hilly tracts. The castes inferior to them are considered low castes.

5. All the tribes, except the Brâhmans, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas consider themselves to be the aborigines of the hills, and call themselves Kûin (ancient inhabitants).

III. — History of Migrations.

6. The following table will show when a tribe or its sub-division migrated to the hills and the history of such migration:—

Table of the Sections of the Hill Brâhmans.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.
1	Brâhman	Gauṛ	Gauṛ (Bengal).
2	Do.	Sârsut...	The Deccan.
3	Do.	Bhardwâj	Do.
4	Do.	Kanôj...	Do.
5	Do.	Kân Kôbj	Do.
6	Do.	Balrâmî	Do.
7	Do.	Bhâṭ	Bengal.

The **Brâhmans** are generally divided into Shukal and Krishan.[2] The **Shukal Brâhmans** are considered the superior. They do not cultivate land with their own hands, and devote most of their time to worship and prayer, performing the rites of marriage or death according to the Hindu Scriptures. They take alms only when offered at marriages, but not those given at deaths. They do not take any alms given for the sake of the dead. The **Krishan Brâhmans** are those who accept the alms offered at the time of death, and those offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Rahu and Sani. The Shukal and Krishan Brâhmans do not intermarry, and the rest of their rites are not alike. A Krishan Brâhman can eat the food prepared by a Shukal Brâhman, but the Shukal Brâhman does not even drink water which has been touched by a Krishan Brâhman.

It is said that the **Balrâmî Brâhmans** were the first to come and settle in the hills. In reality the Balrâmî and **Sârsut** Brâhmans are one and the same. The Balrâmîs are so called, because those living near the temples founded by **Balrâmjî** state that they were set there by Balrâmjî himself. They also worship Balrâmjî as their god, and are quite a distinct tribe nowadays. They consider themselves to be of the highest caste. They mix with the Sârsut and the Gauṛ Brâhmans.

The **Gauṛs, Bhardwâjîs, the Kân Kôbjâs and the Bhâṭs** have social relations with one another. But they do not take into their brotherhood any man who has been excommunicated on religious grounds. They came to the hills in company with the Râjpûts who migrated from Bengal. It is said that a part of Bengal was called Gauṛ, therefore the Brâhmans of that place were known by the name of Gauṛ, and to-day they are to be found in every part of India. The Gauṛ family of the Brâhmans came after the fall of the Rajas of Bengal.

The **Sârsuts** lived, in the beginning, on the banks of the Indus and the Saraswatî. They migrated from there and settled in the hills. The name Sârsut is derived from the Saraswatî.

Coming to the hills the **Râjpûts** became the Ṭhâkurs, while the Rânas, the Râjas and Brâhmans became their priests. History tells us that Shahâbu'd-dîn Ghôrî conquered Delhi and appointed his slave Kutbu'd-dîn as Viceroy there. One of his officers, named Bakhtiâr Khiljî, attacked Bengal and usurped the country from the Râjpûts. At that time many Brâhmans and Râjas fled to Prâg, now called Allahabad, and thence went to different places.

[2] [This probably represents a division into Śaivas and Vaishṇavas.— ED.]

Table of the Sections of the Hill Râjpûts.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	Kshatriyas or Râjputs.	Pramar or	Ujjain	......
2	Do. ...	Pawâr...		
3	Do. ...	Chohân	.. ...	......
4	Do. ...	Solânghî	... ..	......
5	Do. ...	Prahar	.. ...	......
6	Do. ..	Gaur	Bengal	1267, Bikanir.
7	Do. ..	Gyâru...	Gya	......
8	Do. ..	Katâl	Nâhân	......
9	Do. ..	Vishâl	Ujjain	......
10	Do. ..	Bhardwaj	Kauchananagar (Deccan).	......
11	Do. ..	Mabhâli	Mârwâr, etc. Different districts.	......
12	Do. ..	Lohâkri		
13	Do. ...	Panghâni		
14	Do. ..	Trôndi		
15	Do. ...	Ghiâni		
16	Do. ..	Niral		
17	Do. ..	Thâkur	Mârwâr	......
18	Do. ..	Râna		
19	Do. ..	Pathâniâ	Delhi	300 years ago.
20	Do. ..	Padwâl	Mâlwâ	......
21	Do. ..	Kshatriya	Descended from Paras Râm.	... ..

The name Kshatriya was applied to the crowned rulers of a country or territory. They were quarrelsome, given to robbery and well versed in the art of war. They were brave, courageous and kind. Their sons, other than the heir-apparent, were known as Râjpûts, or the sons of rulers. Nowadays this word is applied to all the Kshatriyas. In fact, the Râjpûts are next in rank to the Kshatriyas, but these words are used interchangeably. The Kshatriyas are divided into two main sections: (1) the Sûraj Bansî; (2) the Chandar Bansî. Brahmâ had two sons, Dachhâ and Uttar, and these were the ancestors of these two tribes. Dachhâ was the father of the Sun, from whom came the Sûraj Bansîs; and Uttar was the father of the Moon, from whom the Chandar Bansîs descended. The capital of the Solar dynasty was Allahabad. Every Râjpût, of whatever tribe, caste or sect, is ultimately descended from either the Solar or the Lunar dynasty, and the above table clearly shows the manner of their immigration.

It is said that the *thâkurs* or *mavannás*, who were previously settled in the hills, were also Râjpûts, but their customs are quite different from those of the Râjpûts. It is further said that when **Râja Sâki Singh**,[3] who flourished some 2352 years ago (= 450 B. C.), **introduced Buddhism**, it began to spread from this direction, so that this religion is still found in Kanâwar, Tibet, Lâhaul, etc. Much confusion has taken place among the Râjpûts for this very reason. The history of no tribe is trustworthy, nor can its genealogy be correctly traced. It is said that at the time of the great war of the *Mahâbhârata* the Râjpûts were the rulers of the hill territories. There is mention of the ancestors of the Râjas of this region in the *Bhagavat Gitâ* and the *Mahâbhârata*.

The **Râwats and Râthis also come under the heading Râjpûts.** These people plough and cultivate land with their own hands. Their rites at marriage or death are not according to the Scriptures.

Sartiras are persons born of a Râjpût father and Kanait or some other low caste mother. The Râjpûts do not intermarry with them, nor eat food prepared by them.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Vaisyas.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	......	Bôhrâ...	Poona, Satâra (Deccan).	......
2	......	Baniâ	Plains	......
3	......	Sûd	Do.	......
4	......	Bhâbra	Do.	......

They are not the original inhabitants of the hill region, but came from the plains and settled there. Therefore nothing certain can be known of their history or genealogy. But the history of the Kângrâ District shows that the **Bôhrâs** came, in the beginning, with the Râja of Kângrâ from Poona and Satâra in the Deccan, and gradually spread to other places. In the Hill States they were put in charge of the store-houses and godowns.

It is said that Râja Nirandar Chandar died and left behind him a widow, who was with child. The widow, fearing lest she might suffer at the hands of her husband's heirs, went to her parents in the Deccan. While on the way she gave birth to Râja Shêr Chand, and taking him with her reached her paternal home at Poona. When the boy, who was brought up by his grandfather, became of age and learnt that Kângrâ was his inheritance, he determined to conquer his kingdom. He took an army of his grandfather's subjects with him, attacked Kângrâ, subdued those who occupied the throne, and succeeded to his paternal kingdom. Diwân Rûp Lâl Bôhrâ, who was sent with the Râja by his grandfather, was made the Minister. Then gradually some persons of the family of the Minister came and settled in Kângrâ. Some of them went to Rûpar. Then they went to other parts of the country for trade. These people knew Urdû, Hindî, and Nâgarî, and so they were respected everywhere and were honourably entertained.

The following is stated to be the origin of the **Sûds**: — A man of low caste owed some money to a Baniâ. They settled their account after some years. The principal amount was paid by the debtor, but he would not consent to pay the interest, and the Baniâ would not forego the interest. The debtor, instead of paying the interest, agreed to give his wife to the creditor. The children of this woman and the Baniâ became known as Sûd (interest). In the course of time the Sûds began to intermarry with the high castes. Now they are considered of high caste like the Baniâs, etc.

The **Baniâs** are generally divided into (1) the **Aggarwâls** and (2) the **Sarâogis**. The Sarâogis are Jains. The Aggarwâls are considered of high caste. They totally abstain from meat,

[3] [A recollection of Sakyamuni = Buddha. — ED.]

Table of the Sections of the Hill Sûdras.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	High Sûdras ...	Kanait	Aborigines	......
2	Do. ...	Goldsmith	......	......
3	Do. ...	Jat	......	......
4	Do. ...	Barber	......	......
5	Do. ...	Gardener	......	......
6	Do. ...	Milkman	......	......
7	Do. ...	Potter	......	......
8	Do. ...	Mason	......	......
1	Low Sûdras ...	Washerman	......	......
2	Do. ...	Die Sinker	......	......
3	Do. ..	Bâdî (carpenter) ...	......	......
4	Do. ...	Ironsmith	......	......
5	Do. ...	Thithâra or Harêra ...	......	......
6	Do. ..	Tûri, Dhâgi or Dhâdi..	......	......
7	Do. ...	Chanâl	......	......
8	Do. ...	Kôli (minstrel) ...	......	......
9	Do. ...	Shepherd or herdsman.	......	......
10	Do. ...	Sweeper	......	......
11	Do. ...	Shoemaker or cobbler.	......	......
12	Do. ...	Râwâr	......	......
13	Do. ...	Weaver	......	......

Something has already been mentioned about these tribes. The first eight sub-divisions were Râjpûts or Brâhmans, but they settled in such turbulent territories that they could not peaceably perform their religious ceremonies. **Kanaits** get their name from this cause, for, as already stated, the word Kanait means violator of the law. When the Brâhmans came and saw the ceremonies of Kanaits, they gave the tribe the nickname, which has led to the formation of a distinct sect of Kanaits. The other castes took their names from the profession they adopted.

We learn from old histories that the aborigines of India were Bhîls, Gônds, Mînâs, Kôls and Joârs, who were found near Nâgpûr. They did not know Sanskrit, and their language was quite different from it. Their religion, too, differed from that of the Hindus. When the people of other countries occupied their territory, they fled to the forests and hills. Enquiry shows that they had no caste distinctions. They did not believe in contamination by touch. They used meat and wine, while

superior Hindus abhor these things. They kept in their houses the dead body of a person for several days after death. They offered alms two or three days after death, and these constituted all their funeral ceremonies. They never cleaned their houses and were impure. Some of them worshipped a god, while others worshipped a goddess. Every village had temples. They were ignorant and unclean. They were idolaters, and none of their customs were in accordance with the Hindu Scriptures. On examination of old books, and on taking photographs of the inscriptions on stones and examining them, it is found that the characters used therein are neither like those of the Śanskrit nor of any other language; for example, the letters of the inscriptions on the image of a goddess at Hât, on the big stone at Datta Nagar, on the big stone at Sohanpur near Hât, and at Jhonjan Deora in Shâmgin. These facts show that these people belonged to the pre-Sanskrit period. They became civilised gradually with the spread of Sanskrit.

Table of the Sections of the Hill Mendicants.

No.	Original Caste.	Present Name of the Caste.	Real Home.	Time of Coming.
1	Hindu Faqîrs ...	Bairâgî	Plains	......
2	Mendicants ..	Sanyâsî	......	......
3	......	Jôgi	......	......
4	......	Udâsi	......	......

These people came up from the plains and established themselves in the hills as monks of the temples. They seem to have come specially from Kurukshêtra and Hardwâr. Some of the mendicants adopted family life, and others remained as they were and lived by begging their bread.

As for **Muhammadans** only Shekhs came up from Bâsi, Rûpar, and Kharar. The reason of their migration is said to be this, that **originally they were Hindus**, but the king who ruled at that time converted them to Muhammadanism by force. Some members of a family remained Hindus, while others turned Muhammadans. The converts gave up their share of the property in favour of their brothers, and they themselves came and settled in the hill country. They lived by trade. Their settlement in the hills does not seem to be older than twenty-two or twenty-four generations.

IV. — Tribal Head-Quarters.

7. **The tribes have no common head-quarters.** Every tribe has its own head-quarters in its own village, which is called by the name *thârî* or *chaurî*.

8. Some tribes declare themselves to be the **aborigines**. Some say that they came from the Deccan, Bengal, Ujjain, Gyâ, Nâhan, Sirmûr, Poona, Satâra, Mârwâr, Delhi and Mâlwâ, as has been fully shown in the above tables.

9. Because it is very long since the tribes came to the hills, they do not go on **pilgrimage** to their original homes. Every tribe or sect has appointed a place of pilgrimage in some village situated close to its own.

10. All tribes have in their respective villages **cremation grounds**, where they burn their dead. If a man of one tribe dies in the village of another, or near his own village, his corpse is brought to the village to which he belonged and is cremated at the place where his forefathers were cremated. In this way corpses are brought even from a distance of two or four days' journey. The crematoria of some tribes are near the banks of the Sutlej, Khud Giri or Payar.

V. — Genealogical Tables.

11. **The genealogical tables** of the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas remain with the family priests, and generally they trace only so many generations as are necessary to be known for the performance of ceremonies on occasions of death or marriage. The genealogical tables of the great Râjas and Rânas are kept in the State offices. When the Purôhits (priests) of Ganges (Hardwâr), Kurukshêtra, Bhôa and Gôdâwarî come into the hills, they prepare the genealogical tables of their disciples, and having written these tables down in their books, take them away.

Table showing the Names of the Conventional Ancestors of some of the Hill Tribes.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Names of Ancestors.
1	Brâhman or Bhât	Bhardwâj, Gautam, Atri, Balrâm, etc., famous *rishis* (saint)
2	Chhatri or Râjpût	Râm Chandar, Krishna, Puru, Birât Raja, Bhîmchand Raja, Man Dhâta, Bikrama Jit and Bhoj, Raja Jagdeva, Sâlbâhan and Raja Karan.
3	Khatrî	Sukh Datta, etc., famous Rajas.
4	Kayastha	Bhoj and Korra, etc., famous Râjas The people of this section are not found in the hills, therefore no mention of them has been made above.
5	Baniâ, Sûd, Bôhra, etc. ..	No tradition about these worthy of mention.
6	Kanait	Born of the intermarriage of the Brâhmans and the Râjpûts.
7	Jat	Unknown.
8	Goldsmith	Do.
9	Barber	Do.
10	Gardener, milkman, potter, and mason.	Do.
11	Bâdi or carpenter	Bâwa Râm Singh Kûkâ, who was a carpenter by caste.
12	Other low castes, *i. e.*, Koli, Rahîr (shepherd), shoemaker and cobbler.	Kabîr and Râm Dâs, noted saints, are considered to be the forefathers of these.
13	Tûri, Dhaki, Dhâdi	Baju Bâvra and Tân Sên, famous musicians.
14	Bairâgî	Ramânand and Nîmânand, well-known saints.
15	Sanyâsî	Unknown.
16	Jôgi	Gôrakh Nâth, Machandar Nâth, Jâlandhar Nâth, noted Jôgis.
17	Udâsi	Nânak, Râm Dâs, Amar Dâs, Gôbind Singh.

Nothing is known about the other tribes, nor is any story or tradition concerning them available.

13.* No tribe has got any **genealogical table** to enable one to trace the descent from the ancestors. The Râjas and Rânas have their genealogical tables, which I have not been able to get, and hence no account of them can be given.

* [The answer to Question 12 seems to have been omitted. — ED.]

14. The Brâhmans, the Râjpûts and the Baniâs consider the **Kanaits** to be an offshoot of the higher castes. All the tribes, as explained above, except the Sûdras, consisting of Kanaits, came from the plains and settled in this part of the country.

15. Neither marriage nor death ceremonies among the **Kanaits** are performed according to the rules laid down by the Hindu Scriptures, but are according to the customs formerly prevailing in the country. Saints, Brâhmans, Râjpûts and Baniâs do not eat the food prepared by the Kanaits, who are not privileged to worship after the methods of the Hindu Scriptures.

VI.—Monuments.

16. Neither tomb nor **monument** belonging to any tribe is to be found. Each tribe has its own **crematorium.** A person belonging to one tribe cannot burn his dead in the crematorium of another. Likewise the high and low castes have separate *bâolîs* and **springs of water.** The men of low castes cannot take water from the *bâolîs* or springs belonging to those of high castes. The **habitations** of the population are also arranged according to the divisons of castes, *i.e.*, Râjpûts live in one part of the village, while Brâhmans occupy another part. The low castes live at some distance from the village, for the reason that the high castes may not come in contact with the smell and smoke of the kitchens of the low castes.

17. Something about the **migration** of these tribes can be ascertained from the names of some towns. No history of their migration can be traced by means of the **inscriptions** on stones.

VII. — Caste Marriages.

18—20. As regards **marriage,** there is, nowadays, no distinction of caste. However, people of the same caste can marry among themselves, but the high castes do not marry with the low castes. A detailed account of the marriages of all tribes is given below under paragraph 36.

VIII. —Totemism.

21. It is not the prevailing custom among the people not to **eat** the flesh of an animal, whose name is like that of any person. However, some persons do not eat fish and pork, for the reason that incarnations of the deity had taken the form of a fish and a pig. But this is held only by some people, and is not accepted by any tribe or sect as a whole.

22. No tribe of the hills has given up the use of any arm or instrument merely for the reason of its name being after the name of some ancestor of theirs, nor for any other reason.

23. The high castes — such as the Brâhmans, the Râjpûts, and the Baniâs — **worship** the *pîpal* and the banyan **trees,** and do not burn their wood. All these tribes have two forms of religion: **(1) Vaishaṇavas or Dakshmârag ; (2) Saivas or Saktis or Vâmmârag.** Those professing the first form of religion do not eat any of these articles: meat, onions, garlic, turnips, radishes, cones and mushrooms; or drink wine. Those of the second section eat all these things, but not eggs, domestic fowls, crows, peacocks and other animals forbidden by the Scriptures.

IX. — Peculiarities of Tribal Names.

24. Different **tribes** have different **names,** and no two sections have like names. However, the names of sub-sections of Kanaits are like those of the Brâhmans or Kshatriyas, and the reason of this is that they are held to be an offshoot of the Brâhmans and the Kshatriyas.

25. Some of the **low castes** have named some of their sub-sections after the name of the high caste which they have been serving.

26. The first four sections of the **Dashâls** — *i.e.*, Gônds, Thêôgs, Mâdhans, Darkôlis, etc. — were considered, for a long time after their migration to the hills, to be low castes, like the Kanaits. They did not put on the sacred thread, nor did they perform death ceremonies. Gradually they mixed with the Râjpûts, and began to give their daughters in marriage to wealthy Râjpûts. Afterwards the Râjpûts also consented to marry their daughters to them.

The history of the migration of Jâr Gharus and Jâr Katals is very much the same. In reality they were Brâhmans, and Brâhmans of their brotherhood are still to be found. But they gave up the Brahmanical functions and, adopting the marriage and death ceremonies of the Râjpûts, have mixed with them. For example :— Kot Khâi, Kumhârsain, Karângla, Delta, Kanthî, Jûbal, Ranvin Sairi, Trôch and Khâsh were full of the low castes of Kanaits, but now they have adopted the ceremonies of the superior Kanaits.

The Sarsut and the Gaur Brâhmans formerly did not intermarry, but now they do so.

X. — Public Assemblies.

27. There is no assembly of lawyers or rulers appointed by the people. Whenever any religious or secular dispute arises, all the people concerned come to the temple of their god and hold a meeting there. The members of the **panchâyat** (council) are the custodians and the worshippers of the deity's temple, and they summon, through the priest, all the followers of the god. Respectable and rich folk of every village come and give their decision in the matter under dispute. If the parties are satisfied with the decision of the *panchâyat*, the matter ends there and then. Otherwise a party not agreeing with the decision is asked to refer the matter to a law court, and the *panchâyat* serve as witnesses. This *panchâyat* deals only with religious points and has no concern with legal matters.

28. The same assembly is called by the name of **Dûm** or **Khumâli**.

29. The priests and custodians of the temple of the deity are generally the members of the council. The office of these members is hereditary. They belong to the priest and Kanait class and are inferior to the Brâhmans.

XI. — Deities.

30. Generally the hill people worship separate deities and are their disciples. In every *parganâ* (group of villages) the people of some villages have a god of their own, and have his temple made in a village situated at convenient distances from the habitations of the followers of the god. Some five to seven families of priests live in this village. They enjoy a free lease of land, as remuneration for their services in the temple. Every one of the disciples of the god, at the time of harvest, gives 10 to 12 seers of grain to the priests. The priests, in addition to the service of the god, also perform, in accordance with the requirements of the time, other religious or secular business.

31. Overseers are appointed to look after the temple and the priests. This office is also hereditary. They are called **kârdârs, mehtâs or wazîrs**. A portion of the income of the temple is given to them as their remuneration.

XII. — Constitution and Duties of Assemblies.

32. If any social, religious or secular quarrel arises, the complainant informs the priest about this. The priest, with the consent of the overseer, imparts verbal orders to all the people. He goes from village to village, and tells the people that in such and such a temple on such and such a day a *panchâyat* (committee) will be held to decide such and such matters, that all the people should attend it, and that those who do not do so will be punished by the deity. If the business be a very urgent one, the words **dadhi, tek and dal** are pronounced, on hearing which the people leave their engagements, however urgent they may be, and go to attend the council at once. Otherwise every one is fined one rupee. This fine, in a territory under British Government, is given in the temple fund, but in a Native State to the Râja or Râna of that place. The priest's method of proclamation is to call aloud to the men of the village, and ask them to present themselves at a certain place on a certain day. People necessarily obey this call, and present themselves at the place and on the date required.

33. The office of the chairman is a permanent one. Men of certain families are selected for this office, and the selection rests with the council.

34. The members, as mentioned above, are called **kârdârs, wazirs or mêhtâs.**

35. If the **hereditary chairman** be a minor, he is represented by a grown-up man belonging to his brotherhood. If a fit person is not to be found in the brotherhood, then the council appoints a guardian.

XIII. — Trade.

36. The **chief articles of commerce** are opium, potatoes, wool, borax, fur, woollen cloth, stone, goats, and horses. A detailed account is given below.

Kôt Khâi is the greatest centre of the **opium trade.** People buy this article from the surrounding territories, and sell it, according to the laws, at Kôt Khâi. All the license-holding Kanaits go to the neighbourhood to buy opium. Any action against the law is discussed and decided among themselves. The buyers of opium are of two sorts: (1) The license-holders who, like great merchants, buy opium from their agents. These merchants send to their agents, in the month of Kârtik or Maghar, as much money as the agents ask for. The agents in return supply their masters, in the month of Hâr, with opium at four rupees per seer, no matter what the market rate of opium may be: (2) License-holders who buy opium directly. They buy it at the rate agreed upon by the parties. The same is the case with **potatoes.** The rest of the **trade** is **with Tibet,** and this trade cannot be carried on by a single person. There are three passes into Tibet: the first through Busâhir, the second through Garhwâl, and a third through Sultânpûr in Kûlu. People go for trade in caravans of hundreds of armed men, for the passage is infested with robbers, and for this reason a small number of men cannot safely travel. The traders going by these three paths have, each, a distinct part of the country set apart for trade. One cannot trade in the territory belonging to the other. Any one doing so is arrested. Some men of each of these three territories are appointed as the members of the council in Tibet. Some four or five Tibetans, too, take part in it. All the cases of theft and civil and criminal suits are decided by it. Half the punishment is borne by the Tibetans and half by the members of the council belonging to the country of the culprit. Besides this, the parties to a case are required to feed the council. This food is named *charvâ.* The members have full authority, and they can decide even murder cases. The money realized from fines is appropriated by themselves. A nominal sum of one or two rupees is paid to the Râja. All commercial contracts are made by the merchants among themselves, and there is no particular rule about this. Different measures suited to different opportunities are adopted.

The **merchants** of Busâhir are divided into four groups: Takpais, Gâvôs, Shawâls and Râjgrânvîs. They are named after the names of their *parganâs* (districts). If a person belonging to one group joins or trades with another group, then the members of his group punish him as well as the group who admitted him without the consent of his party.

The **rates** of all commodities are fixed by an assembly of all the merchants, and tables of rates are prepared by them. Any one who charges a rate higher or lower than the common rate is considered guilty of disloyalty to the assembly. Commodities cannot be sold before a fixed time. The rate of every article is determined by the merchants and the producers of that article after some days' consideration.

XIV. — Artizans.

Bâdis or Carpenters. — They build houses and make ploughs and other implements of cultivation. The wages for building houses are not fixed, but depend upon the labourers and their employers. They make implements of cultivation and give them, every season, to the land-owners, free of charge. They get food from the land-owners. They also get some grain at the harvest time. This grain is named *shikôtâ.*

Ironsmiths. — They also, like the carpenters, serve the land-owners.

Shoe-makers and Cobblers. — The hides of the dead kine, oxen or buffaloes are given to the cobblers, who make shoes for the land-owners of half the hide; the other half being kept by the shoemaker as his remuneration. They also get some grain at harvest time.

Shepherds. — One or two of them live in every village. They graze the cattle of the villagers. They get from every house in the village one or two cakes daily, either in the morning or in the evening. They also make agricultural utensils of bamboo, which they give to the land-owners free of charge. They get some land rent-free from the common land of the village, and also some grain at harvest time.

Barbers. — They shave the land-owners for nothing. They get grain at the time of harvest. This also is termed *shikôtâ*.

Goldsmiths. — They also serve the land-owners without charging any wages, and get as their remuneration some grain at harvest time.

Tûris. — They mostly beat a drum when a corpse is carried out to the cremation ground. They get some wages in proportion to the wealth of the dead. They are also given some grain at the time of harvest.

Jôgis. — They were originally mendicants, but now they have become householders. They burn their dead, and for every corpse get four annas in money, together with a plate of brass or *kânsî* (spelter) and a woollen or cotton cloth. They also get some grain at the time of harvest.

XV. — Marriage Customs.

Table of Intermarriage Rules.

No	Caste	Principal Sub-divisions.	Sub-divisions that can intermarry.	Gôt (sub-section)	Sub-divisions that cannot intermarry.
1	Chhatri or Râjpût.	Suraj Bansi and Chandar Bansi.	Khatrîs, Kayasthas, Solanghis, Puwârs, Chohâns, Parmaras, Gyârûs, Katwâls, Dishâls, Gaurs, Râvats, Thâkurs, Râthis, Sartôrês, Jamwals, Sonlis.	Bhardwâj, Gautam, Chohân, Atri, Kashap, Kâshayap, Samdeva.	Mahbali, Pangliani, Nirondi, Ghiaui, Naryâl, Sarâti, Ravâti, Johalti, Kotguru, Kenu, Krânglu, Deltu, Kumbârsenu, Balsni, Thagoi, Ghondi, Sângri, Badsâl, Takrâl, Atoel, Darkoto, Rihani.
2	Brâhman..	Shukal and Krishan.	Gaur, Sarsut	Atri, Bashist, Bhardwâj, Kâshayap.	Kanauji, Bhat, Kan Kobj, Methul, Darâwar, Agni Hotri, Balrami, Mahtâ Brâhman, Achârj, Bhât, Dakaut, Shalauri, Chauti, Papuch or Papuj, Nâmti, Pande, Pujari.
3	**Kanait** ..	...	Khâsh, Rahu, Karun, Khanâri, Chandel, Chohân, Dogri, Mehta, Dadarwâl, Behrwal, Pabarwâl, Jâd, Lama.	Badohi, Chohân, Kashayap.	The whole of the hilly tracts are full of Kanaits, who have many sub-divisions. Every village has two or three minor divisions of them, therefore a detail cannot be given.

37. All tribes and sects can **marry** among themselves. But the **high castes** — such as Kshatriyas, Brâhmans, Râjpûts, Sûds, Bôhrâs, Baniâs, Kanaits, Goldsmiths, Barbers, Khâsh, Kârun, Râhus, Khanâra, Jâds, Lâmas — cannot marry with persons belonging to their sub-section. This is called here **khêl**. The *khêl* does not extend over more than twelve generations. *Sûtak pâtak* is also taken into consideration only up to seven generations. No *sûtak pâtak* exists among those families who have no connection with one another within seven generations. Families which are connected even by the twelfth generation do not intermarry, but those who have no such connection can do so.

The **low castes**, such as Kôlis, shepherds, etc., have different rules. They do not intermarry in families which are connected even in the fourth generation. They marry with their maternal uncles' daughters.

The **high castes** hold to the following rules :—

(1) They do not intermarry with families connected with theirs even by the seventh generation.

(2) They do not intermarry with families connected with that of their maternal grandfather even by the third or fourth generation.

(3) They do not marry with girls of lower families than their own.

(4) They do not marry daughters of the father's or grandfather's sisters.

38. A detail of the relations with whom **intermarriage** is prohibited has been given above.

39. In addition to the facts already mentioned, the following **circumstances** are considered **unfavourable for marriage**. The society is not bound to obey any fixed rules, but the following things about the girls are considered as defects at the time of the marriage: small neck, blue eyes, white or black spots on body, leprosy, syphilis, consumption, etc., which are chronic diseases; evil names, such as Nâgan, Jôgni, Kâni, etc.; being born of diseased parents; not having either known parents or own brothers.

XVI. — Marriage Rites and Rules.

40. **Marriage must be celebrated** according to the rules laid down by some religion. A man belonging to one form of religion cannot marry, either according to the Scriptures, or according to the customs of the country, a woman belonging to another.

41. Some tribes of different castes do indeed **intermarry**, but the high castes do not do so. As for example, goldsmiths and barbers marry the daughters of **Kanaits**, but they do not give their daughters in marriage to Kanaits. Kanaits marry the daughters of **Khâsh** and **Kârun**, and also give their daughters in marriage to the latter. This custom does not prevail among other tribes.

42. Such marriages are not conducted according to the Hindu Scriptures, but they are **customary marriages** known as the **karêwa**.

43. The **Râjpûts** marry the daughters of people of castes lower than theirs. In the same way the men of high castes marry the daughters of men of low castes. The children born of such marriages are considered inferior to those born of religiously lawful marriages.

44. The high and low tribes are distinguished by caste. The men of **high castes** marry the **daughters** of men of **low castes**. The children thus born are considered inferior to others and are called **sartôṛê**. The men of low castes cannot marry the daughters of men belonging to high castes.

45. When the **bride** comes to the house of the **bridegroom**, then, if the marriage is being celebrated in accordance with the Scriptures, the husband and wife play a **gambling match**. Afterwards cooked food is brought and laid before the pair. The husband feeds the wife, and out of the same plate the wife feeds the husband. The bride also pays some money to the Brâhmans and to the sister of the bridegroom. If the husband already has another wife, then the new wife interviews the old one with great pomp and show. This interview is named 'shaking hands.' It is said that the old wife, together with some other women who are singing songs, comes from one side, and the new wife and her husband, together with some other women, come from the other side. The women of both parties sit at the place appointed for interview. At this place also a ceremony called *mukh dikhâi* (showing the face) is performed by the women of both parties.

46. Every man marries, according to his capacity, **as many wives as he pleases**, as there is **no limit of number** in this respect.

47. If a man marries more than one wife, then, as long as no son is born, the first wife is considered the chief or head Rânî, but when a son is born the wife giving birth to the son is considered the chief Rânî. She rules supreme in all the household business. The servants consider her their only master, and the husband as well as other members of the family respect her.

48. Poor men keep all their wives in the same house; while rich men set apart separate rooms for every wife.

49. Licentious people keep girls, too. Among the high families it is necessary to employ maid-servants; for no man can enter the houses where the *pardâ* system is observed, and therefore maid-servants have to perform all the household duties.

XVII. — Divorce and Remarriage.

50. Except the Brâhmans and the Râjpûts, among whom the *karêwâ* (irregular marriage) not prevails, the women of all other tribes, such as Sûds, Baniâs and Bôhrâs, can marry more than one man. The parents of the woman pay to her husband the expenses of the marriage and get her divorced. After this the woman can marry whomsoever she likes.

51. Men set up illegal connections with women, and thus directly choose wives. Generally women of loose character marry more than one husband. The well-conducted women stick to one only.

XVIII. — Polyandry.

52. It is a custom among the Sûdras, such as Kanaits, that the eldest of four or five brothers marries a wife according to the customs of the country. The wife thus married is told that all the brothers shall treat her as their common wife, and the wife also agrees to this and takes every one of them as her husband. Thus the woman is considered the common wife of all, provided the husbands are own brothers.

XIX. — Prostitution.

53. The women of high families have no freedom before marriage, and their parents look after them. It is a common saying that women have three guardians, *i.e.*, parents in early age, husband in youth, and sons in old age. The women of low castes remain free before marriage.

54. Only Tûris, and no other tribe, offer their daughters for prostitution.

55. If any girl turns out of loose character before marriage, her parents do not accept any feast in return for their daughter. In the first place, girls cannot become immodest, and even if any one becomes so, she is checked from doing so as far as possible. The matter is kept quite secret, for it leads to the disrepute of the husband as well of the parents.

XX. — General Marriage Customs.

56. The girls are married only when they are above nine years of age.

57. Early marriage cannot be cancelled, whether either of the parties be of age or not. When the religious ceremony is once performed, it becomes, without any regard for sexual intercourse, irrevocable.

58. In high castes, husbands are chosen entirely by the parents of the girls. In low castes, like the Sûdras, the mother of the girl asks her opinion also in the matter of the choice of her husband. The parents of a girl send their barber or Brâhman in search of a husband for the girl, and these men propose betrothals. In other tribes, either the parents of the girl themselves or their relatives choose the husband for the girl.

59. Among the Brâhmans and the Râjpûts generally, the barbers and the priests serve as mediums in marriages, for that is their profession. These men generally deceive the people. They take bribes from one party as their brokerage. But nowadays people do not invest them with full powers of betrothal, and make enquiries to satisfy themselves.

60. If the girl be a minor, then consent of the guardian and own brothers of the girl is necessary to make the contract valid and to ensure marriage. But if the parties be of age, then their consent alone is sufficient. Under either of the circumstances, the calling together of the

brotherhood and making them witnesses, as it were, is very essential. The object of the distribution of red thread and sweetmeat at the time of the confirmation of the marriage contract is only to make witnesses of those persons who get the red thread and the sweetmeat.

61. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to make a choice of the other. They cannot even see each other before their marriage. However, among the Sûdras, like Kanaits, etc., there is no such restriction, and they can make a choice before marriage.

62. (*a*) If the bridegroom be of a caste higher than that of the bride's parents, then they pay to him **bhattâ** (money to make up the deficiency of the caste), and the sum of this money is determined by the parties. Also money must be paid in cases when an inferior man wants to marry his daughter to a superior man, *e.g.*, if a Râna wants to marry his daughter to the son of the Râja.

(*b*) The bridegroom **buys the bride** in the way indicated above; but it has now become a custom that, if the girl's father be a poor man, he **sells his daughter.** Generally this custom prevails among the Kanaits, but now it is gaining ground among the Râjpûts and Brâhmans also.

63. There are no rules to fix this **price.** If the bridegroom likes to take *bhattâ*, it will be fixed according to the capacity of the bride's parents. If the parents of the girls want to pay the *bhattâ*, it will be in proportion to the rank of the bridegroom's parents. Among the Kanaits, Kôlîs and shepherds, the girls of Kanaits are valued at Rs. 60, and those of Kôlîs or shepherds at Rs. 40. This price is termed **dhôrî.**

64. **The price** of neither sort can be appropriated by the bride or the bridegroom, but their parents spend this money **in marriage expenses.**

65. **If a formal marriage is once performed it cannot be cancelled.** However, among the **Muhammadans,** marriages can be set aside.

66. The marriage cannot be set aside if either party lose any organ. But **customary marriages can be cancelled** at the option of the parties. Muhammadans can cancel their marriages.

67. No **woman** can be set at liberty to **re-marry** only on account of any of her omissions or commissions. The man does not cohabit with his regularly married wife if she proves to be of loose character, but has to maintain her throughout her life. She can either remain in her husband's house or go to her parents. The Muhammadans divorce a woman of bad character.

68. The system of **divorce** does not prevail among the Hindus. Muhammadans can divorce their wives on certain conditions, such as impotency of the husband or suspicious character of the wife.

69. The **Muhammadans** use the **talâka-i-bâin (irreversible divorce).** The husband can divorce the wife without any fault on her part. This divorce becomes valid, when it is proved that the parties quarrelled at least thrice. It is necessary that the divorce be repeated after every month. The husband has the power, either directly, or indirectly, to revoke the divorce. If *talâk-i-bâin* be pronounced thrice, the parties so separated cannot re-marry without the woman going through the formality of marrying another man and being divorced from him. But if the divorce be pronounced only once or twice, this condition is not necessary for re-marriage. If the husband at the time of his death divorces his wife and dies before the expiration of his **iddat** (period of probation of 4 months and 10 days, to see if the woman is *enceinte*), the wife is entitled to her husband's inheritance. It is natural for a woman to wait so long before her second marriage. Also, if the husband abstains from sexual intercourse for 4 months with the wife, this fact is also considered as an irrevocable divorce.

70. **There are two kinds of marriages among the Hindus — the legal and the illegal.** A formally married wife cannot be divorced, nor can she re-marry. The customary wife is free. She can leave one husband and marry another. It is a popular saying that the women of the hills never become widows — *i.e.*, if one husband dies they marry another. Among Muhammadans, all women re-marry.

XXI. — Inheritance.

71. **In the hills the right of children is considered per stirpes and not per capita.** The rights of children born of a formal marriage are superior to those of the children born of a customary marriage. The children whose father and mother are of different castes are called **sartôrî.**

Their rights are inferior to those of the children born of customary marriages. They are given money and immoveable property, just sufficient to support them. The children born of criminal connection between a man and a woman are called *jhata* or *jhatu*, and they live as servants of the family, or are given one or two fields and moveable property worth twenty or thirty rupees.

72. If a man has got two sons by a formal wife, two sons by a customary wife, two sons by a customary wife belonging to a low family, and two sons by a wife of another caste or religion, then the sons of the formal wife have the main right to their paternal inheritance, but they give some portion of it to other sons of their father — *i.e.*, one-half of the property left by the father will be retained by the **legitimate sons**, while the other half will be given to the rest of his sons. The shares of the latter are determined by the members of the brotherhood. The greater portion of the father's property is given to the legitimate sons, and the others are given maintenance as the village council directs, for there is no special law about this. At some places the legitimate children get two-thirds of the whole property of their father, while the natural sons get only one-third.

73. **The legitimate** sons follow their father's religion or faith. The natural sons are termed *sartôrî*, and now they have become a separate caste. But gradually this caste is being turned into the caste of its forefathers, for it organises relations with the pure caste.

74. **There is a great difference between legitimate and illegitimate sons (i.e., sons by wives formally and customarily married).** They cannot intermarry, nor do the former eat food prepared by the latter. Among the Kanaits there is no restriction as to eating and drinking. Such restrictions are observed only among the Râjpûts, the Brâhmans, the Sûds, the Bôhrâs and Baniâs.

75. After seven or, at the most, twelve generations, one family loses sight of the fact of being **descended from the same forefathers** as another family.

76. **The paternal caste** can be lowered only by contracting some irreligious or illegal connections. By no other means can this be effected.

XXII. — Tribal Details.

77. It has been already stated that the **Brâhmans** are divided into two main sub-divisions, *i.e.*, Gaur and Sârsut, and from these the minor sub-divisions — such as Kanaujî, Bhât, Kan Kobja, Mêthâl, Dârâwâr, Agnî Hotrî, Balrâmî Mahâbrâhman, Acharâj, Dakaut, Shalâvari, Chautî, Papûj or Papuch, Nâmtî, Pândê and Pujâri (priests) — have descended.

The following sub-divisions claim their descent from Râjpûts, the Brâhmans and the Baniâs: — Kanait, Râhu, Kârun, Khâsh, Khânârî, Chandêl, Chohân, Dôgrê, Mehtâ, Dadarwâl, Pabarwâl, Jâd, Lâma, Goldsmith, Barber, Potter, Bairagî, Sanyâsî, Udâsî and Jôgî.

The following state that their ancestors were Râjpûts and Brâhmans: — Kôlîs, Shepherds, Washermen, Dye-sinkers, Tûrîs, Carpenters, Ironsmiths, Bharêrâs, Cobblers, Shoemakers, Sweepers.

78. The ancient Brâhmans lived near the Indus and the Saraswatî and the surrounding territories. The Gaurs and the Sârsuts were their descendants who first came to the hills. As this happened in very remote and ancient times, so they forgot their origin and became known by the name of the place where they went and settled. Those who took their abode in Kânâ became known as the Kanaujîs, and those at Cawnpore were called Kan Kobja. Hence it is that those Brâhmans who are now found in the hills are held to be descendants of the two main Brâhman divisions.

The Râjpûts, Brâhmans and Sûds say that the **Kanaits** are the most numerous of all the tribes. All men belonging to any religion, who adopted the *karêwâ* (customary marriage) and gave up the religious and national customs, were known as Kanaits. They were sub-divided according to the professions which they adopted. For instance, one who undertook to make gold ornaments was called goldsmith, and so on.

The tradition about the Kôlîs is that a Kanait father had two sons by two wives. The sons quarrelled as to who had the superior right. At last it was decided that the one who should plough the field earliest in the morning should get the superior right. So, next morning, one of the brothers

went to plough the field, while the other began to plough the lowest floor of his house, but the place was too narrow to be ploughed. At last, being annoyed, he cut off one of the feet of his bullock. His brother, seeing this, turned him out of his home, for acting against religion. The Kôlîs, the shepherds, the shoemakers, the weavers and the boatmen are his descendants.

XXIII. — Widow Marriage.

80.[5] The **widows** of all tribes, except those of the Brâhmans, Râjpûts, Sûds, Banias and Bohras, **can re-marry.** This custom prevails even among Râjpûts, who do not follow the rules which are observed by the high castes.

81. **Widow marriage** is not allowed by the Scriptures, for the marriage ceremonies can be performed but once. As the proverb goes: the lion produces a whelp by a single intercourse with the lioness, so the true man acts upon what he says. The banana tree, if once planted, always yields fruit; a woman, once married, cannot be re-married: and rich men do not give up their prejudices.

82. The **younger brother** can marry the widow of the elder brother, but not *vice versâ*, except among Kanaits.

83. The **widows of low castes** can re-marry either a man of their own caste or one of another caste.

XXIV. — Inheritance after re-marriage of widows.

84. If a widow re-marries, her children by the first husband are to be supported by the husband's brother, whether the children be male or female.

85. If the widow marries a man of a caste different from hers, her husband's property is inherited in the following way :—

(*a*) The widow is entitled to no share of her husband's property if she re-marries.

(*b*) The children by the first husband are entitled to inherit the property of their father and their shares are determined by custom.

(*c*) The husband's brother cannot inherit any portion of the property of the deceased. He is entitled only to his father's property.

86. If the widow marries her husband's brother, then the following rules about inheritance are observed:—

(*a*) The widow cannot claim the property of her first husband.

(*b*) A person by marrying his brother's widow becomes disentitled to his brother's property.

(*c*) The children by the first husband inherit the property of their father, and their shares are determined by custom.

(*d*) The children by the second husband have no right to claim the property of the first husband. They inherit their father's property.

87. The sons of a widow by her husband's brother are not called the sons of her first husband, but those of the second. The children born in the lifetime of the first husband, or within ten months of his death, are considered his sons.

XXV. — Household Customs.

Pregnancy and Childbirth.

88. No ceremonies are performed during **pregnancy.**

89. The woman assumes one of two postures at **child-birth** :—

(*a*) She kneels on the ground. The midwife remains behind her, and, fixing her knees in the back of the lying-in woman, holds both of her shoulders by her hands.

(*b*) The woman prostrates herself on the ground. The midwife keeps to her left side. Other women take hold of the head, hands and legs of the lying-in woman.

90. The midwife serves in the room of the lying-in woman. After child-birth, persons who are rich, or belong to high families, employ nurses. The wife of a poor man is attended by his parents only.

[5] [No answer was apparently given to Question 79. — ED.]

91. Different **ceremonies** are performed at the birth of a child. Poor men prepare good food and distribute it among the Brâhmans and people of their own brotherhood. On the **third day** after the birth of the child the family celebrate the first feast. The priest comes and prepares the horoscope of the child. Sugar and sweetmeat is distributed among friends. Singing and dancing parties are given and guns are fired. The second feast comes after **seven days**, the third after **nine**, and the fourth after **eleven days**. The lying-in woman is kept, at the time of child-birth, in the lowest story of the house. After the fourth feast the woman takes the child in her lap. Music is played and songs are sung, and thus the mother, together with some other women, in the first place, worships the sun, and then the gate of the house. Afterwards the household god is worshipped, and some alms are paid to the Brâhmans. Among all the women present, presents and sweetmeats are distributed. People of the surrounding territories come with their guns and fire them. They are given some money or sugar. They present some green grass to the father of the child as a good omen. They call this grass *dûb* (turf). The four feasts are celebrated only at the birth of a son, and this ceremony is named **gauntrâlâ**. After eleven days, when the last *gauntrâlâ* has been performed, the mother can go and live in the upper flats of the house. *Havan* (sacrifice) is also performed. At the birth of a girl no ceremony, except that of good food, is performed, nor is there any special rule about this. As long as the last *gauntrâlâ* is not performed, nobody either eats food or drinks water from the house of the person where the child was born, except his relatives and people of low castes. This period is termed *sûtak* (impure state). The Brâhmans are purified after ten days; the Kshatriyas after twelve days; Baniâs, Bôhrâ and Sûds after fifteen days, and other castes after one month.

92. If **the father** be a poor man, then he **stops his business** for three days, because his relatives, friends and men of the brotherhood come to congratulate him. He has to present to them, according to his capacity, some money, sugar or cloth. In wealthy families, feasts and distribution of alms extend over all the eleven days. All the poor men, Brâhmans, mendicants, priests and barbers get alms and rewards. Green turf is presented and presents are given. Dances and other entertainments take place. At the birth of a girl the father stops his business for one day, or at the most three days. Generally on such occasions only food is distributed, and alms and rewards are not given.

93. There is no reason, except the one mentioned above, for stopping business.

94. No special rule or ceremony is necessary to be observed at the birth of twins.

XXVI. — Adoption.

95. There is no particular rule for adoption. Generally the custom in the hills is that the adopter calls to his house the boy whom he wants to adopt and paints his forehead with *sandal* paste. A contract is made according to the conditions agreed upon. Then they go to the temple of the god and break the *dingî* (a piece of wood, to signify truth of purpose) there, and make a solemn vow before the god that if they do not carry out the contract, then the god may punish them. Some remuneration is given to the priest and overseer of the temple, and this is called *bishtî*. Then the boy becomes bound to serve his adopter as his father. The adopter gives every authority to the boy as his son. One rupee is offered to the god.

96. Until the contract has been reduced to writing, or the *dingî* has been broken at the temple of the god, the adoption is considered invalid.

97. The validity of the adoption depends upon the performance of this ceremony alone.

98. No custom, other than those given above, prevails in the hill tracts. There is no restriction of age for adoption. However, it is necessary that the adoptee be of the same blood as the adopter.

XXVII. — Puberty.

99. A ceremony is performed to mark the beginning of puberty, which is termed *dasûthan* Alms are distributed and Brâhmans are fed. In the hills this custom is observed by very few people, except the high caste Kshatriyas.

100. The period of puberty is marked among the Hindus by wearing the sacred thread, and among the Muhammadans by circumcision. Both these ceremonies are performed at a time when the boy has gained enough wisdom and sense to distinguish between right and wrong, and good and bad.

XXVIII. — Betrothal.

101. Betrothals are of two kinds:—

(*a*) **Barni** is that which is according to the Hindu Scriptures. The parents of the boy and those of the girl propose the betrothal, and the priest appoints a day for carrying it out. On this date the boy's father sends the priest and barber with some ornaments and clothes, which the girl puts on. Some money is given to the barber, the priest, the nurse and the Brâhman as their reward. A feast like the one given at the time of marriage is given, and a music band attends. The servants of both parties get rewards. Then the girl's parents send clothes and ornaments for the boy.

(*b*) **Sagâi or sôtâ.** In this case a few ornaments or, if these be not available, one or more rupees are sent by the father of the boy to the girl through the priest or some elation. In order that the betrothal be considered permanent, the man carrying the ornaments takes his food in the house of the girl's parents. No other ceremony is celebrated, nor any rewards are given. Nothing is sent by the girl for the boy.

102. In the **Baoni Ceremony,** in order to ensure betrothal, the wearing of ornaments and clothes and painting the forehead with *sandal* paste and distribution of rewards are necessary. In the **Sagai Ceremony,** the taking of food by the messenger and handing over of money or ornaments to the girl's parents is essential.

103. However, the continuance of betrothal depends upon the option of parties.

104. Betrothal can be made after or before the parties are five years of age.

105. The consent of parents is essential for betrothal. If the woman be of age, then her parents also are consulted. If the father be dead, the permission of the elder brother or the guardian is taken. If there be no guardian, then the own brothers and near relatives are the persons whose consent is necessary.

106. If the betrothal is cancelled, one party pays the expenses incurred by the other. A list is prepared of all the articles exchanged at betrothal.

XXIX. — Marriage.

107. Marriages are of three kinds:—

(*a*) **Bêd-lagan.** — The bridegroom, wearing a bridal chap[illegible]ath on his head, goes to the house of the bride with music and attendants. The girl's par[illegible] give two or four feasts according to their capacity. The *bhânwar* (marriage service) is recited. After the *bêd-lagan* (matrimonial ceremony) the party is dismissed. The bridegroom comes back to his house and gives a feast, and the marriage festivities continue for some days. Prizes are given to his own menials, as well as to those of the bride. The bride pays some money to the men who accompanied the bridegroom to the house of the former and *vice versâ.* The rewards and prizes are given according to the capacity of the parties, and there is no fixed rule for this. The recital of the *bhânwar* is essential in such marriages.

(*b*) **Jhâjrâ or Gâdar.** — One or two men representing the bridegroom go to the house of the bride, where one person from [illegible] family in the village is present. They are given either a dinner or a supper by the bridegroom. The priest, the barber, the musician and other menials of the village are given four annas each, or at the most one rupee each, as their remuneration. The bride is brought to the bridegroom's house. Ganêsh is worshipped, and this is essential.

(*c*) **Bardani.** — The bridegroom sends a woman to fetch the bride. One or two women come with the bride also. Ganêsh is not worshipped nor any prizes given.

108. In the case of the Bêd-lagan the recital of *bhânwar* is necessary, in the case of the Jhâjrâ the worship of Ganêsh, and in the case of the Gâdar nothing.

109. There is no custom of **seizing the bride forcibly.** Two or three days after the carriage, if the wife be of age, the ceremony of union known as the *pusman sammit karam* (the union of man and woman) is performed. The priest appoints an auspicious date for this purpose. On that date one common bedding is laid for the pair. The husband, according to his capacity, gives some

money or ornaments to the wife on this first intercourse, which is called the *nâru khulâi* (remuneration for untying the girdle). The women distribute some sweets among themselves.

If a man forcibly seizes a woman and brings her to his house, this is called *hâr* (abduction) and is considered an illegal marriage.

110. No such custom as the marriage of the bride with a god prevails.

XXX. — Death.

111. The dead of all the tribes are cremated, except those of the Muhammadans, the Bairâgîs, the Udâsîs, the Sanyâsîs and the Jôgîs, whose dead are buried.

112. The Muhammadans place their dead, at the time of burial, in a lying position; the Bairâgî, etc., in a sitting posture.

113. The Hindu corpse is kept in a coffin, having its upper side open, and fine cloths are put upon it. A funeral pile of wood is prepared, and the coffin containing the corpse is placed upon it, and then it is set on fire. When all the corpse is reduced to ashes, these ashes are either thrown into the *khâḍ* (a deep valley), or are sent over to Hardwâr to be washed away by the Ganges.

114. Different tribes have different ways of disposing of their dead :—

(*a*) The Muhammadans wash the corpse before it is buried. Then it is taken to the burial ground on a *chârpâî* (couch) or in a box. Then a grave is dug. Their priest chants some words according to their faith, and the corpse is laid into the grave and the pit is filled with earth. Some men put in some salt also, in order to hasten the dissolution of the corpse. A stone is placed on the mouth of the grave, and it is covered by a sheet of white cloth. A *fakîr* (mendicant) lives there to take care of the grave, and after some days the sheet, the *chârpâî* and some money are given to him.

(*b*) The corpse of a Brâhman, Râjpût, Bania, Sûd or Bôhrâ is well washed. Then it is enveloped in a shroud of gauze or muslin and is placed in a painted coffin open at one end. Shawls and other silken cloths cover the dead body. The coffin is then placed in the court of the house and music is played. Thousands of people gather together, as if to a fair. They come in white robes to mourn for the dead. Musicians walk before the coffin, and all the relatives and other men, who come together for mourning, follow the coffin to the cremation ground, where the Jôgî prepares a pile of wood two or three cubits wide and four or five cubits long. There, a cow with a calf is given to the Jôgî or to the Mahâbrâhman. Then the corpse is placed upon the pile, and funeral cakes, together with some alms, are offered in the name of the dead. Then one of the relatives strikes the head of the corpse with a stick, and this is called *kapâl kirya.*

The Achâraj (man officiating at the funeral ceremonies) is paid some money. Then the pile is lighted. All the musicians and Achârîs present are paid some money. Grain, fruits and pieces of money are thrown over the corpse throughout the passage from the home to the crematory. All these expenses are fixed according to the capacity of the dead.

(*c*) Among other tribes, the corpse is washed. The musicians are sent for, who play on instruments for one or two days. In some places the corpse is kept at home for two to three days. Then the coffin is taken out with the band playing before it. All the men who have come for mourning accompany the coffin to the cremation ground. They throw as much grain, fruits and pieces of money as they can afford over the corpse on their way from home to the cremation ground. Then having placed the corpse on the funeral pile, they take off all the costly coverings and burn, with the corpse, the ordinary ones. The musicians are paid their wages. The *kapâl kirya* is not performed. Funeral cakes are not offered as in the case (*b*). The ashes are thrown into the valley. The well-to-do people carry the bones to Hardwâr.

115. There are three different methods of propitiating the dead :—

(*a*) If the deceased died a **natural death, the Brâhmans, Rajpûts, Baniâs, Sûds and Bôhrâs** put a lamp in the room where the deceased breathed his last, and keep it burning throughout day and night for ten days, taking care for it to burn continually. An earthen pitcher full of water is placed at the door with a hole in the bottom, from which water trickles. Every evening the son, or other

relative of the deceased, offers the funeral cake. The priest sits near the lamp and reads a *kathâ* (a text) from the *Nasket* and *Garur Purâṇas*. After ten days the lamp and the pitcher are thrown into the valley, and the reading of a *kathâ* is also stopped. Then *spindî karam* (a ceremony to unite the dead with his ancestors) is performed, and after that the *vikhad sharâdh* is performed. The Achâraj is given ornaments, clothes and food. All the Brâhmans present are given some alms and cows, and horses are also given to them. After a fortnight or more a goat is killed, and all the relations are called together and fed with meat and rice. The father of the wife of deceased person's son supplies all the requisite material at this time, and gives clothing to his daughter and son-in-law. All present are fed for two or three days by the family of the deceased. After this a *shrâdh* (offering of funeral cakes to the dead) is performed every month. After six months a great sacrifice is performed, and cows, ornaments and clothes are given to the Brâhmans in the name of the dead. In the same way annual and quadrennial sacrifices are performed; after which only an annual *shrâdh* is observed. The bones of the dead are sent to Hardwâr. Rice balls are offered at Bhoa and Kurukshêtra, too.

(*b*) There is no particular custom to be observed at the death of a **childless man.** All the ceremonies of *shrâdh* and the sacrifices mentioned above are performed in this case, too, with the ordinary expenses.

(*c*) In the case of a **violent death**, it is necessary to offer funeral cakes in the name of the dead at Hardwâr, Bhoa and Kurukshêtra. Some persons perform the Nârâinî Balî Shrâdh — *i. e.*, funeral cakes are offered for forty days instead of ten.

(*d*) Among the **other tribes,** having or not having of children by the deceased is of no importance. Much stress is laid upon music. Poor men call in a small band, while rich men employ a large band of musicians. Funeral cakes are offered on the third day after death. The ten *karmas* (ceremonies) are not performed. The goat is either not killed, or the heir of the deceased kills the goat any time after three days, and the mourning ceremonies then come to an end. Funeral cakes are offered at Hardwâr, but this has been introduced only very lately. Monthly *shrâdhs* are not performed, but *shrâdhs* are performed after six months, one year and four years. Ornaments and clothing are given to the Brâhmans. The son of the sister of the deceased is given some alms and ornaments, instead of the Achâraj (the man officiating in funeral ceremonies).

(*e*) Among **Muhammadans,** after forty days a feast is given to all the brotherhood. No other ceremony is performed.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE FRENCH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIÉTÉ D'ANGKOR.

By the Franco-Siamese treaty of 23rd March 1907, we learn that France has acquired the provinces of Battambang, Siemreap and Sisophon. These new provinces include the most magnificent group of architectural monuments in Asia, which are now added to those previously possessed by France in Cambodia and Annam. Among the numerous edifices that bear witness to the splendour of the ancient Indo-Chinese civilization are the wonderful temples of Angkor, — rivalling the greatest architectural marvels of the world.

As repository of these treasures France has not been slow in recognising the duty of carefully preserving them, and, indeed, after existing for a millennium exposed to the ravages of time, a tropical climate and its vegetation, they are in need of careful conservation. French archæologists will avoid the evils of restorations but, though local revenues cannot assume the full burden of the expenditure required for so large an undertaking, they are resolved that it shall not be said that Angkor long suffered from French national indifference. They have therefore formed the 'Société d'Angkor' for the preservation of the remains. It consists of over fifty founders — French archæologists, professors, scholars and others interested in Indo-China and the preservation from destruction of the relics of its glorious past.

THE AGE OF THE TAMIL JIVAKACHINTAMANI.

BY T. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI (TANJORE).

THE religious works of the Jainas made their appearance first in Sanskṛit, and then, assuming the garb of the Indian vernaculars, spread through the country. **The Tamil Jîvakachintâmaṇi** is probably one of such. Having been adapted into Tamil, it is looked upon even during the present day as a standard Tamil classic. **The works that deal with the story of Jîvaka** are four in number, *viz.* — (1) the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* by Vâdîbhasiṁha, (2) the *Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi* by the same author, (3) the *Jîvaṁdharachampû* by Harichandra. These three are in Sanskṛit. Another work is said to have been composed by Harichandra and called the *Jîvaṁdharanâṭaka*, which is believed to treat of the life of Jîvaka. No manuscript of it has been traced so far, and I therefore doubt if it ever existed. Consequently, it may at present be assumed that the fourth extant work dealing with the life of Jîvaka is (4) the Tamil *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*. We shall now proceed to **examine if this poem is an original work,** or if it is merely an adaptation of some earlier epic.

Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Pandit Saminatha Aiyar, in his edition of a portion of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, published in 1899, observes : "The Sanskṛit works *Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi* and *Gadyachintâmaṇi* by Vâdîbhasiṁha, and *Jîvaṁdharachampû* and *Jîvaṁdharanâṭaka* by Harichandra deal with the story of Jîvaka. This story is related in the *Mahâpurâṇa*, which contains the stories of the sixty-three *Salâkâpurushas*. The bilingual *Srîpurâṇa*, which gives an account of the twenty-four *tîrthaṁkaras*, also refers to the life of Jîvaka in the story of Srî-Vardhamâna. On comparing the first three poems with the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, I was struck with the resemblances between the two, and thought that in each of the former could be found several passages containing the sentiments and ideas expressed in some of the verses of the latter. I naturally began to suspect if the Sanskṛit poems had been composed on the model of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*. But on closer examination it was found that this supposition was untenable, because all the Sanskṛit names introduced into the *Gadyachintâmaṇi Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi*, and *Harichandrachampû* are found in the Tamil work. Many corrupt Sanskṛit and Prâkṛit words and many coincidences of thought and sentiment were at the same time traceable. I, accordingly, concluded that the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* was not an original work like the Tamil *Silappadigâram*. The former bears a closer resemblance to the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* than to the other two Sanskṛit poems, while the story as found in the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* is different from the account given in the *Srîpurâṇa* . . . . . " It is thus clear that Mahâmahôpâdhyâya **Pandit Saminatha Aiyar is of opinion** that the Tamil *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* is **not an original work,** but that it is, greatly indebted to the Sanskṛit *Gadyachintâmaṇi*. A few of the parallel passages are extracted below and serve to illustrate my remark.

(1) "Uṇḍ-eṇav=uṟaiyiṟ=kêṭpâr-uyir=uṟu pâvam-ellâṅ
gaṇḍ=iṉi-tteḷigav=eṉṟu kâṭṭuvâḷ pôlav=âgi
viṇ-ḍoḍa nivanda kôyil viṇṇavar-magaḷiṟ=cheṉṟâḷ
veṇ=ḍalai payiṉṟa kâṭṭuḷ viḷaṅg-iḷai tamiyaḷ=âṇâḷ."

Jîvakachintâmaṇi, Nâmagaḷ-ilambagam.

" जीवानां पापवैचित्रीं श्रुतवन्तः श्रुतौ पुरा ।
पश्येयुरद्युमेतीव श्रीकल्पाभूदकिंचना ॥ "

Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi, 1st lambaka—85.

The idea in the above two quotations is the same :— "That lady who might be compared to the goddess Lakshmî became lonely and helpless as if she meant to show to the world which had only heard it explained from books that sin cannot be exhausted but by the inevitable working out of its evil results."

(2) "Solliya nanmaiy=illâ=chchunangan=i-vvudambu ningi-
y=ell-oḷi=ttê van=âgi=ppirakkumôv=enna vêndâ
koll-ulaiy-agatt=iṭṭ=ûdi=kkûr-irum piradan=gutta
v=ellaiyil śem-bonn=âgiy=eri-niram perrad=anrê."

Jîvakachintâmaṇi, Guṇamâlaiyâr-ilambagam.

"यक्षेन्द्रोऽजनि श्वाऽयमहो मन्त्रस्य शक्तितः ।
कालायसं हि कल्याणं कल्पते रसयोगतः ॥"

Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi, 4th lambaka, ślô. 4.

Here again the idea is the same :— "By the power of *mantra*, this dog became the king of Yakshas. Is not iron changed into gold by amalgam in the process of alchemy? This is even so."

(3) "Ven=nira=ttugil-inangan viḻundu mâś=âgi ninra
v=on-nirav=udiran=dannaiy=udiratt-âl=oḻikkal=âmê
pan-nira=kkiḷaviyâr tam-baśaiyinâr=piranda pâvan-
gan-nira-mulaiyinâr taṅ=galviyâr=kaḻikkal=âmê."

Jîvakachintâmaṇi, Kêmasariyar-ilambagam.

"मन्थानुबन्धी संसारस्तेनैव न परिक्षयी ।
रक्तेन दूषितं वस्त्रं न हि रक्तेन शुध्यति ॥"

Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi, lamba 6, ślô. 10.

Once again the same idea is given :— "The misery of this worldly life which grows up by attachment can never be cut off by attachment again. A cloth stained with blood can never be cleansed by blood."

It will be seen from the above extracts that the expressions vary only as much as might be expected from the difference of idiom between Sanskrit and Tamil. The ideas are exactly the same. What is compressed in two lines of verse in Sanskrit is expanded into four lines of Tamil. There is no other difference. Similar passages may also be quoted from the *Gadyachintâmaṇi*.

The Sanskrit poems which treat of the story of Jîvaka are based on the Jaina purâṇas. And this fact is attested to by the authors of the former. For instance, Vâdîbhasiṁha says in the preamble to his *Gadyachintâmaṇi* :—

निःसारभूतमपि बन्धनतन्तुजातं
मूर्ध्ना जनो वहति हि प्रसवानुषङ्गात्
जीवंधरप्रभवपुण्यपुराणयोगा-
द्वाक्यं ममाप्युभयलोकहितप्रदायि ॥

"The string by its association with flowers is accepted by the head. Even so then shall my humble words showing the joys of this world and the world hereafter be acceptable by their association with the holy *purâṇa* which recites the life of Jîvaka."

As the subject-matter is the same in the *Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi*, there was no need for the author, Vâdîbhasiṁha, to refer pointedly to the fact of the poem being based on the *purâṇas*. In the Tamil *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* the author, Tiruttakkadêvar, says :—

> *Muṉṉîr-ppiṟanda pavaḷattôḍu śaṅgumuttu-*
> *m-aṉṉîr-uvarkkum-eṉiṉ yâr-avai nîkkugiṟpâ-*
> *r-aṉṉîrav-eṉ śoṟ-paḻudâyinuṅ-goḷbavaṉṟê*
> *poyṉṉîravallâ-pporuḷâl viṉ pugudum-eṉbâr.*

The commentator Nachchiṉârkkiṉiyar explains the words *poyṉṉîravallâ-pporuḷ*, 'ideas that do not partake of falsehood,' as follows : "The majority of those that think they can obtain liberation through the true words of the *purâṇa* will certainly never despise the poet's words, however distasteful and insipid they may be, as they are only the medium by which the ideas of the *purâṇa* are conveyed. This the poet was convinced of and hence his boldness in writing thus" It is then clear that, at the time of the commentator Nachchiṉârkkiṉiyar, Tiruttakkadêvar was believed to have based his *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* on the Jaina *purâṇas*. As Tiruttakkadêvar does not refer either to the *Gadyachintâmaṇi* or to the *Kshattrachûḍâmaṇi*, it remains doubtful if they were really anterior to the **Jîvakachintâmani**. At any rate there seems to be no doubt that the latter was **written after the purâṇas**. And according to Jaina tradition, **the original story of Jîvaka is found in the Mahâpurâṇa**, while the bilingual *Śrîpurâṇa* is admittedly of later date.

We have now to ascertain **the date of the Mahâpurâṇa**. The author who began the composition of the work is Jinasênâchârya, disciple of Vîrasênâchârya. The former wrote the *Harivaṁśa-Purâṇa* in Saka-Saṁvat 705 (= A. D. 783) and became the preceptor, it is said, of the Râshtrakûṭa king Amôghavarsha I., whose accession took place in A. D. 813. The *Pârśvâbhyudaya* was written during the same reign by the same author at the request of a co-disciple, named Vinayasênâchârya, for a poetical work celebrating Pârśvanâtha-Tîrthaṁkara. In composing this work Jinasênâchârya chose to honour the Sanskṛit poet and dramatist Kalidâsa in an ingenious way. He wove each line of verse of the poem *Mêghasaṁdêśa* into his own *ślôkas*. The last line of each of the latter is identical with that of one of the verses of the former. Not even a line of the *Mêghasaṁdêśa* has been omitted. Neither has he at the same time sacrificed his own thoughts or his subject in thus trying to honour the lines of Kâlidâsa's poem. Jinasênâchârya, who began the *Mahâpurâṇa*, did not live to complete it. The work was taken up by his disciple Guṇabhadrâchârya and finished. The portion of the *Mahâpurâṇa* which was composed by the former is called the *Pûrvapurâṇa*, while the composition of the latter is known as the *Uttarapurâṇa*, and contains the story of Jîvaka. It may therefore be supposed that the Sanskṛit poems mentioned above, as well as the Tamil *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, are based on the *Mahâpurâṇa*, composed by Jinasênâchârya and his disciple Guṇabhadrâchârya. The date of the *Mahâpurâṇa* would then be the upper limit of that of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*. Luckily, we have no difficulty in fixing the former, because the subjoined *praśasti* of the *Uttarapurâṇa* tells us that it was written during the time of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Akâlavarsha and in the **Saka year 820**, corresponding to A. D. 897. The very day on which the work was finished may be fixed with the help of the astronomical details furnished in the following passage :—

" अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तनिःशेषद्विषि वीध्रयशोजुषि ॥
पद्मालयमुकुलकुलप्रविकासकसत्प्रतापततमहसि ।
श्रीमति लोकादित्ये प्रध्वस्तप्रथितशत्रुसंतमसे ॥
चेल्लपताके चेल्लध्वजानुजे चेल्लकेतनतनूजे ।
जैनेन्द्रधर्मवृद्धिविधायिनि विधुवीध्रयशसि ॥
वनवासदेशमखिलं भुञ्जति निष्कण्टकं सुखं सुचिरम् ।
तत्पितृनिजनामकृते ख्याते बङ्कापुरे पुरेष्वधिके ॥

शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविंशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥
श्रीपञ्चम्यां बुधार्द्रायुजि दिवसकरे मन्त्रिवारे बुधांशे
पूर्वायां सिंहलग्ने धनुषि धरणिजे वृश्चिकार्कौ तुलायाम् ।
सर्पे शुक्रे कुलीरे गवि च सुरगुरौ निष्ठितं भव्यवर्यैः
प्राप्तेज्यं सर्वसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥ "

Before proceeding to fix the lower limit of the date of the Tamil *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, I take advantage of this opportunity to refer to another Tamil work composed by a Jaina preceptor. This is the versified **Tamil lexicon Sûḷâmaṇinigaṇḍu,** compiled by Maṇḍalapurusha, the disciple of Guṇabhadra. In the body of the lexicon, Maṇḍalapurusha gives a clue as to his date when he mentions Kiruṭṭiṇarâya (Kṛishṇarâya) as having made unbounded gifts (*koḍai-maḍam*). By Kiruṭṭiṇarâya the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇarâya cannot be meant, because Maṇḍalapurusha claims Guṇabhadra for his preceptor. By the Tamil expression *koḍai-maḍam* the author evidently refers to the *biruda* Akâlavarsha of the Râshṭrakûṭa king, Kṛishṇa II. It thus appears that both Guṇabhadra and his disciple Maṇḍalapurusha were protégés of the Râshṭrakûṭa king, Akâlavarsha-Kṛishṇa II. whose dates range from A. D. 888 to 911-12. The Tamil lexicon *Sûḷâmaṇinigaṇḍu* was therefore **compiled roughly in the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.**

Returning to the lower limit of the date of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* we find that the Śaiva teacher Umâpatiśivâchârya, who flourished at the beginning of the 14th century, refers to the work in his *Tiruttoṇḍarpurâṇavaralâṛu*. In describing the circumstances which led to the composition of the Tamil *Periyapurâṇam* by the Chôḷa minister Sêkkiḷâr, Umâpati tells us that the Chôḷa king Anapâya, the patron of Sêkkiḷâr, was devoting his time to the study of the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*. Sekkiḷâr exhorted his patron to study the lives of the Śaiva devotees and not waste his time over the *Jîvakachintâmaṇi*, which was based on fiction, and by the study of which no merit would accrue to him. Subsequently, Sêkkiḷar composed the Tamil *Periyapurâṇam* at the instance of the Chôḷa king. This Anapâya-Chôḷa is otherwise known as Râjêndra-Chôḷadêva *alias* Kulôttuṅga-Chôḷa I. or Śuṁgandavirtta-Chôḷa. Archæological experts say that his time was between 1070 to 1118 A. D. here is no mention of *Jîvakachintâmaṇi* in any work prior to the time of the *Periyapurâṇam*. An as I have already pointed out, that the former must have come into existence only after the 9th centu , it may be concluded that Tiruttakkadêvar's **Jîvakachintâmaṇi was composed during the riod ranging from the beginning of the 10th to the second half of the 11th century A. .**

[1] It is not clear on what grounds Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri identifies Anapâya with Kulôttuṅga I. But as he is not the first to make this identification, it is necessary to state the case as it actually stands. So far as it is known at present there is only one inscription which mentions the Chôḷa king Anapâya. It is engraved on one of the walls of the Tyâgarâja temple at Tiruvârûr in the Tanjore district, and is dated during the reign of a Kulôttuṅga, who, to judge from the alphabet employed in the inscription, cannot be Kulôttuṅga I. Even on purely literary grounds the identification of Anapâya with Kulôttuṅga I. seems to be untenable. The author of the Tamil *Periyapurâṇam*, who was a protégé of the Chôḷa king Anapâya, must have lived a pretty long time after Nambi-Âṇḍâr Nambi, who arranged the Śaiva Tamil scriptures (*Tirumuṛai*). The *Tiruviśaippâ*, which forms a part of these scriptures, has a hymn on the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôḷêśvara temple, built evidently by the Chôḷa king Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chôḷa or Râjêndra-Chôḷa I., the maternal grandfather of Kulôttuṅga I. It is thus apparent that Nambi-Âṇḍâr Nambi must have lived some time after Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. If Anapâya had been the grandson of Râjêndra-Chôḷa I., it is not easy to believe that the work accomplished by Nambi could have been forgotten so soon, especially as the circumstances under which he discovered the sacred scriptures were almost miraculous. King Anapâya was altogether ignorant of Nambi and his work, and had practically lapsed into the Jaina creed. The interval between Râjêndra-Chôḷa I. and Kulôttuṅga I. is hardly 50 years, and the meritorious work of Nambi, accomplished during the earlier portion of this interval under such exceptional conditions, could not have been completely forgotten towards the close of the interval. It seems to me therefore that the identification of Anapâya with Kulôttuṅga I. is untenable on epigraphical as well as literary grounds. — V. V.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

(Continued from p. 284.)

XXXI. — Purification Ceremonies.

The Brahmans are purified in ten days, the Kshatriyas in twelve days, the Vaiśyas, *i. e.*, Baniâs, Sûds and Bôhrâs, in fifteen days, and all other tribes in one month. People neither eat nor drink in the house in which some one has died, during the period of impurity. But when the heirs of the deceased eat either meat or asafœtida, they are considered purified, even if it be done within the period of impurity and then people do not object to eating food prepared by them.

* The Kshatriyas and Baniâs, etc., get their heads shaved at the death of a relation. But this is not a general custom: for to shave the head it is necessary that the written permission of the Râja or the Rânâ be obtained beforehand.

116. The shrâdhs are of two kinds: —

(*a*) Those performed in the name of the deceased. A detailed account of such *shrâdhs* has been already given.

(*b*) Those which are performed in the *pitri paksh* (the dark half of the lunar month) in the month of *Bhâdoṅ* (about September). In this month all tribes, except the menials, perform *shrâdhs.* Some persons perform *shrâdhs* during the whole of the fortnight. Others perform only one *shrâdh*, in the name of all their dead, on the *amâvas* day (the last day of the lunar month). Every kind of food is cooked for the *shrâdhs*; fruits are put upon the table. The Brâhmans are called on the eve of the *shrâdh* to feast at a certain person's house, all arriving in the morning. The owner of the house calls the family priest and offers funeral cakes. Sacrifice is also performed. After this he washes the feet of all the Brâhmans, offers them *sandal* and flowers, and feeds them. In the end, money is given to the Brâhmans and they are dismissed. The family priest gets more than all the others.

117. The Brâhman works as the priest in funeral ceremonies and also chants the hymns.

118. All the tribes in the hills have Brâhmans to officiate in their funeral ceremonies. The nephew also receives some gifts.

119. The method of purification has been stated above. It is done by killing a goat and eating asafœtida.

120-121. Either in the case of death or birth, it is after the prescribed periods that purification is regained. During that period, provided the heirs of the deceased do not use meat or asafœtida, the impurity continues.

122. On the day appointed for eating asafœtida or killing the goat, all the relations and the Brâhmans are called together, and all of them are required to eat asafœtida, while Brâhmans are also fed. The Brâhman chants some hymns over a mixture of milk, Ganges water, and cow's urine (called the *panch gâvyâ*) and makes the heirs of the deceased take some of this mixture, and thus purification is effected.

XXXII. — Religion.

Sects.

123. The Hindus are divided into three sects, Saivas, Vaishṇavas, and Sâktaks, **worshippers of Sakti, the Female Principle.**

The Saiva worship Siva. They are the disciples of the Sanyâsî or Udâsî mendicants. Some of them use meat and wine, while others do not.

The Vaishṇavas are the followers of the Bairâgîs. Generally they do not use meat and wine. The majority of the Brâhmans belong to this sect.

The Sâktaks have as their teachers the Jôgîs, the Sanyâsîs, and the Udâsîs. They worship all sorts of deities. The use of meat and wine at the time of worship is considered good. They sacrifice goats to the goddess Kâlî. There is a separate god to every village or every four or five villages. Some of this sect go to Jawâla Mukhî to worship in the temple there.

Only Shêkhs are found among **the Muhammadan** sects. They believe in the Lakh Dâtâ Saint (the giver of millions). They do not follow any of the rules of the Hindu religion, but act according to their own laws.

124. The existing religion has been the religion of the people of this country from ancient times, and the three sects have always observed the rules of their own order.

125. It has been already stated that in ancient times the people followed the Vedic religion, until it was supplanted by Buddhism. After the decline of Buddhism the former religion revived and is still flourishing.

126. Ordinarily, Hindus follow one of the three forms of belief above mentioned. Some people here and there follow the dictates of their conscience and believe in other gods and teachers. But these are very few.

127. Some persons worship tombs and *pirs* (saints) also.

The Gods of the Hill Tracts.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	NOTES.
1	Dêvî or Durgâ..	Kiyâri... ..	Kôt Khâî and Kôtgurû.	Dêvi is worshipped throughout the hills.
2	Chatur Mukh...	Mailôn ..	Kôtgurû ...	All the people believe in the god of Kôtgurû. He is also worshipped in Kanehti and Rêk and in all the small villages.
3	Dum	Danthlâ ...	Do. ...	Worshipped only by the natives of Danthlâ.
4	Dum	Pumlâhî ...	Do. ...	The god of this one village only.
5	Dum	Shamâthlâ ...	Do. ..	Do. do.
6	Dum	Dalân	Do. ...	Do. do.
7	Marichh ...	Kêpu	Do. ..	Worshipped in Kêpu, Gharâl, and Nanjâ.
8	Dêva Kîrtî ...	Kîrti	Do. ...	Worshipped in Kîrtî, Bhanânâ, and Shâwat.
9	Bhôtêshar ...	Bhôthi ...	Do. ..	Worshipped in Bhôthî, Bagâhar, and by the agriculturists of Mâhorî.
10	Baindrâ ...	Dêvrî	Kôt Khâî ...	The god of the Majhghôr and Thakariâghôr territories.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	NOTES.
11	Chambî ...	Brêôn	Kôt Khâî ..	The god of the agriculturists of Brêôn and Aurî.
12	Dum	Nehrâ	Do. ...	The god of this one village only.
13	Mahâ Dêva ...	Pûrag... ..	Do. ..	The god of half Chhê Bîsî.
14	Nâg	Chathlâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Chathlâ and Pungrish.
15	Kâlî Tûnâ ...	Rakh Chambî Kûpar.	......	Worshipped throughout Kot Khâî.
16	Sharavan Nâg.	Shôshan ...	Kôt Khâî ...	Worshipped in Gajdhâr in the Kôt Khâî Tahsîl and in Shêlâ in Darkôtî.
17	Baindrâ Tûnî...	Khâri and Pidarâ.	Do. ...	Worshipped only in these two villages.
18	Nandharâṛî ...	Pujârlî ...	Do. ...	The patron of Chêwar, Gajdhâr, Chehr, Shalêwar, Darkôtî State and half Chhê Bîsî.
19	Mahâ Dêva ..	Dalsâr ...	Do. ...	The god of Dalsâr only.
20	Nandan ...	Devrî	Kanehtî State..	God of all Kanehtî, except Sadôch.
21	Dêvî Âd Shaktî	Kachêr ...	Kumhârsên State.	The goddess of the whole territory, but there are other minor village gods.
22	Mahâ Dêva ..	Kôtî Madhâtî...	Do. ..	Worshipped in all Kumhârsên, but there are other minor gods of villages.
23	Magnêshar ...	Kôt	Do. ..	The god of the Sêl territory.
24	Dum	Sarmalâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Obâdêsh territory.
25	Nâg	Ghûndâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Ghûndâ and Chadyânâ in the Kôt Khâî Tahsîl.
26	Baindrâ ...	Dim	Do. ...	The god of one village only.
27	Dum	Himrî ..	Do. ...	The god of the Chagâon territory.
28	Nâg	Bâgî	Do. ...	The god of the Chajôlî territory.
29	Bhîma Kâlî ...	Sarâhan ...	Busâhir State..	The goddess of the territory of Busâhir. There are other minor gods under her.
30	Mahâsû ...	Shêkal ..	Do. ...	The god of agriculturists of Shêkal only.
31	Pabâsî ...	Chapâri ..	Do. ...	The god of the agriculturists of Balâr in the Râwin State, Chapâri and Lohârkôtî.
32	Pabâsî ...	Gavâs	Do. ..	The god of the rest of the State.
33	Panch Nâg ...	Janglêkâ, Dêvdî, Tangnû, Pêkhâ, and Gôsakvârî.	Do. ...	Has a temple in each of these five villages.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
34	Chasrâlû	Gôsakvârî ...	Busâhir State ...	The god of two or three villages only.
35	Godârû or Pûbâsî.	Daswânî ...	Do. ..	The god of the Daswânî territory.
36	Godârû or Pûbâsî.	Khaniârâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Khaniârâ territory.
37	Dêva Sheldêsh.	Shêldêsh ...	Do. ...	The god of the Larôt and Shêladêsh.
38	Nâg	Khâbal ...	Do. ...	The god of the Khâbal territory.
39	Pûbâsî ...	Rôhal	Do. ...	The god of Rôhal.
40	Nârâin ...	Jâbal	Do. ...	The god of the Jôgahâ territory.
41	Mahâ Dêva ...	Pôjâlî ...	Do. ...	The rural god of Pôjâlî and Bêtiânî.
42	Dêva	Jakhrôtî ...	Do. ...	The god of Jakhnôtî.
43	Khantû ...	Dêvi Dhâr and Ranôl.	Do. ...	The god of the Sârî of Râjgarh territory.
44	Bakrâlû ...	Dalgâon and Rôrhû.	Do. ...	The god of the Spêl territory.
45	Baindrâ ...	Bachhônchî ..	Do. ...	The god of half the Mandalgârh territory.
46	Mêshar ...	Pôjârlî ..	Do. ...	The god of the other half of Mandalgarh.
47	Nâg	Pôjârlî... ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Nâvar territory.
48	Lôdar ...	Pôjârlî... ...	Do. ..	
49	Nârâinû ...	Nârâin ...	Do. ...	
50	Dhôlû ...	Karâsâ ...	Do. ...	The god of Ghôrî Karâsâ in the Nâvar territory.
51	Shâlû ...	Mêlthî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Nâvar territory.
52	Nâgêshar ...	Jharag ...	Do. ...	The god of the Pandrâ Sau territory.
53	Dêvî Durgâ ...	Shîl... ...	Do. ...	Worshipped by the agriculturists of Shîl.
54	Mahâsû ...	Mandhôl ...	Do. ...	Worshipped by the natives of Mandôl.
55	Dêvî Durgâ Hât	Hât Kôtî ...	Busâhir, Jûbal and Râwin States.	Worshipped in the Pandrâ Sau, Nâvar Jûbal and Râwin territories.
56	Kharânû ...	Kharâhan ...	Busâhir State...	The god of the Rêk and Sâmat territories.
57	Palthân ...	Shôlî... ...	Do. ...	The god of the Mastgarh and Alat territories.
58	Khanâsî ...	Barkal ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Barkal territories.
59	Khanâsî ...	Mahbûli ...	Do. ...	The god of the Sêô territory.

No	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	Notes.
60	Kalêdâ ..	Kalêdâ ...	Busâhir State...	The god of the villages of Kalêdâ and Phôlâ.
61	Chatar Khand.	Brândlî ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Kanchhîn territory.
62	Mauglêshar ...	Dwârâ... ...	Do. ...	
63	Lachhmî Nârâin	Kumsû ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Shalâtî territory.
64	Khantû ...	Majhâlî ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Barshôl territory.
65	Dêva Kôkhî ...	Darkâlî ...	Do. ...	
66	Lachhmî Nârâin	Pât	Do. ...	The gods of Bârî Ghôrîwâlâ and Kâshâ.
67	Dêvîjîjî ..	Muuush .	Do. ...	
68	Kanglêshar ...	Dêôthî ...	Do. ..	The god of the Hôchhî territory, and Majhâlî and Chaksâ villages.
69	Nâg	Kîm	Do. ...	The god of Kîm village.
70	Chharî Gudrî ..	Karêrî .	Do. ..	The god of one village only.
71	Jakh	Rachôlî ...	Do. ...	The god of four or five villages.
72	Gasô Dêv ...	Gasô... ...	Do. ...	The god of one village only.
73	Bashêrû ...	Bashêrâ ...	Do. ..	The god of Tîn Kôthî, but universally worshipped.
74	Nârâin ..	Kînû	Do. ...	The god of the Chhê Bîsî territory.
75	Lachmî Nârâin	Maujhêôlî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Nau Bîsî territory.
76	Jhangrû ...	Manjgâoṅ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Panjgâoṅ territory.
77	Nâg	Navârû ...	Do. ...	The god of the Pat Sô territory.
78	Nâg	Barî... ..	Do. ...	The god of the Barî territory.
79	Dêvî	Tarândâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of the Tarândâ territory.
80	Mahêshwar ...	Sôngrâ ...	Do. ...	The gods of the farmers of the Sôngrâ territory.
81	Okhâ	Nachâr ...	Do. ...	The goddess of the Nachâr territory.
82	Durgâ ...	Kambâ ...	Do. ...	The goddess of the Rôpî Kamba territory.
83	Mahâ Rudr ...	Kiâo	Do. ...	The god of the Khiôṅitchâ territory.
84	Nâg	Barandâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Jagôrî territory.
85	Jal	Sarpârâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Kâo Bîl territory.
86	Nâg	Barûâ	Do. ...	The god of the Kilbâ territory.
87	Mahêshwar ...	Bhabbâ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Bhabbâ territory.
88	Mahêshwar ...	Chagâoṅ ...	Do. ...	The god of the Chagâoṅ territory.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	NOTES.
89	Badrî Nâth ..	Kâmrû .	Busâhir State...	The god of the Tukpâ territory.
90	Chandikâ ...	Kôthî... ...	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of Shôa.
91	Thâkur Dwârâ..	Naising .	Do. ...	The god of the farmers of Naising village only.
92	Raghû Nâthjî .	Sarâhan ...	Do. ..	Worshipped throughout the country.
93	Narsinghjî ..	Râmpur ...	Do. ...	
94	Balrâmjî ...	Larsa, Dansa, Shingla, Shaneri.	Do. ...	Worshipped in four villages only.
95	Bâlrâmjî ..	Nirat ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Niratnagar only.
96	Bâlrâmji .	Nandla and Torsa.	Do. ..	Worshipped in Nandlâ, Tôrsâ, Chéônî, Gômân, Dagôlî.
97	The tombs of Mansâgir and Dhânîgir.	Ghôrnâ ...	Balsan State ..	Worshipped by the people of all the territory; there are separate rural gods in every village also.
98	Dêvî Mansâ ...	Ghôrnâ ...	Do. ...	
99	Kadhâsan ..	Dêôthî ...	Do. .	The god of the farmers of the Dhârtî, Duêl and Nôtî *parganâ*.
100	Râî Rê Môlê..	Kadhâran ...	Do. ..	The god of the Kadhâran, Shilgri and Dhâr territories.
101	Chêôlî ..	Shêlâ ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Shêltâ territory.
102	Chitrâ ...	Chândnî ...	Do. ...	
103	Nâg ...	Pal ...	Do. ...	The gods of the Shalgâoṅ territory.
104	Mahêshwâr ...	Mahâsû ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Majhêtî and Draunk *parganâs*.
105	Kadâsan ...	Tâlî ...	Do. ..	The god of the Parlî Phâtî territory.
106	Bagêshar ...	Bagêshar ...	Do. ...	Worshipped in Shâkh, Katâr, and Bagêshar of Balsan, and in the adjacent Nâhan villages.
107	Nâg ...	Kathôrî ...	Do. ...	The god of Kathôrî village only.
108	Gôn ...	Bakrârî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Kalâsî territory.
109	Nainôṅ ...	Dêvtî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Parâlî territory.
110	Banâr ...	Sharâchlî ..	Kêônthal State..	The god of all Râwin territory.
111	Mahâsû ...	Hanôl ...	Do. ...	Do. do.
112	Nigâhû ...	Jâîlî ...	Do. ...	The rural god of Aglâ Pônâr.
113	Banêshar ...	Chôhâg ...	Pônâr, Kêônthal State.	The rural god of Pichhlâ Pônâr.
114	Paddôî ...	Parôl ..	Sangiri State ...	The god of the Sângrî, Kumhârsen and Bhâjjî States.
115	Nâg ..	Shêdrî ...	Do. ...	The god of the Bhâjjî, Sângrî, Busahir, and Kûlû.

No.	The Name of God.	The Name of the Village or Seat of God.	Territory.	NOTES.
116	Bânô ...	Banâṛ ...	......	Worshipped in the Banâṛ territory only.
117	Marichh ...	Sawân ...	......	Worshipped in the Sawân territory only..
118	Grêhan ...	Dêôtî ...	Ghônd State ...	The god of the Shîlâ territory.
119	Shilgur ...	Ghund ...	Do. ...	The god of the Prâlâ territory.
120	Thâkur Dwârâ..	Ghund ...	Do. ...	The god of farmers.
121	Bânthiâ ...	Chikhur ...	Thêôg	Do. do.
122	Bânthiâ ..	Janôg ...	Do.	Do. do.
123	Jimprû ...	Padrôg ...	Do.	Do. do.
124	Mahâsû ..	Gajyâṛî ..	Do.	Do. do.
125	Banâṛ ...	Sharâchlî ...	Jûbal State ..	The god of the Barâr territory in the Jubal State, and of the Rânâ of Jubal.
126	Mahâsû ...	Hanôl ...	Do. ...	The god of all the Jûbal State.
127	Shrigul or Bîjat	Sarâhan ..	Do. ...	The god of the Bis Sô territory.
128	Râthî kâ Banâr.	Baṛhâl ...	Do. ...	The god of the Baṛhâl village only.
129	Santôpiâ ...	Dhâr ...	Do. ...	The god of Dhâr village only.
130	Shâṛî ...	Shâṛî ...	Do. ...	The god of four villages.
131	Dêvî ...	Jûbal ...	Do. ...	The goddess of the Barâr territory, and of the Rânâ.
132	Dêvi ...	Hatkoti ...	Râwin, Jûbal, and Busâhir States.	The goddess of the territories round Jûbal.
133	Rihatnâ ...	Thalôg ...	Jûbal State ...	The god of the Jakhôlî territory.
134	Gônâ ...	Bôdhnâ ...	Do. ...	Do. do.
135	Dêvî Jograsan..	Pôjarlî ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Pêônthrâ territory.
136	Kanêrâ ...	Pôjarlî ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Shak territory.
137	Dêvî Dunudi ...	Dhabâs ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Hamal territory.
138	Dum ...	Bhôt ...	Do. ...	The rural god of the Jakhôlî territory.
139	Mahâsû ...	Pôṛiyâ ...	Tharôch State...	The gods of all the territories of Tarôch and Sangiri.
140	Mahêshwar ...	Mashrân ...	Do. ...	Do. do.
141	Mahâsû ..	Hanôl ..	Do. ...	Do. do.
142	Thân ...	Sawân ..	Sangiri State...	Do. do.
143	Tawânsî ...	Baṛâgâoṅ ...	......	Worshipped in Maghidhâr territory.

XXXIII. — Origins of the Gods.

128. (1) A Sanyâsî mendicant, named **Ilâchigir**, came to Balsan and Thêôg States. The Chiefs of both the States became his disciples, for he knew *jôg* (spiritual science) very well. After his death, a tomb was raised over his ashes, and this tomb is now worshipped. The real seat of the saint is Thôr in Sirmûr State, and the Chiefs and subjects of both the States pay visits to this place also.

(2) The gods of the hills are of two kinds: — Female, *i. e.*, Dêvîs (goddesses); male, *i. e.*, Dêvatâs (gods). The **image** of a goddess is always complete. In the case of a god, his head or bust only is represented.

(3) The accounts of their origin and attributes vary. **The gods are generally of one type,** though they bear different names. The modes of worship are the same, and their images alike. Some goddesses are represented with four arms, some with two, some with eight, twelve, or even sixteen. Some are made to sit upon a dead body; some are shown as riding a lion. There are many other images in a temple, besides those of the god and the goddess, bearing different names, such as Shibjî, Shambhûjî, Ganêsh, Indar, Râjan, etc.

XXXIV. — Forms of Worship.

(4) **The priests** worship the gods twice a day. In the morning the priest provides some *sandal*, rice, purified butter for the lamp, flowers, *dhûp* (scent), and some sweets or fruits for the god. First of all, the god is washed with fresh water, and then his image is wiped with a clean cloth; *sandal* is pasted upon the forehead and some rice also. A garland of flowers is thrown round his neck. A lamp is lighted, drums are beaten, and bells are rung. The priest offers incense and chants hymns. Then sweets or fruits are placed before the image. After this all the worshippers offer their presents. The priest paints their foreheads with *sandal*, and prays to the god to fulfil their desires. Then **the chêlâ** (disciple) of the god goes into a trance and foretells success or failure to the pilgrim, offers him rice, and gives him directions in answer to his questions. In the evening only the lamp is lighted, incense and food being offered; after which the god or goddess retires. This is called *ârtî*.

(5) All kinds of **presents** are offered. Some men present gold and silver ornaments, clothes, money, grain, fruits, and purified butter, etc. A goat is killed. One loin of the goat is given to the person offering it; the remainder is distributed among the priests. Two or four annas in cash are given to the priest for each goat. In the temple of the goddess, presents are offered in the months of Chêt and Asôj. In addition to this, one can offer presents, if one likes, on a Tuesday, the day of the full moon, and the fourteenth, eighth or ninth day of the moon. Presents can be offered to a god at any time; but to do so on the first day of the month, or in Baisâkh, Bhâdôn or Mâgh, is considered best.

(6) The presents offered to a god or goddess are collected in the treasury and are spent in **charity**. The men in charge of the temple, such as the priest, the monk and the musician, are paid small sums by the pilgrims, the least sum being six pies. The pilgrims can pay them as much as they like.

XXXV. — Ghosts and Spirits.

129. *Bhûts* (ghosts), *parîs* (fairies), *chadrâs* and *manhrâs* are believed in by children and women.

130. **Stones** are not worshipped in any way, except that people make images of stone and hang them round their necks.

131-132. No.[6]

133. *Nil.*[6]

134. The **Vâm Mârgîs**, who worship the genital organs, are not to be found in this territory.

[6] [Obviously answers to questions. — Ed.]

XXXVI. — Initiation Ceremonies.

135. (*a*) To admit a person to any religious order, the brotherhood of the village assembles in the temple of its god. After discussing the question, they send for the man who is to be admitted. A Brâhman is called to that place by permission of the Chief. He chants some hymns on the *panch gâvyâ* (a mixture of milk, honey, cow's urine, water of the Ganges, and clarified butter) and makes the candidate for admission drink it. A feast is given to all the brotherhood, and the **excommunicated** can join in the feast. Then he goes to the god and presents offerings. This is allowed to reclaim those who have been excommunicated by the brotherhood owing to some mistake. **Apostates** who voluntarily give up the Hindu religion and become converts to any other religion cannot be reclaimed.

(*b*) Generally it is necessary to wear the sacred thread in order to join the Hindu religion. But the Sûdras, as already mentioned, do not wear it. They are considered members of the religion if they obey the ordinary rules, even if they do not wear the sacred thread.

XXXVII. — High Class Hindu Sects.

136. High class Hindus are divided into two sections — (1) **Saivas**, who worship the god Siva; (2) **Sâktaks**, who worship Siva, the goddess, and other gods. Those belonging to the first sect regard the sacrifice of goats and drinking of wine as sins. Those belonging to the second consider both to be virtuous. Enquiry shows that the latter abound in the hills, while the former are very few, not more than two per thousand.

XXXVIII. — Brâhman Sects.

138[7]. Brâhmans are divided into two kinds: — (*a*) Pandits or Pâdhas, *i. e.*, **Shukal**; and (*b*) Achâraj, Bhâṭ or Dakaut, *i. e.*, **Kishan.**

The Shukal Brâhmans accept the alms offered on happy occasions — such as the birth of a child, a marriage, or some other festival. They also chant hymns, or officiate in the worship of gods at such times. Every tribe has a separate Brâhman of this kind.

The Achâraj receives alms offered at funeral ceremonies. On these occasions the reading of the *kathâ* and the chanting of hymns is done by the Shukal Brâhman, *i. e.*, the priest. The alms are given to the Achâraj.

The Bhâts are given alms only at marriages. They are inferior to the Brâhmans, but superior to the Achâraj.

Alms offered to propitiate evil stars, such as Râhu, Kêtu, Sani, are given to the Pandâs or Dakauts. They also receive *tulâ dân* (alms in the form of grain, metals, etc., equal in weight to the weight of the man offering them). The hymns are recited by the Shukal Brâhman. Only the alms are given to the Dakauts.

The Brâhmans of all the tribes, except those of the Cobblers, Kôlîs, Shepherds, Musicians and Sweepers, do all the work mentioned above and take alms.

The Shukal Brâhmans do not eat food prepared by the Kishan Brâhmans.

XXXIX. — Priests.

139. Only **Brâhmans** act as priests.

140. No priest is to be found who performs ceremonies not pertaining to any particular god.

141. Every tribe has its own priests. None but Brâhmans can serve as priests.

142. Each family has a priest.

143. The priest knows all the business that he has to perform in the house of his disciple. He is not bound to keep *brahmchari* (celibacy) to the prescribed age, nor is he under any restrictions as regards profession. It is necessary for him to know the rules for giving or receiving alms at the times of death, marriage, birth, or any other festival.

[7] [No answer was apparently given to Question 137 — Ed.]

XL. — Places of Worship.

144. In some places there are separate buildings set apart for worship, while in others there are not.

145. The **temples** have their doors either to the north or east or on all sides.

146. A temple is either a *shivâlâ* or a *thâkur-dwârâ* or a *dêvî-dwâlâ*.

147. A *shivâlâ* contains the images of Shibjî, Râma, Ganêsh, Hanumân and Bhairôṅ. A *thâkur-dwârâ* those of Shivâjî, Râma, Lakshman, Krishnâ, Balrâm, Gôpâljî, and Hanumân. A *dêvî-dwâlâ* the images of Dêvî, Kâlî, Lônkṛâ, and a lion.

148. The god of the temple is worshipped thrice every day, in the morning, noon and evening, but in some places this worship is performed only twice. Offerings are made. The Brâhman is fed at particular festivals and *hawan* (sacrifice) is performed.

149. Some ceremonies are performed openly, and some secretly. The latter are called **narôl pûjâ,** and are performed on the occasion of particular festivals only and not every day.

XLI. — Sacrifices.

150. (1) Goats and sheep are sacrificed to all the gods.

(2) Goats are sacrificed in the name of the Dêvî or Kâlî.

(3) Sheep are sacrificed in the name of Bhairôṅ, Lôṅkṛâ, and Narsingh.

(4) Buffaloes are sacrificed to the younger Lôṅkṛâ.

(5) Fowls, pigs, fish, and lizards are offered to the lesser Kâlî.

151. Generally the family priest officiates at the time of the sacrifice, but one can sacrifice without the aid of the priest as well. The sacrifice is offered to the god who is the patron of the offerer.

152. The sacrifice is performed at the temple.

153. If the sacrifice be of a goat or sheep, one loin is given to the person who offered it, and the remainder is distributed among the monks, gods, and the priests. Sometimes the sacrificial animal is buried. In some places the head and liver of the sacrificed goat are kept by the priests and monks, and the remainder is given back to the offerer.

The sacrifice of the other animals are offered by the Kôlîs, Cobblers or Shepherds.

154. Sometimes, instead of a living creature, an **imitation** of it in flour or silver are offered, or the living beast, without being sacrificed, is let loose in the temple of the god. The animal remains in the forest, and the custodians of the temple look after it. When fat it is sold, and the money thus realised is added to the god's treasure. If the image offered be of silver, it is stored in the treasury. If of flour, it is cooked in oil or clarified butter, and is eaten by the priests.

155. The worshippers do not offer any part of their body as sacrifice.

XLII. — Human Sacrifice.

156. It is said that in ancient times men, women, and children were offered as sacrifice to the Dêvî or Kâlî. Men were sacrificed to Lônkṛâ also.

157. It is said that men had their heads cut off as offerings to Jawâlâ Mukhî, Kâlî, Bhîma Kâlî and Bhairôṅ Bîr, etc., and put into the sacrificial fire. Many men cut out their tongues and offered them to the goddess.

A sacrifice of the nature of **human sacrifice** is, however, still performed in the hills every forty or fifty years, and is called **Bhundâ.** **A man of the Bêḍâ Tribe** of Kûlû and Gaṛhwâl is sent for. From ancient times such men have been kept as priests in the places where this sacrifice is performed. They are treated like the ordinary priests, and are given an

annual pension out of the temple fund. When the time of the sacrifice has been fixed, the Bêḍâ is sent for three months before the date. He comes with his family and gathers hemp, with which a big rope, four or five hundred yards long, is prepared. All the men accompanying the Bêḍâ are sumptuously fed, and one of them who willingly offers himself is chosen for the sacrifice. He is given plenty of wine, meat, milk, etc. The sacrificial fire is kept burning for three months in the temple of the god. On the appointed day, saints, Brâhmans, and gods of the neighbourhood are sent for, and all are provided with food.

The Bêḍâ is brought to the temple in the morning and placed near the sacrificial fire. He is then worshipped and sacrificed, like a goat, in the name of the god. A rope that is prepared by the man himself is tied to two poles, and then the man is thrown over this rope. Some die, while others escape alive. In the latter case he is given eighty-four rupees in cash, garments and ornaments from the god's treasury. He has authority to ask for anything he likes from the pilgrims, who are bound to give it to him. This is a very critical time, and much care is taken in British territories. It is however held that the man's death or otherwise is under divine control. Some places where the rope is bound to poles are flat, while others are valleys between two rocks.

158. The men to be sacrificed, like the priests, are certain men fixed upon and are sacrificed in turn. A quarrel, as among the priests, arises if one offers himself in the place of another.

159. Open human sacrifice is now quite obsolete.

List of Bhundâ Sacrificial Spots.

No.	Name of God.	The Place of Sacrifice.	Territory.	NOTES.
1	Bashêrû ...	Bashêrâ ...	Busâhir State.	A good place, but very distant.
2	Kanglêshwar ..	Dêvthî ...	Do. ...	An ordinary place.
3	Lachmî Nârâin.	Manjhêôlî ..	Do. ...	Do.
4	Dêvî and Balrâm	Shinglâ ..	Do. ...	Do.
5	Do. ...	Shanêrî ...	Do. ...	Do.
6	Do. ...	Larsâ	Do. ...	Do.
7	Do. ...	Dansâ... ...	Do. ...	Do.
8	Datâtrâ and Balrâm.	Nagar ...	Do. ...	Do.
9	Sûraj and Balrâm.	Nirat	Do. ...	Do.
10	Kharânû ...	Kharâhan ...	Do. ...	A difficult place, steep on both sides.
11	Palthân ...	Shôlî	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
12	Bakrâlû ...	Dalgâôn ...	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
13	Bhîma Kâlî ...	Sarâhan ...	Do. ...	Do. do. do.
14	Thârî	Brâhl	Jûbal State ...	Do. do. do.
15	Dêvî	Nirmand ...	Kûlû	Do. do. do.

XLIII. — Table of Festivals.

No.	Name.	Month (English).	Month (Indian).	NOTES.
1	Lohṛî ...	Middle of January.	Pôh and the 1st day of Mâgh.	Food prepared and alms given to the Brâhmans.
2	Khattâlâ Ekâdashî.	End of January	Mâgh	Fasts are observed and sesame is offered as alms.
3	Basant Panchamî.	Early in February.	Phâgun ...	Dances are performed. The New-year is celebrated.
4	Shiv Râtrî ...	February or March.	Phâgun ...	A fast is observed in the name of Siva: food is prepared, and a goat sacrificed.
5	New-year's Day	March ...	1st of Chêt ...	The Brâhmans foretell the events of the year to the Kshatriyas, and receive some money as a gift.
6	Hôlî	March... ...	Phâgun ...	People throw coloured water on one another. Dances are performed, shows are held, and feasts given.
7	Chêtar Chaudas.	April	Chêt	A proper day for making offerings to gods. The *thâkur dwârâs* are the scenes of great festivities.
8	Nôrâtrê ...	March or April	Chêt	Fasts are observed in honour of the Dêvî (goddess), and goats and wine are offered to her.
9	Baisâkhî ...	April	1st of Baisâkh.	Gift are given to Brâhmans. Fairs are held for a fortnight.
10	Nirjâlâ Ekâdashî.	May	Jêt	People observe a fast. Sherbet is given gratis to the people to drink.
11	Dêb Sani Ekâdashî.	June or July ...	Hâr	Alms are given and fasts observed.
12	Biâs Pûjâ ...	June or July ...	Hâr	Do. do. do.
13	Narsingh Chaudas.	March ..	Chêt	Presents are offered in the *thâkur dwârâs*. Image of Narsing is displayed.
14	Râm Naumî ...	March ..	Chêt	Do. and the Râm Lîlâ is performed.
15	Sâonî	15th July ...	1st Sâwan ...	People eat food. Garlands of flowers are put round the necks of the cattle.
16	Rakhṛî ...	August ..	Sâwan or Bhâdôn.	The Brâhmans make arm-rings of thread and tie them to peoples' wrists, and get money as a reward.
17	Janam Ashtamî	August ...	End of Sâwan or beginning of Bhâdôn.	People fast, and feed the Brâhman next day.

No.	Name.	Month (English).	Month (Indian).	NOTES.
18	Kishun Gharî Mâvas.	August ...	End of Sâwan or beginning of Bhâdôn.	Farmers worship their land on the second day after *amâvas* (last day of the lunar month) and sacrifice a goat.
19	Nâg Panchamî.	August or September.	Do. ...	People worship their gods and offer sacrifices to them.
20	Anant Chaudas	September ...	Beginning of Asôj.	Anant is worshipped, and gifts are given to the Brâhmans.
21	Pitra Pakh Amâvas.	September ...	Asôj	Brâhmans are given gifts in the name of the dead forefathers.
22	Nôrâtrê ...	October ...	Asôj	The goddess is worshipped, sacrifices are offered, and masquerade shows are held.
23	Dasêhrâ ...	October ...	Asôj	The end of the *Nôrâtâs*. At the Dasêhrâ festival gifts are awarded to the poor.
24	Chṛêwal ...	August ...	1st of Bhâdôn..	Gods of clay are made and worshipped. Lights are shown to the gods every evening.
25	Sâêr	September ...	1st of Asôj ...	The barbers show mirrors to rich men, who give them rewards.
26	Dîwâlî... ...	October ...	Kâtik	Every village and every house is illuminated. Rich food is cooked and distributed amongst relatives.
27	Karnvâlî ...	October ...	Kâtik... ...	Celebrated in *thâkur dwârâs* only.
28	Gôpâ Ashtamî.	Octobre	Kâtik... ...	
29	Panch Bhîshmî Ekâdashî.	November ...	Mâghar ...	Fasts are observed, and gifts are given to the Brâhmans.
30	Panch Bhîshmî Puranmâshî.	November ...	Mâghar ...	
31	Sankrânt ...	December ...	1st Pôh ...	Goats are sacrificed throughout the country. Goats reared during the summer are sacrificed at this time.
32	Sataya Nârâin.	December ...	Pôh	The people fast on every *puranmâshî* (full moon) and give alms to the Brâhmans.
33	Somâvatî Amâvas.	December ..	Pôh	This festival returns after long intervals. Fasts are observed, and charity bestowed on the Brâhmans.
34	Pandrû ...	December ...	Pôh	Fasts are observed in the name of Siva, and there is also feasting.
35	Khaṛâin ...	January ...	Mâgh	

XLIV. — Some Details of the Festivals.

161.[*] A brief account of every festival has been given in the table above. Some details are now given.

(1) **Lôhṛî khichṛî** (a kind of food) is prepared and is distributed among relatives. The people play with balls in every village or in the temple of the god. The saints and Brâhmans are given rice, pulse, and money. Some people perform oblations in their homes. The priests worship the doors of their customers.

(2) **Basant Panchamî.** — This festival is celebrated in the court of the Chief only. The *tûrîs* (musicians) sing and play upon instruments and get rewards. The people sprinkle coloured water over one another. Some men and women wear yellow scarves, but it is not a general custom.

(3) **Shiv Râtrî.** — Fasting is observed during the day. In the night an image of Siva is made of clay. A coloured square is prepared, and the god is placed in the middle of it. Cakes are placed on all sides round the square. The god is worshipped throughout the night. Songs are sung, and music played. A goat is sacrificed. In the morning the god is thrown into water. The cakes are given to a Brâhman, and distributed amongst the brotherhood.

(4) **New-year's Day.** — On the first of Chêt, *tûrîs* (musicians) sing songs and play on instruments, and receive gifts. The Brâhmans foretell the events of the year and get rewards. The *tûrîs* go from village to village and entertain people throughout the month of Chêt.

(5) **Hôlî** is celebrated in the Chief's court only. Coloured water is sprinkled and songs are sung. All the men taking part in the **Hôlî** are entertained with a feast.

(6) **Nôrâtrê.** — The goddess is worshipped and sacrifices are offered to her.

(7) **Baisâkhî.** — On the 1st day of the month the priest worships the gates of his customers, who give him, according to their capacity, grain and money. During the whole of the month sacrifices are offered to the god on different dates. The people practise archery at a fair.

(8) **Sankrânt Sâwanî** (first day of the month Sâwan). — Wreaths of flowers are thrown round the necks of quadrupeds. Rich foods are prepared and distributed among the family and relations and guests. Fairs are held throughout the month in the temples of gods. All the people of the neighbourhood gather at the fairs, and dance and sing during the day. In the evening they go to feast at home or at their relatives' houses.

(9) **Nâg Panchamî.** — In some places fairs are held at the temples of gods. The people keep awake the whole night, and hill songs are sung and instruments are played upon. In the morning all the people present are fed. The fair at this time is called Jâgrâ or Bhadrôṇjû.

(10) **Nôrâtrê.** — The goddess is worshipped. Masquerades are held in the night. Music is played, and in some places is called *batrî* or *karâlî*. The next day is the Dasêhrâ. A man impersonating Râmchandar drives in a chariot and conquers Lankâ.

(11) **Shêrî or Sâêr.** — Each man makes an image of clay, puts flowers on it, and places it before his house. Rich food is prepared on the first day of the month. In the evening illuminations are made all around the image, and it is worshipped.

(12) **Diwâlî.** — Every person illuminates his house. Food is prepared and distributed among relatives. The people amuse themselves with gambling. A heap of wood is kept burning all night, and all the villagers gather round it and abuse the natives of adjoining villages, who in return abuse them. The people remain awake during the night and sing the songs of Diwâlâ, like the *kathâ* (recitation). A song is fixed for this festival.

[*] [No answer was apparently given to Question 160.—

Men and women of every tribe attend the fairs at this time, except women who observe the *pardâ* system. Persons of all ages are among the spectators.

162. The dates for all the festivals are fixed, except the Somâvati Amâvas and Satyâ Nârâin.

163. No festival is celebrated to commemorate any season.

164. Food is given to the Brâhmans in the name of the dead on the date corresponding to the death of the deceased, and this is termed *tithi shrâdh.* This is done by a few persons and is not a general custom.

165 All the Hindu festivals are celebrated by the people generally. However, some of the festivals pertaining to *thâkur dwârâs,* as mentioned in the above table, are celebrated by some persons, while others do not observe them.

166. The Hindus do not observe the festivals of the Sarâogîs.

167. There is no festival where boys and girls desirous of marriage meet and select their consorts.

168. Among certain classes the festival of Karvâ Chauth is considered to be for the wife and husband only.

169. Wine is used in the fairs held on Baisâkhî, Sâônî, and Hôlî festivals.

XLV. — Objects of Worship.

170. There are no ghosts or spirits who are considered to have any connection with **sticks**. However, the sticks, lances, and bugles of a god are honoured like the god himself.

171. The silver sticks, lances, bugles, and bells of a god are thought sacred. It is also believed that these things possess supernatural powers.

172. **Wood** and **stone** are worshipped, for they are considered to be the abodes of gods.

XLVI. — Animism, Spirit Worship.

173. The people believe in **spirits living in rivers, hills, trees, ruins, and in clean and unclean places.**

(*a*) **Yâma** (god of death) is supposed to live in rivers.

(*b*) *Bâolis,* brooks and springs are supposed to be the abodes of **jal paris** (water nymphs) and **mâtris.**

(*c*) **Kâli** is supposed to live in hills.

(*d*) Spirits of all kinds are supposed to live on trees.

(*e*) **Banshir** spirits live in ruins of old buildings, or valleys or mountains.

(*f*) Vicious spirits live in dirty places, and virtuous spirits or gods in clean and pure localities.

174. A detailed account of the **worship of ghosts** is given below. If a person is laid up with some disease and does not improve with medicine, a Brâhman is called and is asked to exorcise the disease. He indicates the kind of ghost, if any, with which the man is possessed. The following are the signs of **possession by ghosts** :—

(1) The patient seems comparatively comfortable during the day, but as the night advances, his restlessness increases. He gains composure with the passing of night and coming of day.

(2) The pulse of the patient beats like that of a healthy person. Now he becomes faint and again comes to his senses. Sometimes he speaks, while at others weeps and cries.

(3) The more medicine is administered, the more the disease increases. Sometimes he is cured without the use of medicine. The patient feels nausea, depression, and palpitation of the heart.

When these signs and the opinion of the Brâhman concur, the guardians of the patient make the following arrangements for the **propitiation of the ghost**:—

(*a*) The **water nymphs or Mâtrîs** are supposed to have female forms. They are of two kinds:— Virtuous or superior, and vicious or inferior. Means for propitiating virtuous nymphs are these: Fruits and flowers are offered to them, a small palanquin is made of bamboo and covered with cloths of five colours, the Brâhman makes a cake, recites some hymns, and places the palanquin before the patient, and puts the fruits and flowers in it. The patient is made to worship a lamp and the palanquin, after which it is placed at a crossing. To propitiate an evil or vicious nymph, a goat, or a sheep, or a pig or a hen is offered as sacrifice. The remaining methods of adoration are like those mentioned above.

(*b*) Propitiation of the **god of death** is performed thus:— Some beasts, as hens, pigs, or sheep are brought. A cake of seven kinds of grain is cooked. Five or six lamps are lighted and placed upon this cake, together with some pieces of stone. All this is placed before the patient. The Brâhman chants a hymn on every stone and puts it upon the cake. The stones are either 5, or 7 or 11 in number, always representing odd numbers. When this is done all these things, together with the beasts, are taken to the cremation-grounds, where the Brâhman sacrifices the animals and takes them away.

(*c*) **Kâlî** is worshipped with the sacrifice of a goat, flowers, fruits, wheaten bread, and lamps, in the same way as a Mâtrî.

(*d*) **Ghosts and nahshîrâs** are propitiated by sacrifices of goats in some places, and by dust or gravel in others In the same manner evil ghosts are propitiated by the sacrifice of a boar, or hen, or dust only.

175. **Dâgs or demons are the ghosts connected with fields.** It is a well-known fact that an estimate is made of the produce of the fields. If the crops of a certain season yield produce less than the estimated one, the difference is thought to be appropriated by the *dâg*.

176. Most men perform the **Kunjhâin pûjâ** instead of sacrifices.

177. *Kunjhâin* is ordinarily offered to Kâlî, a *parî* (fairy), or a *mâtrî*. A certain portion of the forest or hill is set aside for this purpose. Even if the forest is cut down, yet the portion consecrated to the god is preserved for his worship. None of the trees in this portion is cut, nor are any leaves or boughs broken.

178. **Monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, and snakes are worshipped as gods.**

(1) **A monkey** or an ape is considered as a representation of Hanûmân. Large cakes, grain, and gram are offered to them.

(2) **An elephant** is taken as a representation of the god Ganêsh, and is worshipped on such festivals as Ganêsh Chauth, etc.

(3) **Cows** are of two kinds, *viz.*, *kâm dhênû* and *kapilâ*, and both of them are adored as gods. Cows having a tongue or a hoof on their backs are also worshipped.

(4) **An ox or nâd** is worshipped instead of Siva.

(5) **Snakes** are worshipped as the *nâg dêvtâ* (snake-god).

XLVII. — Ancestor Worship.

179. Prayers and sacrifices are offered to the spirits in the name of the dead.

180. No ceremony deserves mention.

181. No sacred animal, nor any plant, nor any other thing, is worshipped in the name of any ancestor.

182. The heirs of the deceased offer alms in the name of the dead while performing *kiryâ karm* or *shrâdh* (funeral ceremonies) under the impression that all this goes to the spirit of the dead.

183. The things placed with a corpse are disposed of in the following manner: —

(1) All that is put in the mouth of the dead, as *panch ratan* (five gems), is burnt with it.

(2) The ornaments are, in the case of poor men, taken back, and in the case of rich men, sent to Hardwâr, or given to the Achâraj (man officiating at funeral ceremonies).

(3) Clothes of small value are burnt with the corpse or buried with it. Costly clothes are taken back by poor people, but sent to Hardwâr or given to the Achâraj by rich men.

(4) Edible things are generally given to the Achâraj.

184. Living persons fear the spirits of the dead.

185. If the soul of a dead person is seen in a dream by any one, and it troubles him, the deceased is considered to be the cause of this. A Brâhman is asked to offer prayers for the salvation of the dead. A charm is written and tied to the neck or arm of the person dreaming about the dead.

186. The spirit of the deceased is considered to haunt his house for eleven days after death. The following matters are taken into consideration as regards other haunts : —

(1) The spirit that has become united to the universal spirit does not return.

(2) The spirit which, on account of his sins, has not obtained salvation, always haunts here and there, finds rest nowhere, and is not pleased with any place. So spirits of the second sort haunt all places, like graveyards and cemeteries. Their forms are very fearful and they have no flesh on their bodies. They are said to be of fabulous sizes.

187 The forms of ghosts lead us to the conclusion that they were great sinners in their lives, or died a sudden death — such as by poison, or by falling down, or by suicide — and have not obtained salvation. There are different interpretations of these facts; but it is of no use to give their details, for it is impossible to find out the truth in this way.

188. The Brâhmans expel ghosts by charms and magic. The person possessed by a ghost is made to inhale the smoke produced by burning wheat, chillies, the flesh of a tiger, and pork If the ghost is not dispelled by these means, then the method mentioned in para. 174 is applied.

189. The kinds of ghosts have been given in para. 174.

190. Fifteen days are consecrated to the deceased ancestors in Bhâdôṅ or Asôj. This period is called *pitrî paksh* (ancestor's fortnight), and at this time Brâhmans are fed and given alms in the name of ancestors. This is called *shrâdh*.

191. It is necessary to perform the *shrâdh* of a man at Gyâ, and that of a woman at Gôdâvarî. For instance, if the parents of a person die, then he will perform the *shrâdh* of his father at Gyâ and that of his mother at Gôdâvarî.*

* [Or, at some place recognised as a substitute. — Ed.]

XLVIII. — Animal Worship.

192. No tribe nor any subdivision of a tribe is named after the name of an animal, a tree, or an arm or instrument.

193. The Hindus honour such objects, for they take them to be sacred according to their Scriptures. They abstain from killing, cutting, burning, or eating any male or female cattle, elephant, monkey, snakes, crows, *garur* (a large heron), peacocks, cat, or dog, or any *pipal* tree, or banian tree.

194. Hanûmân is represented as a monkey; Ganêsh is represented as an elephant. The images of the animals mentioned above are kept by the people for worship. Besides these the people make images of all gods and adore them.

195. Every custom is handed down from ancient times. There is no special tradition about this. Idol worshippers have a strong faith in images.

XLIX. — Tree Worship.

196. Women particularly worship the *pîpal* and banian trees. They also worship the *tulsî* (a shrub); and the sensitive plant.

197. The *pîpal* is worshipped on the occasion of a marriage or any other like happy occasion. Also the *tulsî* plant is worshipped. Girls can be named after the *tulsî*, but there is no such rule for the names of boys.

Superstitions.

L. — Omens from Animals.

198. A detail of **ill-omens** is given below: —

(1) If a **cow**, buffalo, goat, or sheep give birth to a young one during the period extending from the 26th of Baisâkh to 8th Jêth, this young one, with its mother, is given away to the Brâhman, or it is sold. To keep it is considered unlucky.

(2) The same rule applies to **cattle** bringing forth their young in Bhâdôṅ or Mâgh.

(3) **Cattle** producing young in Jêth under the influence of the star Mûl are subject to the same rule.

(4) The animal that **howls** at night, or seems grumbling like an unhealthy individual, is either given away in charity or is sold.

(5) If small **spots** appear on the skin of a **buffalo,** it is sold.

(6) Cows or goats yielding **blood** instead of milk are sold.

(7) Cows or goats that drink their own **milk** are sold.

(8) An animal that **kills** or devours its own **young** is sold.

LI. — Omens from Domestic Utensils.

(1) It is forbidden to eat out of a broken vessel of white brass.

(2) The vessels of clay or white brass are used by the members of one class only. They become polluted if used by members of another caste.

(3) A vessel is considered unclean unless it is cleaned with dust and water.

(4) The cooking vessels are liable to impurity more quickly than the utensils for water.

(5) The people do not allow the members of a caste, different from theirs, to use their copper and white brass metals. Other vessels are free from such restrictions.

LII. — Omens from Houses.

(1) The place where a crow caws at night and a jackal howls at day, becomes unfit for habitation. This is considered to be the forecast of somebody dying there.

(2) The sitting of an owl, a pheasant, or a vulture on the roof of a house is considered ominous. If this happens, a goat is sacrificed at once.

(3) The crawling of a snake in the upper floor of the house is considered to portend evil. If one appears, it is expelled by pulling down the roof and not through the door. Something is also given in charity.

(4) Cracking sounds in the roof or furniture of a house are unlucky.

(5) If in a house the sound of a stranger, or of a member of the family, is heard, and after enquiry it is found that there was no such man there, but the sound was only an unnatural one, the house is thought to be unfortunate.

(6) The appearance of moisture in the walls of a house without any rain, is thought ominous.

(7) The following are ill-omens for a house : — The subjection of the inmates to constant whimsical thoughts, excessive sleep, poverty, constant dreams, expenses greater than income, perpetual illness.

(8) The going out of a fire suddenly at the time of cooking food.

(9) Decrease in charity, prayers and worship, and increase in sin, portend misfortune.

LIII. — Omens from the Roads.

To lay a road along one's habitation is prohibited.

LIV. — Omens from Movements of the Body.

(1) The trembling of any limb, in a healthy state of the person, is of evil import.

(2) Unusual silence or too much talk, sickly heart and whimsical thoughts, foreshadow coming evil. Also evil dreams ; sneezing of a person in front or on the left ; a succession of calamities ; spitting ; a snake, a lizard, a jackal or an ass touching the body ; the perching of a crow on the head or the fall of a crow's droppings on the body ; the appearance of drops of blood on a cloth when the cause cannot be found out ; biting by a dog or cat ; burning by fire ; cloth being damaged by mice.

LV. — Lucky and Unlucky Stars.

199. Every one has two *râshîs* (stars of fate), *i. e.*, birth *râshî* and name *râshî*. If an evil star comes near this *râshî* at a distance of 4, 8 or 12 stages, the man under its influence has to propitiate it, and considers himself unlucky.

The images or likenesses of stars are not buried.

LVI. — Omens from the Rivers.

200. If the following omens occur to a man crossing a river, he will stop for an hour and then cross it : — Sneezing, tumbling, confronting an ass or a snake going to the right, confronting a bareheaded man or a man bringing wood, a bridegroom going to a marriage, one being asked as to where he is going, appearing to the left or in front of a partridge, a crow, a pheasant, a deer, a jackal or a heron, a widow.

If one comes across some of these omens successively in crossing a river or a road, he returns and does not proceed.

LVII. — Sumptuary Customs.

201. *Kolís*, cobblers, weavers, washermen, barbers, *tûrîs* (musicians), ironsmiths, *bhareras*, and shepherds do not wear gold and gems, nor do they wear shawls, *chugâs, sarbandâ* (dresses). *gulbadan* and *kimkhâb* (silken cloth). In addition to these tribes, the Kanaits do not wear gold arm-rings, *barâgar, sarshôbhâ, amîrash* and diamonds (ornaments), and cloths of *kimkhâb*. But nowadays this custom is being disregarded.

No tribes, except Brâhmans, Râjpûts and Baniâs can take their food in silver vessels.

There is no custom as regards planting and eating of herbs or plants.

LVIII. — Naming Customs.

202. Some plants have names like those of some of the tribes, but there is no tradition about them worth mentioning.

203. Children ordinarily have two names: birth name and ordinary name. The former is used in performing religious ceremonies, and no one except the priest knows this name. The latter is used in ordinary business and is known to all. An opprobrious name is given to a boy whose elder brother died before his birth, *e. g.*, Gandû, Badû, etc., in order that he may live. Holes are made in his nose and ears like the women.

204. The above applies both to boys and girls.

205. In ordinary matters, parents swear by their children and *vice versâ*. They touch their bodies. In legal matters, a man is made to swear by the god that he believes in. The man who takes an oath in the temple of a god, touches the image of the god, or throws a stone towards the temple, or picks up the money or disputed objects before the god. Some oaths are performed by touching a cow or lifting upon one's head the water of the Ganges.

206. The truth or falsity of a man who takes an ordeal is determined in this way — that if he suffers any loss or injury, then he is considered false; and if he prospers, then he is true. In ancient times cases were tried by making the culprit dive in water, by putting the hand in hot oil, or by giving poison to a goat.

The party who was willing to take an oath was taken to a tank or a *khad* (valley) full of water and was made to dive. If he was true, then he came back to the surface and won the case; otherwise he was considered false and, being pronounced guilty, suffered punishment.

Ten or fifteen seers of oil were boiled in an iron cauldron, and when it was foaming a copper piece was dropped in it. The man ready to take oath was then asked to pick up this piece. If his hand was burnt, he was considered false, and lost the case. If, on the other hand, he received no injury, he won the suit.

A flat piece of iron was made red hot, and the tongue of the swearing person was branded with it. The burning of the tongue showed the falsity of the swearer, while its safety proved him true in his cause.

The parties to a dispute used to bring two goats alike in all respects. The goats were given equal quantities of poison. The party whose goat was affected with poison before the other's was considered to be in the right and won the case.

All these three customs are now out of use in British territories.

207. All quarrels are decided by the oaths stated above.

LX. — Magic and Charms.

208. Magic is practised by **magicians** only, and there are **no witches**.

209. This practice is no concern of the priest, nor has he any enmity with the magicians. In some places even the priests act as magicians; and in others, other men do so. In short, any one who learns this science can become a magician.

210. The magician's business is to foretell by means of figures. He always remains at home. He goes to the house of a person who calls him, and there he either makes a charm or dispels one. Generally, the people look upon him with respect.

211. The man who remains dirty and unclean, and does not worship gods, but devotes his whole attention to the worship of evil spirits, and does not take a bath, is taken to be as a magician.

212. The people generally believe that the attendance of a magician means either the calling of ghosts to disclose some secret or to make a person receive some gain or injury.

LXI. — Possession and Exorcism.

213. It is believed that people become possessed of ghosts. In order to cure a possessed person, he is made to inhale the smoke of chillies. If the ghost does not leave him, a Brâhman or a magician is called in, who, according to his own science, makes charms as mentioned above.

214. Possession by a ghost is considered evil. Spirits are generally under the control of low persons, such as Kôlîs, cobblers, shepherds, ironsmiths, etc., as well as under that of Brâhmans. A ghost imposed by a low person is thought to be unholy, while that by a person of high caste is holy.

LXII. — Dreams.

215. Dreams dreamt in good health and on a clear night can portend good or evil, can tell about the past, and foretell the future.

216. A learned Brâhman is called to interpret a dream, and is told all about it. If the dream seems, according to the rules of the books, evil, the Brâhman makes the man who dreamt it give some charity, but there is no need of charity in the case of a good dream.

217. If a dead person is seen in a dream, and conversation is held with him, then the dream is considered to be one relating to the communication with spirits. Other dreams are good or bad omens.[1]

LXIII. — Spirit Propitiation.

218. To propitiate spirits, Brâhmans are made to recite *panchak shânti* hymns (hymns to propitiate), and alms are given. Brâhmans or magicians make charms and tie them to the necks of the possessed persons.

LXIV. — The Evil Eye.

219. People believe in the effects of the evil eye and are much afraid of it. They consider it worse than magic.

220. Some men have so much power in their eyes, that if anything be eaten in their sight, it is soon vomited. No particular reason given for this is worth mentioning.

221. The effects of the evil eye are done away with by charms, or by performing the business out of the sight of the man suspected to possess it. A portion of something brought from without is put in the house fire. The effect of the evil eye upon an animal is neutralized by throwing some dust over it.

LXV. — Charms.

222. Magicians perform charms upon a person by means of things belonging to that person, or by things that were a portion of his body : —

(1) Nails or hair cut from his body, or the dust over which he has trodden.

(2) Driving a nail in a tree bearing the same name as the person intended to be injured, will wound that person.

(3) Warming the water of a spring of the same name as the victim on a fire, will make him to suffer from heat.

(4) Making an image of a person and wounding it with a nail in his name.

(5) Making an image of a person and either burying or burning it.

(6) Putting the flesh of a corpse, or some pepper or mustard, in the name of the victim, on a sacrificial fire.

All these things are done in order that their effect may fall upon the victim.

223. Special care is taken to destroy nails or hair when cut. Every man has two names, and the reason of this is that the magicians may not know the birth name.

LXVI. — Fortune-telling.

224. A magician or a *jôtishî* (astrologer) foretells and foresees future events.

225. The following are the methods of prophesying and foreseeing : —

(1) The astrologer has three dice. He throws them and, making estimates by means of the letters of the alphabet, interprets good or evil results.

(2) The disciple or *dâd*, who is well known as a magician, concentrates his attention for a few minutes, and answers any questions put to him as to the good or bad end of the enquirer.

(3) Some oil is poured on a plate of white brass, and a lighted lamp is placed on this plate at night. The medium fixes his eyes, for a few minutes, upon this lamp, after which he goes into a trance, and in this state he foretells future events.

(4) Questions are put to the medium in the evening, and he answers them the next morning. It is supposed that he receives information at night from some god.

(5) Sometimes the medium takes some oil or *ghî* (purified butter) in his hands and rubs them for a few minutes, and then answers questions. Some interpret answers by making the questioner name any fruit or flower.

Answers to most of the questions about the past or present are correct, but to those about future are very seldom correct. Magicians and charmers belong to the Brâhman, Jôgî, shoemaker, Kôlî, minstrel, smith, and Bâdî classes.

LXVII. — Illness is Spirit-caused.

226. Illness is generally attributed to ghosts.

227. If a man is suffering from a disease which cannot be diagnosed by physicians, or if it increases with the use of medicine, or if it abates in the day and increases in the night, then it is thought to be a case of possession, and is referred to a Brâhman or disciple (*dâd*). He throws dice or goes into a trance, and thus tells what sort of spirit is possessing the patient. The patient is treated in the manner suggested by the medium. Generally the medium cures him by adoration and other such means.

Social Restrictions.

LXVIII. — Abstention from Foods.

228. The Hindus abstain from taking the meat of a cow, an ox, a buffalo (male and female), a dog, a cat, an ass, a horse, a mule, a camel, a crow, a jackal, a heron, a peacock, a mouse, a serpent, a lizard, a tortoise, and a sheep. They do not use garlic, onion, turnip, raddish, carrot, and mushroom among the vegetables. But these customs are observed by some of the people and not by all.

229. All persons do not abstain from the use of things already mentioned, but only high caste men and Brâhmans, such as Râjpûts, Baniâs, Sûds, and Bôhrâs, do so. Others, such as Kanaits, smiths, minstrels, Bâṛîs, barbers, and goldsmiths, do not care for the above restrictions. All the tribes, except shoemakers, Kôlîs, shepherds, and Nigalûs, abstain from the above-mentioned meats, but not necessarily from the vegetables.

230. It is a religious restriction not to take these things.

231. People abstain from these only on account of religious restrictions. Otherwise there is no reason for giving them up.

LXIX. — Tribal Descent.

232. No tribe is considered to have been descended from any plant or animal. However the *pîpal* tree, the banian tree, and the *tûlasî* plant are thought to have divine powers.

233. No reasonable explanation can be given of the tribal fables.

LXX. — Customs on Eating, etc.

234. The customs of the people as regards **eating, touching, speaking, seeing, and pronouncing** names are given below: —

Brâhmans, Râjpûts, Bôhrâs, Baniâs, Sûds, and Kshatriyas. — There are some sections who do not take unfried food prepared by any person not belonging to their own section. There is no restriction regarding touching, seeing, speaking, and pronouncing names. They do not drink even water touched by a low Brâhman, such as the Krishan.

Kanaits and other sects neither eat food prepared by a person not belonging to their own sect, nor do they drink water touched by such a man. There is no restriction as regards touch.

235. The restriction of touch is according to caste. For instance, men of high castes do not touch those of low castes. The restrictions of eating and drinking are according to the subdivisions even of the same sect.

236. High-caste people look down upon low-caste men. They hate the men who eat flesh of cows or buffaloes. However, this custom prevails among the low castes only.

LXXI. — Restrictions as to Women.

237. Infants and women cannot enter into temples unless they are purified by means of baths, etc. A woman whose husband is alive is not allowed to worship the god Siva, nor can she worship Bîr Bhairôṅ or Hanûmân nor Kâlî. Widows worship Siva.

238. The father of the husband of a woman has no scruples against using the things of her father, but her father cannot take anything from his son-in-law. He will not even drink water from the village where his daughter is married. But this custom prevails only among those tribes whose marriages are performed according to religious tenets. There is no such restriction for those whose marriages are not thus performed.

239. The reason of the above restrictions seems to be this — that as the father makes a vow to forsake everything that he gives as dower to his daughter, and it is not permissible to appropriate anything that has been once given up, so he does not even take meals at his son-in-law's house; for everything in the house of the latter is affected by the things given by the former. For the same reasons, a *jijmân* (disciple) of a Brâhman cannot take food in the house of that Brâhman.

LXXII. — Pronouncing Names and Words.

240. The names of elder relatives are not pronounced out of respect for them. The younger relative does not pronounce the name of the elder, but the elder can call the younger by name. For instance, a son does not pronounce the name of his father, mother-in-law, or elder brother, out of regard for them, and considers them more sacred than others.

241. There is no fear of magic or charm. The name is not pronounced only out of respect.

242. Many men do not pronounce, in the course of a conversation, the name of the chief or of a deceased person. The chief is mentioned by his title, and the deceased by his relationship.

243. Words or subjects denoting contempt, licentiousness, drinking, etc., are not spoken in the presence of a chief, or elder, or respectable person.

LXXIII. — Courtesy Titles.

244. The following are the titles used by different castes. An inferior person will call a superior one by his customary title. Men of equal rank can call each other by name: —

Titles of Brâhmans: — Pandit, Jôtishî, Pâdhâ, Parôhit, Achâryâ, Pandâ, Râî, Bhâṭ.

Titles of Râjpûts: — Râjâ, Mahârâjâ, Râṇâ, Mahârânâ, Thâkur, Kaṅwar, Miâṅ, Rathî, Rangaṛ, Ravat, Dâd, Sartôṛâ.

Titles of Baniâs: — Shâh, Sêth.

Titles of Kanaits: — Mukhiâ, Wazîr, Mehtâ, Mehr, Nêgî, Palsrâ.

Other tribes have ordinary titles according to their professions, and they need not be dwelt upon.

An inferior person will address a superior one with the following words: — Panditjî, Jôshîjî, Mahârâj, Râjâ, Sâhib, Rânâ Sâhib, Shâhjî, Mukhiyâjî, and so on.

LXXIV. — Agricultural Superstitions.

245. (1) It is prohibited to plough land on the *amâvas* (last day of moon), *ekâdashî* (eleventh day of moon), or any other important festival. If at the time of ploughing, a snake be killed by the ploughshare, it is forbidden to go on ploughing without purifying it.

At the time of seed *sowing* the following matters are regarded as necessary: — (*a*) That the sower be under the good influence of the moon; (*b*) That there be no evil *nakshatar* (star), *tithî* (date) or *jôg* (combination of stars); (*c*) That the day be neither Tuesday nor Saturday.

(2) The following things are regarded as necessary, both at the time of **sowing** and of **harvest** : —

The people generally are very careful of *panchak jôg*, Tuesday, Saturday; *amâvas puranmâshî* (full moon) and *shankrânt* at the time of seed sowing and harvesting, but they do not care for evil stars and *jôgs*. If it rains a day or two after seed sowing it is considered ominous. The same is thought of rain at harvest, or of excessive rain at the time of planting a corn-field or one or two days after it, or of rain on the night of *janamashtamî* or *puranmâshî* in Hâr or *amâvas* in Bhâdôṅ.

Ordinarily, land is ploughed twice, but good farmers plough it thrice, *i. e.*, first in lines parallel to the length of the field; secondly, crosswise from one corner to the other; and thirdly, also crosswise from the third corner to the fourth. The advantage of this is that the soil which remains unturned by the first ploughing is turned by the second, and thus the whole of the field is uniformly made fit for the crops to grow.

A long post is fixed in the field and a bone, or the skin of some animal, is hoisted on this post as a **scare crow**. Beasts being afraid of it, do not come near and injure the crops. It is also believed to be a safeguard against ghosts or the evil eye.

246. Feasts are given to the Brâhmans at the time of digging a well, or a water-channel, or harvest. When a well or a water-channel is ready, the Brâhman is made to offer prayers, and after this they are used for watering purposes. When the harvest has commenced a big wheaten loaf is brought to the field and distributed among all the men present, or a goat is sacrificed and taken home. When corn is separated from the chaff it is collected in a large heap and worshipped, and a portion of it is set aside for the god. The scrapings are stored in bags or boxes. The people do not use fresh corn without feeding a Brâhman with it. Also some grain is devoted to the deceased ancestors, with which Brâhmans are fed. At the end of the year — *i. e.*, at the end of the *kharîf* season, when all the crops have been garnered — the people of the village bring their god from his temple with great *éclat* and worship him and sacrifice to him a goat. All the persons accompanying the god and saints and mendicants are fed. Generally this entertainment is given by several villagês from the month of Bhâdôṅ to Mâgh, and is called *bhadrônjû, halan, jâgrâ, panilâ pehrâ* or *mâghôjî*.

247. Sowing for the *rabi* crops begins in Asôj and ends in Pôh, and that for the *kharîf* continues from Chêt to Hâr. The reaping of crops begins in Baisâkh and ends in Hâr for the *rabi*, and that for the *kharîf* begins in Asôj and ends in Maghar. Sowing and reaping not done at the proper time is defective, and excess or want of rain on both these occasions is harmful.

248. There are no special gods for special seasons.

249. No tribe has any particular god, nor is caste of any importance in becoming a disciple. People can worship any god they choose.

LXXV. — Food and Drink.

250. A detail is given below of the use, or otherwise, of wine, beef, the flesh of a monkey, pork, cloven-hoofed or uncloven-hoofed animals' flesh, fowls, fish with or without scales, shark, snake, mice, and other insects, and food of which another person has been eating.

Ved Pâthî Brâhmans or those living in plains, Bhîbrâs, Baniâs, Khshatriyas, and Bairâgi mendicants neither eat nor touch any of these articles.

Brâhmans of the hills, Râjpûts, Sûds, Bôhrâs, Kanaits, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, washermen, dyesinkers, carpenters, smiths, Thathêrâ or Bharêrâs, minstrels or Tûrîs, or Dâkîs, and Dhâdîs, **if Saivas or Sâktaks, eat the flesh of animals** and use **wine; if Vaishṇavas,** they do not.

The Saivas use the following: — **Wine** of all sorts; **flesh** of goats, either male or female; flesh of male sheep; **pork;** flesh of wild fowl; **fish** of every kind. There is no rule for the use or otherwise, of the flesh of animals with cloven or uncloven hoofs. Some men eat the flesh of cloven hoofed animals, and others do not. The same is the case with animals with uncloven hoofs and wild birds. The flesh of the peacock, crow, *kansharîi*, heron, and kite, etc., is not used.

The Chanâls, Kôlîs, ministrels, shepherds, sweepers, cobblers, sailors or boatmen, and weavers use **beef,** the flesh of buffaloes, **pork,** flesh of cloven-hoofed and uncloven-hoofed animals, except those mentioned above and the flesh of a snake, a jackal, or a mouse.

No tribe eats anything of which a person of another tribe has been eating. Also men of the same tribe do not use food left after eating by another person. If a person of low caste be in the service of a person of high caste, then he can eat the **food left** by his master. A wife can use the food left by her husband, and children can use food left by their parents or elder brothers.

251. Some men do not take meat in the rains. They do not use cold things in winter, and warm things in summer.

252. It is forbidden by religion to take meat in the rains. In other seasons some things are not used in order to preserve health.

253. Widows and small children do not use meat. There is no difference between men and women, minors and adults, poor and rich, in taking or rejecting other foods.

254. None but the Chanâls and low castes use the flesh of monkeys, elephants, cows, oxen, herons, etc., for they are regarded as belonging to the gods.

LXXVI. — Dining Customs.

255. Among the Hindus none but Kayasthâs eat together. Every adult person eats on a separate table. Minor boys and girls can take food with their parents, but only as long as they are six or seven years old.

256. Men and women do not eat together among the Hindus.

257. After the **food** is ready, a little of everything cooked is **set apart** for the god, and some of it is consigned to the fire of the hearth. Then it is laid before all the men. Every man puts aside, from his own plate, some portion for a cow, and a little is given to the crows and dogs. Some is put in the fire, and the rest is eaten.

258. There is no peculiarity concerning eating and drinking, except that it is an ancient custom.

LXXVII. — Stimulants and Medicines.

259. Stimulants and medicines are indifferently used. Some men do not use medicines prepared by a doctor who is of a low caste. Medicines, containing anything the use of which is prohibited by religion, are not used. No particular custom deserves mention.

260. People use wine at the time of the Holi or on any other happy occasion.

261. Wine is often used as a preventive of epidemics, like cholera, etc.

262. Drinking and use of other stimulants is regarded in the following manner by people : —

(1) Excessive drinking is badly thought of, if it produces lowness of spirits and brain fever. If it is used in small quantities, so as not to bring on excitement, or not to retard the ordinary course of business, then it is considered no harm to drink.

(2) The use of *charas* and *ganja* (intoxicating hemp drugs) is considered wicked.

(3) Use of opium to prevent some bodily disease or infirmity is not thought badly of, but otherwise it is looked down upon.

(4) To smoke *chandu* (a hemp drug) is considered wrong

(5) The use of *bhang* (a light hemp drug) in summer as a cooling draught is thought good.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE SEASONS OF GIRDHAR SADHU.

By the Poetess Sanvri Sakhi.

Text	Translation.
Girdhar, bansî bajî ; Shâm, terî âwâz sunkar main daurî.	Girdhar, thy lute sounded ; Shâm, hearing the sound I hastened to thee
Rimjhim rimjhim mehâ barseh ṭat : Jamnâ par lagî jhaṛî.	Heavily, heavily fell the rain : I hastened to the Jamnâ
I.	I.
Pahlâ mahînâ Asâṛh lagiyâ ; merâ dil ho rahâ bhorangî	The first month June has come ; my heart is in a turmoil
Paṇḍit, joshî, sabhî bûjh liye ; bûjh liyâ ramtâ jogî.	Priests, astrologers, all have I consulted ; I have consulted the wandering *jogî*.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.	Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.
II.	II.
Dûsrâ mahînâ Sâwan lagiyâ ; haryâlî ho rahî jangal meṅ.	The second month July has come ; the grass is green in the woodlands.
Dam dam par yâd karûṅ ; thî jhurwat apne mahlân meṅ.	Every moment I recall them ; there was suffering in my palace.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.	Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.
III.	III.
Bhâdon mahînâ it ghan garje, dhamak tarin, chhatyân larzeṅ.	In the third month August the clouds thunder, and the lightning falls and the heart grieves.
Wâ, Man Mohan, kaṭhorî mere dil kâ, dard koî nahîṅ bûjhe.	Alas, Man Mohan, fascinator of my heart, no one considers my pain.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.	Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

IV.

Asoj âsâ lagî rahî, Sakhî rî; âjhû nâ âye Har Khrishṇâ.
Tulsî kî mâlâ leke hâth men, Râm Râm raṭnâ raṭnâ.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

IV.

September has commenced, O Sakhî; Har Khrishṇâ has not yet come.
I take my *tulsî* garland in my hand to repeat the name of Râm again and again.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

V.

Kâtik karm-bhâg mere chûke nahîn mile Nand ke lâlâ.
Mukaṭ kî laṭak mere man bas gaî; rî Mohan-mâlâ!
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

V.

In October my heart grieves that I have not met the son of Nand.
The brilliancy of his crown has filled my heart; oh the Mohan necklace!
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VI.

Manghur mâng bharî naksak se, sab zêwar merâ sone kâ.
Ajhûn na âe. Kin barmâe? Baṛâ andêshâ hai pî ka.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

VI.

In November I have braided my hair, and put on all my golden jewels.
Yet he comes not. Who has deceived him? Great is the anxiety in my heart.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VII.

Poh piyâ mad mâti ḍolen, jûn Sâwan kî ḥai bijlî.
Palpal bars paṛâ; pal bite; jûn bîte, jûn jân sahâye.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

VII.

In December my love is filled with pride, like the lightning of July.
The separation of a year has passed; I suffer the separation; as I suffer, so my life passes.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

VIII.

Moh mahînâ man merâ aṭkâ: Har darshan kî hûn piyâsî.
Aîrût apnâ sir morî; ajhûn na âe Birj-bâsî.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

VIII.

In January my heart is in love: I am athirst for a sight of Har.
The spring is set; yet the dweller in Brij comes not.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

IX.

Phâgan phâg khel Man Mohan: 'abîr, gulâl, uḍe rolî;
Kêsar rang kî kîch bahî hai; lipaṭ jhapat khelen Holî.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

IX.

In February Man Mohan has come to play: *abîr*,[1] *gulâl*[2] and *rolî*[3] are used;
Saffron has fallen lavishly; leaping and dancing they play at the Holî.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

X.

Chet mahînâ at mohe chintâ lagî; bhâl ghar nâ sûjhe.
Prân patî piyâre, Man Mohan, bilâ darshan koî na pûchhe.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

X.

In March my heart is grieved; pleasure comes not to my house.
The master of my life, Man Mohan, has not asked to see me.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XI.

Baisâkh mahînâ sab sakhî milkar, Dewal pûjan men jâtî.
Shâm mile to sab dukh bichhen, sîtal ho merî chhâtî.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

XI.

In April all my companions go together to the Dîwâlî festival.
If I meet Shâm, all my trouble is eased and peace enters my breast.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

XII.

Jeṭh mahînâ tapen deotâ bîch Puhâr Kushâvartî.
Sanvrî Sakhî par kirpâ kîjîo; ân] milen Mathrâ-bâsî.
Girdhar, bansî bajî, &c.

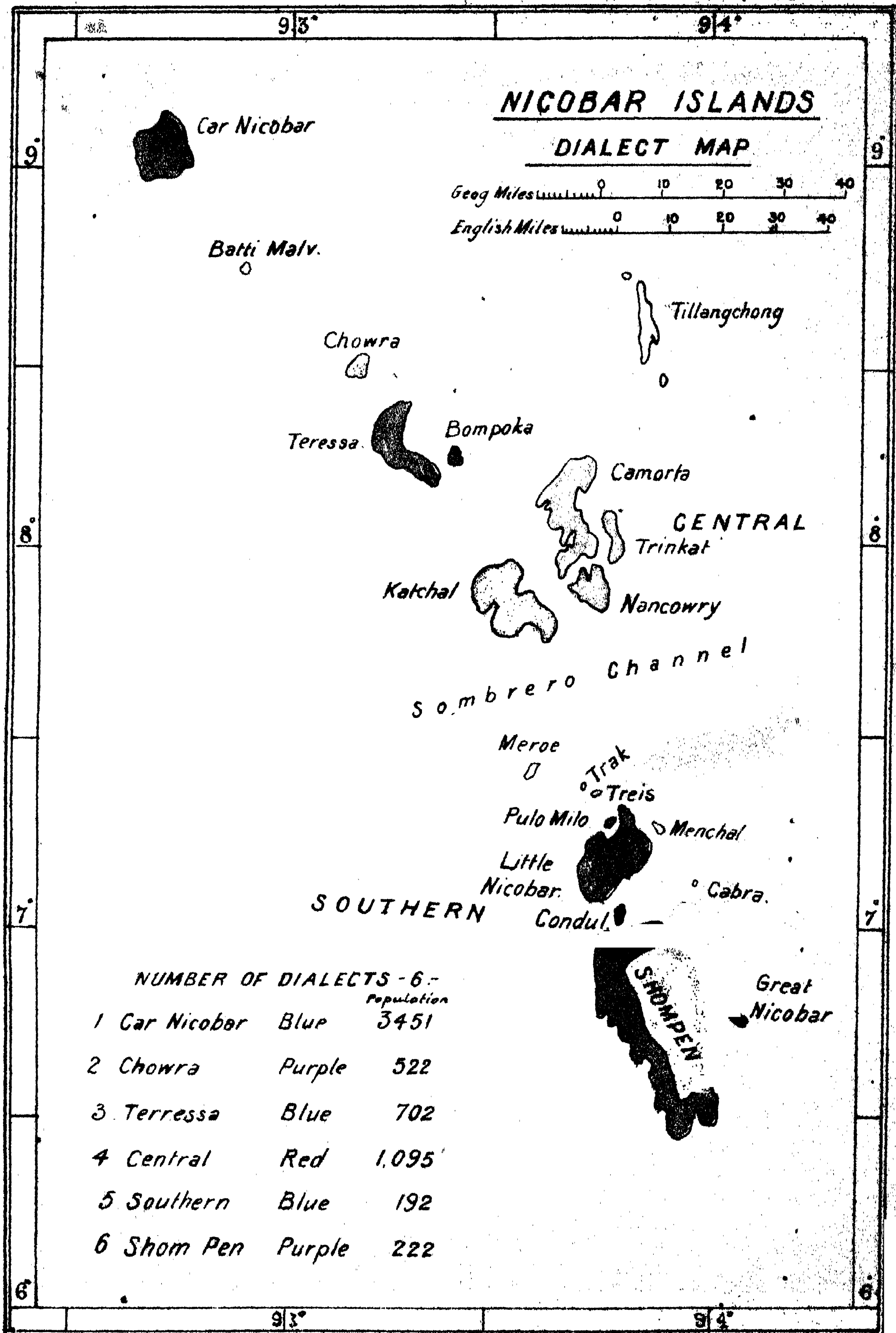
XII.

In May the gods do penance on Kushâvartî Hill,
Do Sanvrî Sakhî a favour that she may meet the dweller in Mathrâ.
Girdhar, thy lute sounded, &c.

[1] The red powder thrown by the people on one another at the Holî.

[2] A mixture of rice, turmeric and alum with acid used to paint the forehead.

[3] Saffron ambergris.


93°
94°
9°
8°
7°
6°
NICOBAR ISLANDS
DIALECT MAP
Geog Miles 0 10 20 30 40
English Miles 0 10 20 30 40
Car Nicobar
Batti Malv.
Chowra
Tillangchong
Teressa
Bompoka
Camorta
CENTRAL
Trinkat
Katchal
Nancowry
Sombrero Channel
Meroe
Trak
Treis
Pulo Milo
Menchal
Little Nicobar
Cabra.
SOUTHERN
Condul
SHOMPEN
Great Nicobar
NUMBER OF DIALECTS - 6.-
Population
1 Car Nicobar Blue 3451
2 Chowra Purple 522
3 Terressa Blue 702
4 Central Red 1,095
5 Southern Blue 192
6 Shom Pen Purple 222
B.E.S. Press, Litho.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(*Continued from p. 251.*)

III.[25]

THE THEORY OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR APPLIED TO THE NICOBARESE LANGUAGE.

Prefatory Remarks.

THE Nicobarese speak one Language in six Dialects so different as to be mutually unintelligible to the ear. These six Dialects are, from North to South, Car Nicobar, Chowra, Teressa, Central, Southern, and Shom Peṅ (*vide* Map attached).

The chief place of European residence has always been Nancowry Harbour, where the Central Dialect is spoken and hence that Dialect is by very far the best known. Therefore, except where otherwise specially stated, all examples and all vernacular words quoted are taken from that Dialect. Diacritical marks have not been used, except where unavoidable.

The works of Prof. Kuhn, Grünwedel, Vaughan Stevens, and Pater W. Schmidt were not available to me while writing this Grammar.

I. — GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

a. — History of the Study.

The Nicobarese Language in the Central Dialect has been long since studied. Vocabularies, collections of sentences, and partial Grammars of this Dialect have been made at intervals by various missionaries and others from 1711 onwards — the two Jesuit Fathers Faure and Bonnet in 1711; Surgeon Fontana of the Austrian vessel *Josef und Theresia* in 1778 (published 1795); G. Hamilton in 1801; the Danish missionary Rosen in 1831-4; Fathers Chabord and Plaisant (in Teressa) in 1845; Fathers Barbe and Lacrampe in 1846; Dr. Rink in the Danish vessel *Galathea* in 1846; the Austrian *Novara* Expedition in 1857 (published in 1862), with additions by de Roepstorff and others under Colonel H. Man; Maurer in 1867; Mr. A. C. Man in 1869; comparative statement by V. Ball of all information up to 1869; Mr. E. H. Man in 1871 onwards; F. A. de Roepstorff in 1876 onwards; Dr. Svoboda of the Austrian *Aurora* Expedition, 1886 (published 1892).

Ten Vocabularies and a translation into the Central Dialect of 27 Chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew were made by the Danish Moravian missionaries (Herrnhuter) in 1768—87. These are still preserved in manuscript at Herrnhut, and were partially embodied in de Roepstorff's posthumous *Dictionary of the Nancowry (Central) Dialect*, 1884; a capital book with valuable appendices, requiring, however, retransliteration for English readers.

b. — Man's Enquiries into the Central Dialect.

But the latest and best attempt to reproduce this Dialect is Mr. E. H. Man's *Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese Language*, 1889. This contains also a brief and valuable attempt at the Grammar and a Comparative Vocabulary of all the Dialects. The system of transcription adopted is the very competent one of the late Mr. A. J. Ellis. Mr. Man had the advantage of all the labours of his predecessors, together with a much longer residence in the islands than any of them and better means of locomotion. To these he has added the accuracy and care which distinguish all his work. In this Article, therefore, his book has been followed for the facts of the language and the forms of its words, and all the examples given in it are culled from the great number of sentences he has recorded. For the mode of presentation I am, however, responsible, as Mr. Man attempted in his *Grammar* to explain the language exclusively from the current English view of Grammar, rather than to present its character as a scientific study.

The other Dialects only find a place in Mr. Man's studies and are still but little known, no one with sufficient scholarly equipment or inclination having ever resided on any of the islands for the time necessary to study them to the extent that has been possible at Nancowry.

[25] Largely reprinted, with additions and many corrections from Chapter IV, Part II, of the *Census Report, India*, 1901, Vol. III.

c. — Philological Value.

The Nicobarese speak one language, whose affinities are with the Indo-Chinese Languages, as represented nowadays by the Mon Language of Pegu and Annam and the Khmer Language of Cambodia amongst civilised peoples and by a number of uncivilised tribes in the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. It has affinities also with the speech of the tribes in the Peninsula, who are generally classed as "wild Malays" (Orang-utan and Orang-bukit), so far as that speech has come under the old influence of the Indo-Chinese Languages. The Nicobarese language is thus of considerable value philologically, as preserving, on account of isolation and small admixture with foreign tongues for many centuries, the probable true basis for the philology of the Languages of the Indo-Chinese Family.

d. — Dialects.

The language is spoken by 6,300 people in six Dialects, which have now become so differentiated in details as to be mutually unintelligible, and to be practically, so far as actual colloquial speech is concerned, six different languages. These dialects are limited in range by the islands in which they are spoken —

1. Car Nicobar (population 3,451).
2. Chowra (population 522).
3. Teressa with Bompoka (population 702).
4. Central — Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkut, Katchal (population 1,095).
5. Southern — Great Nicobar Coasts and Kondul, Little Nicobar and Pulo Milo (population 192).
6. Shom Peṅ — inland tribe of Great Nicobar (population 348).

e. — Mutual Unintelligibility.

Although it can be proved that the Nicobarese Language is fundamentally one tongue, yet the hopeless unintelligibility of the dialect of one Island to the ear of the people of another may be shown by the following example:—

Car Nicobar.

om	*paiakūa*	*dra*	*chian*	*kâ*	*târik*
don't	afraid	not	I	eat	man

Central.

wòt	*meṅ*	*pahôa*	*chit*	*okngôk*	*ten*	*paiyūh*
don't	you	afraid	I-not	eat	to	man

Sense of Both.

Don't be afraid! I don't eat men! (I am not a cannibal).

f. — Foreign Influence.

In spite of the aptitude of the people for picking up such foreign tongues as they hear spoken, quite a few foreign words have been adopted into their speech. Examples are—

From Portuguese.

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.
boot	shapâta	cask	pīpa
book, paper	lŏbare	elephant	lifānta
hat	shapēo	rupee	rupīa
copper money	Sänta Marīa	shaman, sorcerer	pater
"God"	Dōuse, Rēos		

From Hindustani.

salt	shal, sal		

From Malay.

cup	mòngko	an evil spirit	īwīpòt[26]
buffalo	kapo	fowl	haiyam
cat	koching		

[26] The *iwi* are spirits of the departed ghosts, one of which is *iwi-pòt*, *pòt* being the Sanskrit *bhûta* through some Indo-Chinese form.

Only a century ago Portuguese was the trade language of the islands, with a sprinkling of Danish, German, and English. Malay and Chinese were both so before the Portuguese day, and now English, Burmese, and Hindustani are well understood. Indeed, the nature of the trade at any given island can be tested by the foreign languages best understood there. *E. g.*, on Car Nicobar, Burmese is best understood, and then English and Hindustani: Malay and the other Nicobarese dialects not much. On Chowra, Hindustani, Tamil, Malay, and English are spoken to a limited extent, and there is a trading knowledge of the other Nicobarese dialects, except Shom Peṅ. On Teressa, Malay, Burmese, and English are the languages, with the dialects of Chowra and the Central Group. In the Central Group they talk Hindustani, Malay, English, Chinese, and a little Burmese, with the dialects of the South and Teressa. In the Southern Group they talk Malay, Hindustani, Chinese, and English, with the Central Dialect.

The women know only their own dialect, and are dumb before all strangers. And here, as elsewhere among polyglot peoples, natives of different islands sometimes have to converse in a mutually known foreign tongue (*e. g.*, Hindustani, Burmese, Malay, or English), when unable to comprehend each other's dialects.

g. — Effect of Tabu on the Language.

There is a custom of tabu, which in the Nicobars, as elsewhere when it is in vogue, has seriously affected the language at different places, at least temporarily. Any person may adopt any word, however essential and common, in the language as his or her personal name, and when he or she dies it is tabued for a generation, for fear of summoning the ghost. In the interval a synonym has to be adopted and sometimes sticks, but that this is not very often the case is shown by a comparison of the Vocabularies published or made in 1711, 1787, 1876, and 1889, which prove that the language possesses a stability that is remarkable in the circumstances of its being unwritten and therefore purely colloquial, spoken by communities with few opportunities of meeting, and subject to the changing action of tabu.

h. — Method of Speech.

The Nicobarese speech is slurred and indistinct, but there is no abnormal dependence on tone accent, or gesture to make the meaning clear. The dialects are, as might be expected, rich in specialised words for actions and concrete ideas, but poor in generic and abstract terms.

i. — A Highly Developed Analytical Language.

Nicobarese is a very highly developed Analytical Language, with a strong resemblance in grammatical structure to English. It bears every sign of a very long continuous growth, both of syntax and etymology, and is clearly the outcome of a strong intelligence constantly applied to its development. Considering that it is unwritten and but little affected by foreign tongues, and so has not had extraneous assistance in its growth, it is a remarkable product of the human mind. There is no difference in the development of the different dialects. That of the wild Shom Peṅ is as "advanced" in its structure as the speech of the trading Car Nicobarese.

j. — Nature of Growth.

The growth of the language has been so complicated, and so many principles of speech have been partially adopted in building it up, that nothing is readily discoverable regarding it. The subject and predicate are not at once perceptible to the grammarian, nor are principal and subordinate sentences. The sentences, too, cannot at once be analysed correctly, nor can the roots of the words without great care be separated from the overgrowth. Neither syntax nor etymology are easy, and correct speech is very far from being easily attained.

k. — Order of the Words.

Grammatically the point to bear in mind is the order of the words, which is practically the English order, especially as functional inflexion is absent to help the speaker to intelligibility, and there is nothing in the form of the words to show their class, whether nouns, verbs, adjectives, and so on. Prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliaries, adverbs, and the "particles" of speech are freely used, and so are elliptical sentences. Compound words, and phrases, consisting of two or more words just thrown together and used as one word are unusually common, and the languages show their Far Eastern proclivities by an extended use of "numeral co-efficients."

l. — Difficult Etymology.

The great difficulty in the language lies in the etymology. Words are built up of roots and stems, to which are added prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, both to mark the classes of connected words and to differentiate connected words when of the same class, *i. e.*, to show which of two connected words is a verb and which a noun, and to mark the difference in the sense of two connected nouns, and so on. But this differentiation is always hazily defined by the forms thus arrived at, and the presence of a particular classifying affix does not necessarily define the class to which the word belongs. So also the special differentiating affixes do not always mark differentiation.

Again the affixes are attached by mere agglutination, in forms which have undergone phonic change, and by actual inflexion. Their presence, too, not unfrequently causes phonic change in, and inflexion of, the roots or stems themselves.

The chief peculiarity of the language lies in a series of "suffixes of direction," indicating the direction (North, South, East, West, above, down, below, or at the landing-place) in which action, condition, or movement takes place. But even suffixes so highly specialised as these are not by any means only attached to words, the sense of which they can and do affect in this way.

It is just possible that "North = up there: South = down there: West = below: East = in towards" have reference to the original migrations of the people, because the general direction of a migration, still in steady progress, of half-civilised tribes of considerable mental development on the Northern Burmese frontiers is North to South regularly. But this point would require proof.

It is thus that only by a deep and prolonged study of the language, one can learn to recognise a root, or to perceive the sense or use of an affix, and only by a prolonged practice could one hope to speak or understand it correctly in all its phases. Nicobarese is, in this sense, indeed a difficult language.

m. — Specimens of the Speech.

The following sample sentences in the Central Dialect will sufficiently exhibit the manner of Nicobarese speech.

The abbreviation c. i. r. = connector of intimate relation, a point to be explained later on. By translating it "in respect of" the sense of the Nicobarese sentences in which it occurs becomes clear.

Sample Sentences in the Central Dialect.

1.

ane	*inôat*	*lamang*	*ten*	*chüa*
that	knife	belong	to	I

(that knife belongs to me).

2.

inôat	*ta*	*shong*	*ôt*
knife	c. i. r.	sharp	is

(the knife is sharp).

3.

ânre	*ane*	*nōang*	*shaneṅ*	*kwòmhata*	*ten*	*chüa*
both	that	thing	spear	give	to	I

(give me both those spears).

4.

iteak	*poatôre*	*kâmheng*	*en*	*an*
sleep	always	noon	c. i. r.	he

(he is always asleep at noon: the Nicobarese idiom is however really "noon (is) always asleep for him").

5.

an	*chŭh*	*harra*	*halau*	*lôe*	*kân*	*de*
he	go	see	buy	cloth	wife	own

(he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).

6.

leăt	*etchai—chakâ–lêbare*	*chüa*	*oal*	*kaiyt*	*de*
did	greet—face—paper (read aloud)	I	in	road	own

(I read it aloud while I was travelling).

7.

etchai—chaka—lĕbare *chüa* *tawang* *ta* *an*
read—aloud I arrived c. i. r. he
(he arrived while I was reading aloud).

8.

harra *ta* *chĕdu* *de* *ta* *fĭnowa* *tai*
see c. i. r. elder-brother own c. i. r. beat by
chia *an* *kenyūm* *leăt* *chim*
father his child did cry
(his child cried on seeing its elder brother beaten by its father).

9.

chüa *fĭnowa* *tai* *an* *ta* *ŏng* *òlhaki*
I beat by he c. i. r. past-of-today morning
(I was beaten by him this morning).

10.

paitshe *shi* *lŏe* *ŏt* *ta* *ofĕ*
some old cloth has c. i. r. they (more than two)
(they have some old cloth).

11.

katom? *yuang* *kamatoka* *kakat* *ta* *wahe*
how-many? persons dancers present c. i. r. last-night
(how many dancers were there last night?)

12.

an *hat* *köan* *men*
he not child you
(he is not your child).

13.

oal *koptĕp* *men* *ta* *ngong*
in box you c. i. r. nothing
(there is nothing in your box).

14.

ane *kanyūt* *halau* *men* *lŏngto-ten* *chi?*
that coat buy you from who?
(from whom did you buy that coat?)

15.

chüa *ohlăkngatŏ* *an* *kătö* *ta* *ñi* *chüa*
I permit he live c. i. r. hut I
(I let him live in my hut).

16.

chüa *lĕap* *kichal*
I can swim
(I can swim).

17.

linhen *chit* *lĕap* *okngŏk* *taina* *tü*
to-day I-not can eat because sick
(I cannot eat to-day because I am sick).

n. — Bibliography.

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II. — GRAMMAR.

a. — The Theory of Universal Grammar.

I will now proceed to discuss the Nicobarese Language on the lines of the Theory of Universal Grammar already explained, using the Central Dialect for the purpose, and avoiding diacritical marks, except where necessary to the context. The familiar grammatical terms will be inserted in brackets beside the novel ones used, whenever necessary, in order to make statements clear in a familiar manner.

b. — Example of Sentences of One Word.

The Nicobarese, like all other peoples, can express a complete meaning or sentence by an integer or single word, or by a phrase representing a single word: but they do not use this form of speech to excess. Thus:

ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.
oh (astonishment)	weē, oyakarē	lor	tochangtô
alas	aiyakarē	there (annoyance)	hah-ā-a
oh (pain)	arê	what a pity	hōh
dear me (compassion)	ōh	go on (encouragement)	shīal
ah (dislike)	shesh	there's no saying	añyapa
ugh (disgust)	huṅh-huṅh-huṅh	who knows	añyachü
hush	äh-äh-äh	what's that ?	kashī?
tut (rebuke)	eṅ-eṅ-eṅ-eṅ	thingummy (doubt)	chinda
pooh	hāsh	thingembob (doubt)	chüānda
hurrah, bravo	hâ-ha-a-a		

c. — Subject and Predicate.

Nicobarese sentences, when of more than one word, are usually, but not always, clearly divided into subject and predicate, as can be seen from an examination of the sample sentences above given. Thus:

P = predicate : S = subject. The numbers below refer to the sample sentences.

(1) ane (S) inoat (S) lamang (P) ten (P) chua (P).
(2) inoat (S) ta (S) shong (S) ot (P).
(3) anre (P) ane (P) noang (P) shanen (P) kwombata (P) ten (P) chua (P) (S not expressed).
(5) an (S) chuh (P) harra (P) halau (P) loe (P) kan (P) de (P).
(6) leat (P) etchai-chaka-lebare (P phrase) chua (S) oal (P) kaiyi (P) de (P).
(7) etchai-chaka-lobare (P phrase) chua (S) tanang (P) ta (P) an (P).
(8) harra-ta-chau-de-ta-finowa-tai-chia (S phrase) an (S) kenyum (S) leat (P) chim (P). (Here "*harra* — etc. — *chia*" is a phrase, "see (ing) elder-brother beaten by father," in the subject part of the sentence).
(9) chua (S) finowa (P) tai (P) an (P) ta (P) ong (P) olhaki (P).

(10) paitshe (S) shi (S) loe (S) ot (P) ta (P) ofe (P).
(11) katom (S) yuang (S) kamatoka (S) kakat (P) ta (P) wahe (P).
(12) an (S) hat (P) koan (P) men (P).
(14) ane (P) kanyut (P) halau (P) men (S) longtoten (P) chi (P).
(15) chua (S) oklakngato (P) an (P) kato (P) ta (P) ñi (P) chua (P).
(16) chua (S) leap (P) kichal (P).
(17) linhen (P) chit (S) leap (P) okngok (P) taina (S) tu (P).

Two of the sample sentences present a peculiarity in expressing Subject and Predicate.

(4)	*iteak*	*poatôre*	*kŭmheng*	*en*	*an*
	asleep	always	noon	c. i. r.	he

This can be properly and directly translated, "he is always asleep at noon"; but the Nicobarese idiom runs in English, "noon is always asleep for him," the predicator (verb) "is" being unexpressed. So that the sentence is properly divided thus — *iteak* (P) *poatore* (P) *kamheng* (S) *en* (P) *an* (P).

(13)	*oal*	*hoptĕp*	*meñ*	*ta*	*ngong*
	in	box	you	c. i. r	nothing

Here we have both Subject and Predicate in an elliptical form, and in English, though translateable at once as "there is nothing in your box," the sentence really runs "(the contents, not expressed) in your box (are, not expressed) as nothing." So that neither the subject nor the Predicator (verb) are expressed, but we have instead merely a phrase explaining the subject placed in apposition to another phrase illustrating the predicate. The sentence, in fact, as it stands, consists of an explicator (adjective) phrase, placed in apposition to an illustrator (adverb) phrase, and is divided elliptically thus — *oal-hoptep-men* (S) *ta-ngong* (P).

d.— Principal and Subordinate Words.

The words in the sample sentences are also clearly, but not readily, divisible into principal and subordinate. Thus:

(1) *ane* (sub.) *inoat* (prin.) in the subject: *lamang* (prin.) *ten-chua* (sub.) in the predicate.
(2) *inoat* (prin.) *ta-shong* (sub.) in the subject.
(3) all the words are sub. to *kwomhata* in the predicate.
(4) *iteak poatore en-an* are all sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(5) *loe kün de* are all sub. to *chuh-harra-halau* (prin.) in the predicate.
(6) *leat* (sub.) *etchai-chaka-lebare* (prin.) *oal-kaiyi* (sub.)
(7) here are two separate sentences — the first has one word in each part, and in the second *ta* and *an* are sub. to *tanang* in the predicate. In full analysis the first sentence is an illustrator (adverb) phrase illustrating the predicator (verb) in the second.
(8) in the subjective part *harra-ta-chau-de-ta-finowa-tai-chia* and *an* are sub. to *kenyum* and so is *leat* to *chim* in the predicate.
(9) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(10) *paitshe* and *shi* are sub. to *loe* in the subject and *ta-ofe* to *ot* in the predicate.
(11) *katom-yuang* are sub. to *kamatoka* in the subject and *ta-wahe* to *kakat* in the predicate.
(12) all the words in the predicate are sub. to a predicator (verb) unexpressed.
(13) in this sentence *oal-hoptep-men* are sub. to an indicator (noun) unexpressed in the subject and *ta-ngong* to a predicator (verb) unexpressed in the predicate. The whole of the words actually expressed are thus subordinate.
(14) all the words in the predicate are sub. to *halau*.
(15) all the words in the predicate are sub. to *oklakngato*.
(16) *leap* is sub. to *kichal* in the predicate.
(17) here again are two sentences joined by *taina*, because. In the first *linhen* and *leap* are sub. to *okngok* in the predicate. In the second *taina* is sub. to *chua* (I) unexpressed in the subject, and *tu* to a predicator verb unexpressed in the predicate.

e. — Functions of Words.

The next stage in analysis is to examine the functions of the words used in the sample sentences, and for this purpose the following abbreviations will be used :—

Abbreviations Used.

int	integer.	intd	introducer.
in	indicator.	r. c.	referent conjunctor.
e	explicator.	r. s.	referent substitute.
p	predicator.	c. in	complementary indicator.
ill	illustrator.	c. e.	complementary explicator.
c	connector.	c. ill	complementary illustrator.

The sample sentences can then be further analysed thus —

(1) *ane* (e) *inoat* (in) *lamang* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (r. s. as c. in).

(2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) — *shong* (e., the whole an e. phrase) *ot* (p).

(3) *anre* (c. e.) *ane* (c. e.) *noang* (c. e.) *shanen* (c. in) *kwomhata* (p) *ten* (c) — *chua* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase).

(4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill) *kamheng* (in) *en* (e) *an* (r. s. as in): *iteak-poatore-en-an-* from an ill. phrase).

(5) *an* (r. s. as in) *chuh* (p) — *harra* (p) — *halau* (p., the whole a p. phrase) *loe* (c. in) *kan* (in) — *de* (e., the whole an e. phrase).

(6) *leat* (p) — *etchai* (p) — *chaka* (c. in) — *lebare* (c. in., the whole a p. phrase) *chua* (r. s. as in) *oal* (c) — *kaiyi* (in) — *de* (e., the whole an e. phrase).

(7) *etchai* (p) — *chaka* (c. in) — *lebare* (c. in) — *chua* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase) *tanang* (p) *ta* (ill) *an* (r. s. as in).

(8) *harra* (p) — *ta* (c) — *chau* (c. in) — *de* (c. e.) — *ta* (c) — *finowa* (e) — *tai* (c) *chia* (in., the whole an e. clause) *an* (e) *kenyum* (in) *leat* (p) — *chim* (p., the whole a p. phrase).

(9) *chua* (r. s. as in) *finowa* (e) — *tai* (c) — *an* (r. s. as in., the whole an e. phrase) *ta* (c) — *ong* (e) — *olhaki* (in., the whole an ill. phrase).

(10) *paitshe* (e) *shi* (e) *loe* (in) *ot* (p) *ta* (c) — *ofe* (r. s. as in., the whole an ill. phrase).

(11) *katom* (e) — *yuang* (e., the whole an e. phrase) *kamatoka* (in) *kakat* (p) *at* (c) — *wahe* (in., the whole an ill. phrase).

(12) *an* (r. s. as in) *hat* (e) *koan* (c. in) *men* (e).

(13) *oal* (c) — *hoptep* (in) — *men* (r. s. as e., the whole an e. phrase of subject unexpressed) *ta* (c) — *ngong* (in., the whole an ill. phrase of predicate unexpressed).

(14) *ane* (c. in) *kanyut* (c. in) *halau* (p) *men* (r. s. as in) *longtoten* (c) — *chi* (r. s., the whole an ill. phrase).

(15) *chua* (r. s. as in) *oklakngato* (p) *an* (r. s. as in) — *kato* (p., the whole c. in phrase) *ta* (c) — *ñi* (in) — *chua* (r. s. as e., the whole an ill. phrase).

(16) *chua* (r. s. as in) *leap* (p) — *kichal* (p., the whole a p. phrase).

(17) *linhen* (ill.) chit (r. s. as in) *leap* (p) — *okngok* (p., the whole a p. phrase) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (e).

f. — Purpose of Sentence Indicated by the Position of the Components.

It will be seen that the purposes of the sentences thus analysed are as under —

(1) Affirmation — Nos. 1, 2, 15, 16, 17.

(2) Denial — Nos. 12, 13.

(3) Interrogation — Nos. 11, 14.

(4) Exhortation — No. 3.

(5) Information — Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

The sample sentences cover, therefore, the whole range of all speech as regards purpose, and analysis shows that the Nicobarese rely on the position of the words in the sentence to indicate its purpose, that no special order is observed for differentiating any particular purpose, and that the position of the words is in their language of the greatest importance for the intelligibility of the sentences. That is, Nicobarese is a language that indicates purpose mainly by the position of the components of the sentences.

g. — Order of the Words in the Sentences.

Another analysis of the sample sentences will, therefore, now be made to show what the order of the words in Nicobarese sentences is.

I.

Subject precedes predicate, but for emphasis can follow it :

Preceding :

(1) *ane-inoat* (S) *lamang-ten-chua* (P)
and so always, except
(6) *leat-etchai-chaka-lebare* (P) *chua-oal-kaiyi-de* (S).
(7) *etchai-chaka-lebare* (P) *chua* (S) *tanang-ta-an* (P)

II.

Subject, predicate, complement (object).
(1) *ane-inoat* (S) *lamang* (P) *ten-chua* (C).
But the order is reversed for emphasis.
(3) *anre-ane-noang-shanen* (C) *kwomhata-ten-chua* (P., S. unexpressed).
(14) *ane-kanyut* (C) *halau* (P) *men* (S) *longtoten-chi?* (P).

III.

Explicator (adjective) precedes indicator (noun); or follows it, usually with a connector (preposition), but also without a connector. Thus :

(a) Preceding indicator (noun):

(1) *ane* (e) *inoat* (in) *lamang ten chua.*
(3) *anre* (e) *ane* (e) *noang* (e) *shanen* (in) *kwomhata ten chua.*
(4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill.) *kamheng* (in) *en an.*
(5) *paitshe* (e) *shi* (e) *loe* (in) *ot ta ofe.*

(b) Following indicator (noun) with connector:

(2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) *shong* (e) *ot.*

(c) Following indicator without connector:

(5) *an chuh harra halau loe kan* (in) *de* (e).
(9) *chua* (in) *finowa* (e) *tai an ta ong olhaki.*
(12) *an* (in) *hat* (e) *koan* (in) *men* (e).
(13) *oal hoptep* (in) *men* (e) *ta ngong.*

(d) Following indicator (noun) with and without connector :

(8) *harra ta chau* (in) *de* (e. without c.) *ta* (c) *finowa* (e) *tai chia an kenyum leat chim.*

IV.

Illustrators (adverbs) usually follow, but sometimes precede, predicators (verbs).

(a) Follow :

(3) *anre ane noang shanen kwomhata* (p) *ten-chua* (ill. phrase).
(5) *an chuh-harra-halau* (p) *loe kan-de* (ill. phrase).
(7) *etchai-chaka-lebare-chua* (ill. phrase) *tanang-ta-an* (p. pharse).
(10) *paitshe shi loe ot* (p) *ta-ofe* (ill. phrase).
(11) *katom yuang kamatoka kakat* (p) *ta-wahe* (ill. phrase).
(14) *ane kanyut halau* (p) *men longtoten-chi* (ill. phrase).

(b) Precede:

(17) *linhen* (ill.) *chit leap-ôkngok* (p.)
But illustrators (adverbs) follow explicators (adjectives).
(4) *iteak* (e) *poatore* (ill.) *kamheng en an.*
(9) *chua-finowa-tai-an* (e. phrase) *ta-ong-olhaki* (ill. phrase).
(13) *oal-hoptep-men* (e. phrase) *ta-ngong* (ill. phrase).

V.

Connectors (prepositions) precede the words they connect with preceding words:

(a) Connecting predicator (verb) with complement (object):

(1) *ane inoat lamang* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (C).
(3) *anre ane noang shanen kwomhata* (p) *ten* (c) *chua* (C).
(8) *harra* (p) *ta* (c) *chau* (C) *de ta finowa tai chia an kenyum leat chim.*

(b) Connecting predicator (verb) with illustrator (adverb):

(4) *iteak poatore kamheng en* (c) *an* (r. s. for ill. phrase). (p. unexpressed).
(9) *chua finowa tai an ta* (c) *ong-olhaki* (ill. phrase).
(10) *paitshe hi loe ot* (p) *ta* (c) *ofe* (r. s. for ill. phrase).
(11) *katom yuang kamatoka kakat* (p) *ta* (c) *wahe* (ill).
(13) *oal hoptep-men ta* (c) *ngong* (in. as an ill. phrase): (here ill. is connected with p. unexpressed).
(14) *an kanyut halau* (p) *men longtoten* (c) *chi* (r. s. for ill. phrase).
(15) *chua oklakngato an kato* (p) *ta* (c) *ñi-chua* (ill. phrase).

(c) Connecting indicator (noun) with explicator (adjective):

(2) *inoat* (in) *ta* (c) *shong* (e) *ot.*
(6) *leat-etchai-chaka-lebare chua* (in) *oal* (c) *kaiyi-de* (e. phrase).
(8) *harra ta chau-de* (in) *ta* (c) *finowa* (e) *tai chia an kenyum leat chim.*
(15) *oal* (c) *hoptep-men* (e. phrase connected with in. unexpressed) *ta ngong.*

(d) Connecting explicator (adjective) with illustrator (adverb):

(8) *harra ta chau de ta finowa* (e) *tai* (c) *chia* (in) *an kenyum leat chim.*
(9) *chua finowa* (e) *tai* (c) *an* (in) *ta ong olhaki.*

VI.

Referent conjunctors (conjunctions) commence a sentence connected with a previous one.

(17) *linhen chit leap okngok* (first sentence) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (second sentence).

paiyúh[26a] *hat dôh katôka* *hen* (r. c.) *mikâsha*
man not can dance (first sentence) when sing
köi-haki.
solemn-chaunt (second sentence).
(one may not dance when singing the solemn chaunt).

VII.

Interrogatory Speech.

Introducers (adverbs) commence sentences.

kâhê na itâ?
when he here? (p. unexpressed).
(when will he be here?)

chî yô haiyuan?
who wish pig-hunt?
(who is going to hunt pigs?)

chun oñihañ ongfwâng en chüa?
which tree cut-down c. i. r. I?
(which tree shall I cut down?)

chin lēang an?
what name he?
(what is his name?)

chüang lēang an?
what name it?
(what is its name?)

[26a] This is an additional illustrating sentence.

Questions are, however, usually asked by means of an interrogatory prefix, *ka*, *kă*, *kan* meaning "what ?" attached to the subject of the sentence. In every such case the usual place of the subject is not changed. *E. g.*

tău *meñ* *kă—an ?*
younger-brother you he ?
(is he your younger-brother ?)

shwatare *ka—meñ ?* *ta* *linheñ*
return you ? c. i. r. morning
(will you return this morning ?)

măkngayan *ka-en—kŏan ?* *meñ*
quite-well c. i. r. child ? you
(is your child quite well ?)

măh *ka—met ?* *hĕang* *shuă* *meñ* *Loŏng*
ever you-not ? one time you Great Nicobar
(have you never once been to Great Nicobar ?)

As in many languages, there is an interrogative introducer (adverb) *añ*, which expects an affirmative answer. *E. g.*

añ ? *na* *tău* *meñ*
yes ? he younger-brother you
(isn't he your younger-brother ?)

añ ? *meñ* *iteakla* *ta* *linheñ*
yes ? you drowsy c. i. r. morning
(aren't you drowsy this morning ?)

añ ? *meñ* *hĕang*
yes ? you one
(surely you got something ?)

The following uses of *ka*, when prefixed to a word, show the system of the Nicobarese language well:—

meñ *itŭa* *Loŏng* *ka-hañañ ?*
you visit Great Nicobar no ?
(will you visit Great Nicobar or not ?)

meñ *hĕu* *ka-añ ?* *ka-hañañ ?*
you see yes ? no ?
(you saw it, didn't you ?)

añ ? *ka-meñ ?* *yiang* *en* *chŭa* *elyŏl* *añ* *ka-hañañ ?*
yes ? you ? with c. i. r. I say yes no ?
(are you coming with me ? say, "yes or no").

ka-shiri ? *na* *ka-añ ?*[27]
fool ? he yes ?
(what a fool he is !)

ka-shiri ? *me* *ka-añ ?*
fool ? you yes ?
(what a fool you are !)

ka-shiri ? *cha* *ka-añ ?*
fool ? I yes ?
(what a fool I am !)

[27] These three sentences express impatience at anything carelessly done.

VIII.

Referent Substitutes (Pronouns).

Referent substitutes (pronouns) follow the place of their originals—

(1) *ane inoat lamang ten chua* (r. s. as in).
(4) *iteak poatore kamheng en an* (r. s. as ill. phrase).
(5) *an* (r. s. as in) *chuh harra halau loe kan de.*
(8) *an* (r. s. as e.) *kenyum leat chim.*
(9) *chua finowa tai an* (r. s. as ill. phrase) *ta ong olhaki.*
(10) *paitshe shi loe ot ta ofe* (r. s. as ill. phrase).
(12) *an* (r. s. as in) *hat koan men.*
(13) *oal hoptep men* (r. s. as e.).
(15) *chua oklakngato an* (r. s. as. in) *kato ta ñi chua* (r. s. as e.).
(16) *chua* (r. s. as in) *leap kichal.*
(17) *linhen chit* (r. s. as in) *leap okngok taina tu.*

The ordinary referent substitutes (pronouns) are :

Table of "Personal Pronouns."

chüa	I	ina	you-two
meṅ	thou (you)	ifē	you
an, na	he, she, it	onâ	they-two
heṅ, chaai	we-two	ofē	they
hē, chiöi	we		

Chüa, meṅ, an are ordinarily inflected also to *cha, me, eh. E. g.*

hendūn	*ta*	*eh*
awake	c. i. r.	he

(awake him).

There is further inflexion of all the "personal pronouns" with *hat*, not, in negative sentences. Thus:

Table of Negative "Personal Pronouns."

chit	I-not
met	thou-not
net (and *hat*)	he-not
heṅ-hat	we-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
het	we-not
inât	you-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
ifêt	you-not
onât	they-two-not (in full, to distinguish from the next)
ofēt	they-not

Inflexion of some of these words appears again in the questions used when startled. Thus:

chūa ? kane ? what ? that ? (what was that ?) (kane ? = ka ? + ane)
chūa ? kinâ ? what ? you-two ? (what was that ?) (kina ? = ka ? + inâ)
chūa ? kifē ? what ? you ? (what was that ?) (kifē ? = ka ? + ifē)

So, too, in greetings : *et-chai-chakâ* (greet-face), greet; then (*et-*) *chai-chachâ-ka* (greet-face-indeed), or (*et-*) *chai-cha-rakat* (greet-face-now). Then further—

met-chai° ? how d'you do ? (met = meṅ + 'et)
inât-chai° ? how d'you do, you two ? (inat = na + et)
ifēt-chai° ? how d'you do, all of you ? (ifēt = ifē + et)

Another common inflexion of the same type may be noticed here, though it does not belong to this place : *wŏt*, don't, for *wi-hat* (do-not).

h. — Order of Connected Sentences.

Connected sentences are usually joined by referent conjunctors (conjunctions) and in such cases the principal sentence is followed by the subordinate.

(17) *linhen chit leap okngôk* (principal sentence) *taina* (r. c.) *tu* (subordinate sentence).

ata	*meṅ*	*milāh*	*laok*	*taina*	*chüa*	*yô*
go	you	play	outside (prin. sentence)	because	I	wish

iteak
sleep (sub. sentence)
(go and play outside, because I want to sleep).

paiyüh	*hat*	*dôh*	*katôka*	*heṅ*	*mīkdsha*
man	not	can	dance (prin. sentence)	when	sing

kōi-hakī
solemn-chaunt (sub. sentence).
(one cannot dance, when singing the solemn chaunt).

Referent substitutes (pronouns) are often, though not always, used in both of two consecutive sentences. Thus:

ka, who, which,
chīchī, *ya*, whoever } in the prin. sentence with *shīna*, the same, in the sub. sentence.
kae, whatever

Except when thus used *shīna* should therefore be regarded as a referent conjunctor (conjunction).

i. — Expression of Connected Purposes.

But the tendency of the Nicobarese in indicating connected purposes by speech is to treat the subordinate sentence as an integral part of the principal, and to avoid breaking up speech into separate sentences connected by referent conjunctors (conjunctions). *E. g.*

(6)	*leat*	*etchai-chaka-lebare*	*chua*	*oal*	*kaiyi*	*de*
	did	read-aloud	I	in	road	own

There are two connected purposes in the sentences of this statement: (1) "I read aloud," (2) "while I was travelling." But the Nicobarese treats them as one by turning the subordinate sentence *oal-kaiyi-de* into an explicator (adjective) phrase attached to the subject "*chua*, I."

(7)	*etchai-chaka-lebare*	*chua*	*tanang*	*ta*	*an*
	read-aloud	I	arrive	c. i. r.	he

Here the two connected purposes of the statement are more apparent. The information is (1) "I was reading aloud," (2) "he arrived." But the Nicobarese has treated the subordinate sentence *et-chai-chaka-lebare chua* as an illustrator (adverb) phrase of the principal sentence *tanang ta an*.

(8)	*harra*	*ta*	*chua*	*de*	*ta*	*finowa*	*tai*	*chia*
	see	c. i. r.	elder-brother	own	c. i. r.	beat	by	father
	an	*kenyum*	*leat*	*chim*				
	his	child	did	cry				

Here we have (1) "his child cried," (2) "on seeing its elder-brother beaten by its father." But the subordinate sentence *harra ta chau de ta finowa tai chia* is treated by the Nicobarese as an explicator (adjective) phrase of the subject *an kenyum*.

j. — Expression of the Functions and Interrelation of Words.

It will have been observed that the Nicobarese express the interrelation of the components of their sentences by functional connectors (in their case prepositions), which form, therefore, an important part of their speech. Thus:

(1)	*lamang*	*ten*	*chua*					
	belong	to	I					
(2)	*inoat*	*ta*	*shong*	*ot*				
	knife	c. i. r.	sharp	is				
(3)	*kwomhata*	*ten*	*chua*					
	give	to	I					
(4)	*iteak*	*kamheng*	*en*	*an*				
	asleep	noon	c. i. r.	he (is)				
(6)	*leat*	*etchai-chaka-lebare*	*chua*	*oal*	*kaiyi*	*de*		
	did	read-aloud	I	in	road	own		
(7)	*harra*	*ta*	*chau*	*de*	*ta*	*finowa*	*tai*	*chia*
	see	c. i. r.	elder-brother	own	c. i. r.	beat	by	father
(8)	*chua*	*finowa*	*tai*	*an*	*ta*	*ong*	*olhaki*	
	I	beat	by	he	c. i. r.	past-of-to-day	morning.	
(9)	*paitshe*	*shi*	*loe*	*ot*	*ta*	*ofe*		
	some	old	cloth	possess	c. i. r.	they		
(10)	*katom*	*yuang*	*kamatoka*	*kakat*	*ta*	*wake*		
	how-many?	persons	dancers	present	c. i. r.	last-night		
(13)	*oal*	*hoptep*	*men*	*ta*	*ngong*			
	in	box	you	c. i. r.	nothing			
(14)	*ane*	*kanyut*	*halau*	*men*	*longtoten*	*chi*		
	that	coat	buy	you	from	who		
(15)	*chua*	*oklakngato*	*an*	*kato*	*ta*	*ñi*	*chua*	
	I	permit	he	live	c. i. r.	hut	I	

k. — Connectors (Prepositions).

The functional connectors (prepositions) and connector-phrases are necessarily numerous and their use quite simply expressed. The commonest are:

Table of "Prepositions."

CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL DIALECT.	ENGLISH.
ten, an, ta, tatai	to, at, on (object)	yō	to (place)
tai	by	en, at, kat	at
oal, òl	in	enyâh	after
yôl, yiang, hokaio	with	pat, taihit, hatyôl hatyīang	without
lòngto, lòngtoten, ngatai, yang, lòngtota, chakâ, lamòngtotai	from	kâe	concerning
ngashī	about, in relation to	yôna-ta-kâe	for, account of, sake of
henshât-kâe	for, place of	hēangechuk	among
mongyūangñe	between	talashīak	along-side
tanūak	beneath	harôh-tōmtare	except
oyūhta	till, until	tamang	as-far-as
ta-taugtatai, hēangetai	as-well-as	tamat	during
okâlhare	across	yôhñe	through (a solid)
		ōakñe	through a fluid

A good example of their use is the following:

an	*okaihanga*	*pōwah*	*lòngto*	*ta*	*oal*	*düe*	*chüa*
he	took-away-south	paddle	from	c. i. r.	in	canoe	I

(he took away to the South the paddle out of (from inside of) my canoe).

1. — Connectors of Intimate Relation.

The only class of connectors (prepositions) that presents any difficulties is that of the connectors of intimate relation. These are *ta*, *en*, *pan* and may be translated "in respect of, as, as for, as to, regarding, as regards, with reference to, concerning, for" according to the context. They are used for connecting:

(1) indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective).
(2) subject and its predicate.
(3) explicator (adjective) with its illustrator (adverb).
(4) predicator (verb) and its complement (object).

(1) indicator (noun) with its explicator (adjective).

inôat	*ta*	*shong*	*ôt*
knife		sharp	is

(the knife is sharp).

paiyŭh	*ta*	*urŭhatshe*	*dăk*
man		many	come

(many men came).

kenyŭm	*tai*	*an*	*ta*	*fiṅowa*
child	by	he		beat

(the child was beaten by him).

(2) subject and its predicate.

yuchŭh	*pan*	*chŭa*
go-home		I

(I am going home).

paitshe	*homkwòm*	*en*	*meṅ*	*ten*	*chŭa*
some	give		thou	to	I

(give me some).

oal	*hoptĕp*	*meṅ*	*ta*	*ngong*
in	box	you		nothing

(there is nothing in your box).

(3) explicator (adjective) with its illustrator (adverb).

iteak	*kămheng*	*en*	*an*
asleep	noon		he

(noon is asleep for him, *i. e.*, he sleeps at noon).

chŭa	*fiṅowa*	*tai*	*an*	*ta*	*ong*	*òlhakt*
I	beat	by	he		past-of-to-day	morning

(I was beaten by him this morning).

hat	*ôt*	*lôe*	*ta*	*oal*	*hoptĕp*	*an*
not	is	cloth		in	box	he

(there is no cloth in his box).

(4) predicator (verb) and its complement (object).

harra	*ta*	*ghàu*	*de*
see		elder-brother	own

(seeing the elder brother).

paitshe	*shi*	*lôe*	*ôt*	*ta*	*ofĕ*
some	old	cloth	have		they

(they have some old cloth).

wi	*an*	*eṅ*	*ta*	*linheṅ*
make	it	to		to-day

(make it to-day).

chit	*lăap*	*wi*	*an*	*eṅ*
I-not	can	make	it	to

(I cannot make it).

The Nicobarese, however, have no idea of using connectors (conjunctions) merely for joining two words together. They cannot express "and" or "or" without a paraphrase. Thus:

ane	*nīna*	*an—dīawa*	*an*	*homkwōm*
that	this	it—another	he	give

(he gives this and that).

an	*dāk*	*òlhakī*	*hañañ*	*en*	*chüa*
he	come	morning	no		I

(he will come in the morning: no: (then) I, *i. e.*, he or I will come in the morning).

m. — Order of the Words is the Essence of the Grammar.

But the great point of the speech is the position of the words and that comes out clearly in the following instances from the sample sentences, where the words are simply thrown together.

an	*chŭh*	*harra*	*halau*	*lôe*	*kân*	*de*
he	go	see	buy	cloth	wife	own

(he has gone to see about buying cloth for his wife).

an	*hat*	*kōan*	*meñ*
he	not	child	you

(he is not your child).

ane	*kanyŭt*	*halau*	*meñ*	*lòngtoten*	*chī?*
that	coat	buy	you	from	who?

(from whom did you buy that coat?)

It would be impossible to make such sentences intelligible, except by the order of the words. The same principle of simple collocation in a certain order is adopted in elliptical connected sentences.

oal	*hoptēp*	*meñ*	*ta*	*ngong*
in	box	you	c. i. r.	nothing

(there is nothing in your box).

Simple collocation of words, in a fixed order, determining the functions and classes of each is very common in the language.

chīa	*kan*	*chüa*		
father	wife	I	=	my wife's father
kân	*chīa*	*meñ*		
wife	father	you	=	your father's wife
düe	*chang*	*chüa*		
canoe	own	I	=	my own canoe

hoptēp	*chang*	*chīa*	*kân*	*chüa*
box	own	father	wife	I

(my wife's father's own box).

n. — Expression in Phrases.

The habit just explained comes out strongly in the simple collocation of appropriate words to express the various phases of action or condition necessarily connected with predicators (verbs). Thus:

Table of "Auxiliaries" to "Verbs."

orīhata	beat
wòt orī ((*wòt* for *wi hat*, do not)	don't beat
chüa orī	I beat (I am beating)
chüa yuangshitô orī	I busy beat (I was beating)
chüa leät yūangshitô yanga orī	I finish busy just-now beat (I had been beating)
chüa yanga orī	I just-now beat (I have just beaten)
chüa leät orī	I finish beat (I have beaten, I did beat)
chüa orī leätngare	I beat entirely (I had beaten)
chüa yô orī	I wish beat (I will beat)

chüa enyâk orī	I afterwards beat (I shall beat)
chüa alde orī	I just-now beat (I am about to beat)
lâk (and *shòk*) chüa orī	let I beat (let me beat)
chüa lĕap orī	I can beat
chüa dôh orī	I able beat (I may (perhaps) beat)
dôhta chüa orī	duty I beat (I must (ought to) beat)
chüa kaiyâhtashe orī	I permit-from-some-one beat (I may, *i. e.*, have the power to, beat)
harôh-ta-yande- chüa orī	expect-continue I beat (I might beat)

So with the really ellipsed form *oria*, beaten, where the predicator (verb) is unexpressed. *E. g.*

chüa leät orīa	I finish beaten (I was beaten)
chüa yô orīa	I wish beaten (I shall be beaten)
chüa dôh orīa	I can beaten (I may be beaten)

and so on.

All this shows that the Nicobarese have no idea of "active" and "passive voices," the expression of the various natural phases of action and condition being merely with them a question of the collocation of certain conventional appropriate words.

O. — Numeral Coefficients.

The habit of collocating conventional words in phrases comes out in another important point in the Nicobarese language. There is, in common with all Far Eastern languages, but carried to a far greater extent than usual, a kind of explicator (adjective) employed in Nicobarese, known to grammarians as the "numeral coefficients," attached with numerals to indicators (nouns), when the numerals themselves are used as explicators (adjective). Thus, one cannot say in Nicobarese "one man," but one must say "one fruit man": *i. e.*, one must not say *hĕang enkòiña*, but *hĕang yüang enkòiña*. The numeral coefficient is always collocated with the words to which it is attached between the numeral and the thing enumerated.

Table of Numeral Coefficients.

	CENTRAL.	CAR NICOBAR.
(1)	for human beings and spirit-scaring figures (*kareau*).	
	yüang (fruit)	*taka*
	kōi (head)	
	tat, *tat-yüang*, *tat-kōi*	
(2)	for animate moving objects, eggs, parts of the body, domestic and other objects that are round.	
	nōang (cylinder)	*nòng*
(3)	for fruit.	
	nōang-yüang	*taka*
(4)	for flat objects, cooking-pots and fishing-nets.	
	tâk (wide)	*tâk*
(5)	for dwellings and buildings.	
	hen	*momti*
(6)	for trees and long things.	
	chanang	*mâ*
(7)	for ships and boats.	
	danòi	*nòng*
(8)	for bamboos used for keeping shell-lime.	
	hinle	*kâhà*
(9)	for bunches of fruit, but for single pine-apples or *papaya*.	
	tōm (bunch)	*lamnâha*, *tum*
(10)	for bundles of *pandanus*-paste.	
	manoal, *mokônha*	

(11) for bundles of split-cane and wood-chips.
pomdh *chumvi*

(12) for bundle of cane.

(13) for bundles of firewood.
minôl

(14) for bundles of tobacco.
lamem *milima*

(15) for books.
amoka

(16) for ladders.
chaminkôa

(17) for pieces of cloth.
shamanap

(18) for cord and fishing lines.
kamilâng

Another set of numeral coefficients for "pair" is used in the same way.

tafüal pair of cocoanuts, rupees, edible birds' nest.
tâk pair of bamboos for shell-lime.
amok pair of cooking pots.

This principle is carried rather far in the following instances:—

amok is also used for two pairs of bamboos for shell-lime.
kamintap is a set (4 to 5) of cooking pots.
nöang is a set of ten pieces of tortoise-shell.

EXAMPLE—*lôe nöang okkap*, three sets of tortoise-shell, *i. e.*, 30 pieces.

Numeral coefficients appear again in yet another way in the following instances:—

tanai shuâ, five times, but

tanai kotatai	five times	(for hammering and hand work)
ân kochat	two times	(for jumping)
föan kongaláh	four times	(for going)
löe koñengê	three times	(for talking, singing)
föan koshtohakâ	four times	(for eating, drinking, feeding)
issât koshtâñha	seven times	(for washing, bathing)

p.—Elliptical Sentences.

Elliptical sentences are very common: the obvious predicate being usually unexpressed.

tteak poatôre kâmheng en an, noon (is) always asleep for him.
an hat köan meñ, he (is) not your child.

q. — Analytical Nature of the Language.

We can now perceive generally how the Nicobarese mind regards speech. A Nicobarese has no idea of using variation in the external form of words to indicate *the functions of the sentences* and the interrelation of the component words, but uses position and special additional words (connectors) for those purposes: nor does he use anything but position to indicate *the functions of his words*. He must consequently, to make himself intelligible, rely mainly on the order of his words, in the sentence, which thus becomes of the greatest importance to him. His language is, therefore, essentially a Syntactical Language of the analytical variety. Briefly it may be described as an Analytical Language.

r. — Order of Speech.

To the Nicobarese instinct the logical order of speech for all purposes is as follows:—

(1) subject before predicate,
(2) subject, predicate, complement (object).
(3) explicator (adjective) before indicator (noun): or with connector (preposition) after indicator,

(4) illustrator (adverb) after predicator (verb) or explicator (adjective).
(5) connector (preposition) before the word it connects with another.
(6) referent conjunctor (conjunction between connected sentences) and introducers (interrogative adverb) before everything.
(7) referent substitutes (pronouns) follow the position of their originals.
(8) the principal sentence precedes the subordinate.

The Nicobarese has to adhere strictly to this order, and can only vary it when the inherent qualities of the words used allows him to do so for emphasis or convenience; as when he makes the subject follow the predicate, explicator (adjective) follow indicator (noun) without connector (preposition), illustrator (adverb) precedes predicator (verb) or explicator (adjective). He has very complicated methods, without using functional variation of form, of indicating the *nature* and class of his words, and these necessarily form the chief point for study in the language as regards the structure of its words.

s. — Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Position in the Sentence.

Primarily there is nothing in external form, which necessarily denotes the function or functions of a word in a sentence and, therefore, its class or its inherent qualities, *i. e.*, its nature. Nor is there primarily anything in external form to show that a word has been transferred from one class to another. That is, properly the class of a word is known by its nature or by its position, and its transfer from one class to another is shown by its position.

I have said above "primarily" and "properly," because, like all speakers of highly developed languages, as analytical languages must necessarily be, the Nicobarese follow one principle of language chiefly and others in a minor degree. So, as will be seen later on, it is possible in many, though not in by any means all, cases to classify Nicobarese words by their form.

Examples of the effect of position on the class of a word.

lôa, "quick," explicator (adjective) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "quickly" by position.
mittöi "false," to "falsehood."
chang, "own," predicator (verb) to "own," explicator (adjective).
hen, "time" to referent conjunctor "when."
kapngato, "remember" to "mindful."
paitngato, "forget" to "forgetful."
kedohnga, "another" to "otherwise (differently)."
ḷpatayan, "punctual" to "early" illustrator (adverb).
hoi, "far" explicator (adjective) to "far" illustrator (adverb).

Words of the same form with totally different meanings according to class are known by position. Thus:—

kâto as explicator (adjective) means "silent": as a predicator (verb) it means "dwell."
tafûal as an indicator (noun) means "pair": as a numeral explicator (adjective) or indicator (noun) it means "six."
tā as an indicator (noun) means "touch": as an explicator (adjective) it means "flat."
kâhē as an indicator (noun) means "moon": as an referent conjunctor it means "when."
yô means "if," "wish" (verb), "to," "thither" according to its position in the sentence. *E. g.*

yô	*meh*	*yô*	*yô*	*Pū*
if	you	wish	to	Car Nicobar.

(if you wish to go to Car Nicobar).

t. — Phrases (Compound Words) Classed as Words.

Phrases (compound words) formed of several words thrown together without connectors are very common. They are treated in the sentence precisely as simple words.

Indicator Phrases (Compound Nouns).

heṅ-hatòm	time-night, night-time.	âṅh-chakâ-fòin	life-face-crossbow, bolt of c.
paiyüh-olchüa	man-jungle, jungle-man.	âṅha-oal-hindel	contents-gun, cartridge.
kōi-henyūan	head-hill, hill-top.	moah-toah	nose-breast, teat.

Explicator Phrases (Compound Adjectives).

karū-fâp	big-side, corpulent.	yô-huyòie-taĭ	wish-drunk-make, intoxicating.
yô-huyòie	wish-drunk, intemperate.	dôh-eṅhngashe	can-recover, able.

Predicator Phrases (Compound Verbs).

alde-shīang	just-now-sweet, become sweet.	ingühñe-nâng	inform-ear, send word.
		wī-kaiyī-dâk	make-road-water, drain.

The use of such phrases (compound words) as single words is proved by the following examples: —

I. Roots: *rū*, shade; *kōi*, head. Then

(1) *ha——rū——ngare* go into the shade
pref. shade suff.

(2) *ha——rū——kōi* take shelter
pref. shade head

(3) *ha——rū——ya——kōi—re* shade the head
pref. shade suff. head suff.

In this case we have:

(1) root + pref. + suff. (simple word).
(2) root 1 + root 2 + pref. (compound word).
(3) root 1 + pref. + suff. = first word (+) root 2 + suff. = second word, the whole being a compound word. The third case shows clearly that the whole compound is looked upon as one word grammatically constructed.

II. Roots: *tum*[28] (lost r.), tie; *lâh*, leg. Then

(1) *tum——a——lâh* tied by the leg (simple word)
tie suff. + leg

(2) *om——tum——lâh* tie the legs (compound word)
pref. tie + leg

III. Roots: *tum* (lost r.), tie; *koâl*, arm.

(1) *tum—a——koâl* tied by the arms, pinioned (simple word)
tie suff. arm

(2) *om—tum—koâl* tie by the arms, pinion (compound word)
pref. tie + arm

III.—ETYMOLOGY.

a. — Classification of Words Depends Primarily on Their Order in the Sentence.

It has been already noted that the Nicobarese relies mainly on the position and inherent qualities of his words, *i. e.*, on their nature, for a complete expression of his meaning, and that there is nothing in the external form of the words which necessarily indicates their class, or

[28] This root is seen again in such words as *tom-ōl, tom-mōl*, collect, gather: *ha-tōm*, assemble.

whether a word, as used in a sentence, belongs to its original class or has been transferred to another. That is, there is nothing to show that *lēap*, can, and *wi*, do, are predicators (verbs), or that *oyūhta*, till, is a connector (preposition), or that *düe*, canoe, and *kōi*, head, are indicators (nouns), except their actual meaning.

Again, there is nothing to show when the indicator (noun) *chüa*, I, is transferred to explicator (adjective) "my," or when *lôa*, quick, explicator (adjective) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "quickly," or when *leüt*, did, predicator (verb) is transferred to illustrator (adverb) "already," except their position in the sentence.

b. — Classification of Words Depends Secondarily on Form.

But, nevertheless, the Nicobarese have means of indicating the class to which a word has been transferred, or to which of two or more classes connected words in different classes belong, and of differentiating connected words belonging to the same class. They can thus make their speech clearer than would be possible, if they entirely trusted to the mere collocation of their words.

c. — Form Created by Radical Prefixes, Infixes, and Suffixes.

The Nicobarese manage to differentiate connected words by adding, in various complicated ways, affixes of all the three sorts, — prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, — to simple stems or roots. The affixes are, therefore, none of them functional, but are all radical, and the words consist of simple stems, or of compound stems (stems made up of a root or a simple stem plus radical affixes). The Nicobarese carry this principle through a great part, but not through all of their language, and have by its means built up a complicated but uncertain system of radical and derivative words, and have rendered their language a very difficult one to analyse and to speak, or to understand, correctly.

d. — Use of Radical Affixes: Agglutinated, Changed, and Inflected.

The radical affixes usually employed to indicate transfer of stems from one class to another, *i. e.*, to create words of different classes connected with each other, those to which the affixes are added being necessarily "derivatives" of the others, are as follow. It will be seen, from what follows later, that they are added—

(1) by mere agglutination, *i. e.*, unchanged form:

(2) by changed form:

(3) by clipped form, *i. e.*, by inflexion.

Table of Radical Affixes of Transfer.

(Mr. Man gives many more.)

Prefixes.

ka ha na ma men en hen op o la lan lok fak

Infixes.

ma am an o

Suffixes.

a o yo yan la nga hat

e. — Use of the Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The following examples will exhibit the use of the radical affixes of transfer:—

Abbreviations used in the following tables:

in. class	for nouns (indicators)	ill. class	for adverbs (illustrators)
e. class	for adjectives (explicators)	c. class	for prepositions (connectors)
p. class	for verbs (predicators)		

Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Agglutination.

Prefixes.

Affix	From	To
ha	c. class *yôl* (with)	to p. class *ha-yôl* (mix fluid)
na	in. class *wû* (blood)	to p. class *na-wû* (bleed)
ma	e. class *huyòie* (drunk)	to in. class *ma-huyòie* (drunkard)
en	p. class *pöya* (sit)	to in. class *en-pöya* (seat)
op	p. class *lōp* (cover the shoulders)	to in. class *op-lōp* (shawl)
o	in. class *foàng* (window)	to p. class *o-foah* (to open)
hen	p. class *tainya* (to plait)	to in. class *hen-tain* (basket)
	lain (revolve)	*hen-lain* (wheel)
men	in. class *kōan* (child)	to e. class *men-kōan* (having many children)
la	in. class *ok* (back)	to e. class *la-ok* (behind, following)
ka	ill. class *yôl* (together)	to in. class *ka-yôl* (friend)
lan	in. class *dûkmat* (tear)	to p. class *lan-dûkmat* (water, of the eyes)
lòk	in. class *shamōa* (sprout)	to p. class *lòk-shamōa* (to sprout)
	hoûng (sweat)	*lòk-hoûng* (to sweat)
fuk	in. class *dûk* (water)	to p. class *fuk-dûk* (draw water)

Infixes.

Affix	From	To
ma.	p. class *pa-hôa* (to fear)	to in. class. *pa-ma-hôa* (coward)
	po-mōan (to fight)	*pa-ma-mōan* (warrior)
	pòin-ñòp (die)	*pa-ma-ñûp* (corpse)
	e. class. *ka-rû* (large)	to in. class *ka-ma-rû* (adult)
	in. class *pu-yōl* (hair)	to e. class. *pa-ma-yōl* (hairy)
am	p. class *d-ūk* (come)	to in. class *d-am-ūk* (guest)
	t-ûk (to measure)	*t-am-ûka* (fathom)
	ch-uanga (visit a jungle)	*ch-am-ùanga* (a visitor of a jungle)
	e. class *k-oûng* (strong)	to in. class *k-am-oûng* (strong man)
	p. class *l-ĕap* (can)	to e. class *l-am-ĕap* (expert)
	in. class *k-ōan* (child)	to e. class *k-am-ōan* (having children)
	ch-ûaha (property)	*ch-am-woahôñ* (rich)
an	p. class *t-ûk* (to measure)	to in. class *t-an-ûk-rûm* (night-measurer, sand-glass)
	w-ī-ñt (make-hut, build)	*w-an-e-ñt* (framework of hut-roof)
	ch-iō (to whistle)	*ch-an-eō* (a whistle)
	ch-tal (lift by a handle)	*ch-an-ōla* (strap, handle)
	e. class *sh-ī-tashe* (old)	to in. class. *sh-an-ī-tashe* (age)

Suffixes.

a

p. class	to e. class
ngēang (employ)	*ngēang-a* (employed)
p. class	to in. class
top (drink)	*top-a* (beverage)
e. class	to p. class
orēh (first)	*orēh-a* (begin)
p. class	to e. class
ori (beat)	*ori-a* (beaten)

o

in. class	to e. class
fūp (side)	*fūp-o* (fat)

la

p. class	to e. class
iteak (sheep)	*iteak-la* (sleepy)
p. class	to in. class
leàt (finish)	*l-an-eät-la* (final memorial feast)

nga

p. class	to e. class
dôh (can)	*dôh-nga* (suitable)
in. class	to p. class
kaiyi (road)	*kaiyi-nga* (go away)
(*ol*) *chūa* (jungle)	*ch-ūa-nga* (go into (visit)[29] a jungle)

yan

in. class	to e. class
oyàu (cocoanut-tree)	*oyàu-yan* (lonely)

hat

e. class	to in. class
paich (small)	*paich-hat* (a little)

yo

in. class	to p. class
düe (canoe)	*due-yo* (travel in a canoe)

Radical Affixes of Transfer added in Changed Form.

Prefixes.

change of ma to mo

p. class	to e. class
hēu (see)	*mo-hiwu* (long-sighted)

change of ha to hâ

in. class	to p. class
wan (net)	*hâ-wan* (net fish)

change of en to an

p. class	to in. class
(*oal-*)*ōla* (bury (in))	*an-ūla* (grave)

change of en to in

p. class	to in. class
(*ol-*) *yōla* (speak)	*in-ôla* (tale)

Infixes.

change of am to om

p. class	to in. class
p-em (drink)	*p-om-em* (drunkard)
w-i (make)	*w-om-i* (maker)
e. class	to in. class
ch-ònghōi (tall)	*ch-om-ònghōi* (tall man)
in. class	to p. class
sh-ēyo (sack)	*sh-om-yo* (fill a sack)

change of am to aṅm

p. class	to in. class
t-op (drink)	*t-aṅm-op* (drunkard)

change of an to en

p. class	to in. class
h-et (to chisel)	*h-en-et* (a chisel)

change of an to in

p. class	to in. class.
d-ian (run)	*d-in-nōṅha* (winner in a foot race)

Suffixes.

change of a to wa

p. class	to in. class
halau (buy)	*halau-wa* (a purchaser)

change of a to ya

in. class	to e. class
miyai (value)	*miyai-ya* (costly)

change of a to ha

p. class	to in. class
dian (run)	*dinnōṅ-ha* (winner in a foot race)

change of o to yo

in. class	to e. class
chatai (weapon)	*chatai-yo* (armed)
in. class	to p. class
düe (canoe)	*due-yo* (travel in a canoe).

[29] We have here a very interesting set of words to exhibit word-building: (*ol*)-*chūa*, jungle: *chūa-nga*, visit a jungle: *ch-am-ūa-nga*, visitor of a jungle.

Radical Affixes of Transfer added by Inflexion.

Prefixes.

ha inflected to h

p. class	to in. class
okngôk (eat)	*h-okngôk* (food)
in. class	to p. class
omkwòm (gift)	*h-omkwòm* (give)

ma inflected to m

p. class	to in. class
enlüana (exorcise)	*m-enlüana* (exorcist)
itüa (visit)	*m-itüa* (visitor)
e. class	to in. class
orēh (first)	*m-orēh* (first person or living thing)
omtōm (all, the whole)	*m-ōmtōma* (flock, crowd)

f. — Correlated Radical Affixes of Transfer.

The Nicobarese also indicate the classes, to which connected words derived from lost or obscure roots belong, by a system of correlated radical affixes of transfer.

Prefixes.

lost or obscure root	*p. class*	*to in. class*
hēat	ha-hēat (to hook up)	hen-hēat (hooked pole)
het	hañ-het (to strain)	hen-het (strainer)
òi	hu-yòie (drunk)	hen-yòiya (drunkard)
shin	ka-shin (to prop)	ken-shin (a prop)
tôk	ka-tôka (to dance)	ken-tôka (a dance)
shâng	ka-shâng (to fish in slack water)	kan-shâng (a weir)
kâk	tom-kâk (pierce)	ten-kâk (lancet)
fūal	tom-fūalhata (tie a pair of cocoanuts)	ta-fūal (a pair)
hôñ	kom-hôñ (to trap fish)	ken-hôñ (a trap)

A good instance of the use and force of correlated radical affixes of transfer is the following: — Obscure or lost root, *tain*: then *tain-ya*, plaiting: *en-tain-ya*, plaited: *hen-tain*, basket: *ha-tain-ya-paiyāh*, crosswise.

Instructive examples of the effect of correlated affixes of transfer on the forms of connected words are the following, where a prefix has been added to the lost root of one of two connected words and an infix to the other. Thus:

lost or obscure root	*p. class (pref. used)*	*to in. class (inf. used)*
dī	o-dī (beat with stick)	d-an-ī (cudgel)
kâsh	i-kâsha (sing)	k-an-òishe (song)

That the lost root in the latter case is really *kâsh* in the last case is shown by *momi-kâsha* (maker-song), a singer.

g. — Inflexion of Affixes.

It is probable that there is more inflexion than at first appears in the existing forms of the radical prefixes.[39] Thus in the case of the correlated radical prefixes —

hen may be taken to be	ha + en	tom may be taken to be	ta + om (for am)
ken	ka + en	pan	pa + an
ten	ta + en	pen	pa + en (for an)

h. — Duplication of Affixes.

The existence of such inflexion would make one suspect the common existence of duplicated radical affixes, and that this is the case the following instances go to show: —

(1) *en-lüana* (exorcise): *m-en-lüana* (exorcist). Here the root is *lüan* and the prefix *men* is certainly an inflected form of *ma+en*, two separate prefixes.

(2) *kōan* (child): *k-am-an-ūana* (a generation). Here the root is *k-ōan*, and the infix *aman* is certainly *am+an*, two separate infixes.

(3) *h-en-tain* (basket): *m-en-tain-ya* (basketful). Here the root is *tain* and the prefixes *hen* and *men* are certainly inflected forms of *ha+en* and *ma+en*, respectively.

There is also a prefix of transfer, *kala*, which seems certainly to be made up of *ka+la*. Thus, *hōi* (far): *kala-hōiya* (sky).

[39] Here seems to be a strong instance of the inflection to which affixes can be subjected: *wi*, make: *w-om-i*, maker, which also takes the form of *m-om-i* for (?) *m-[w]-om-i* (*ma* + *w* + *am* + *i*).

Duplication of suffixes is very common: *e. g.*,

Lapâ-yan (well): *lapâ-yantô* (glad). *Di* (bulk): *di-ngareshe* (all absent from anything, entirely wanting in): here the suffix is double (*ngare* + *she*) or more probably[31] treble (*nga* + *re* + *she*).

The proof will be seen in the following examples: —

wi-hala (to take out)	*owi-la eh* (take it out)	*owi-hahat* (to screw in)	*owi-ha eh* (screw it in)
kaichuat-hala (to dig up)	*kaichuat-la eh* (dig it up)	*tuak-haiñe* (to drag)	*tuak-ñe eh* (drag it)
		tapaih-haiñe (to spit out)	*tapaih-ñe eh* (spit it out)
lenkâh-hanga (to bend)	*lenkâh-nga eh* (bend it)	*ēp-hashe* (to transplant)	*ēp-she eh* (transplant it)

i. — Connectors of Intimate Relation as Prefixes.

There must of course be a strong tendency in the connectors of intimate relation (prepositions), *ta*, *en*, *pan*, *pen*, to become radical prefixes of transfer, and we accordingly find that in some cases they do so: *e. g.*,

Connectors of Intimate Relation as Radical Prefixes of Transfer.

ta

p. class	to in. class
kûpâh (die)	*ta-kâpâh* (carcase)

pen

e. class	to in. class
teyeñ (white)	*pen-teyeñ-oalmât* (white of the eye)
āl (black)	*pen-āl-oalmât* (pupil of the eye)

j. — Nature of Nicobarese Predicators (Verbs).

There is also a use of the duplicated prefix *hen* as an affix of transfer with predicators (verbs), which is of grammatical interest, as showing that the Nicobarese do not separate in their minds predicators (verbs), when they merely assert a fact regarding a subject, from indicators (nouns). They look upon them both as indicating, the first the idea about a thing, and the second the thing itself; and instinctively put the words for both in the same class, indicators (nouns). That is, the Nicobarese look upon "intransitive verbs" as "nouns" and in order to transfer them to the class of real, *i. e.*, "transitive verbs," they add sometimes, but (in obedience to their instinct in such matters) not always, an affix of transfer, the prefix *hen*. Thus:

ENGLISH.	INTRANSITIVE FORM.	TRANSITIVE FORM.
break	tôknga	hen-tôknga
smash	dähnga	hen-dähnga
sink	pangshe	hen-panghashe

k. — Expression of "Active" and "Passive."

An important set of correlated suffixes of transfer in daily use are worth noting apart. They are used to transfer explicators (adjective) to predicators (verbs) and have, naturally though erroneously, been taken to indicate the "passive and active voice."

The common explicator (adjective) suffix of transfer is *a*: then very commonly

stem	e. class	to p. class
haròk (burn)	*harôk-a* (burnt)	*haròk-hata* (burn)
haril (shoot with gun)	*haril-a* (shot)	*haril-hata* (shoot)

That this is the correct way to view this point in Nicobarese Grammar can be shown thus:

(1)	*lâk*	*hē*	*haròk*	*ten*	*an*	*lâk*	*hē*	*ori*	*ten*	*an*
	let	we	burn	to	it	let	we	beat	to	it
(2)	*lâk*	*an*	*harôka*			*lâk*	*an*	*oria*		
	let	it	burnt			let	it	beaten		
(3)	*haròk(hata)*[32]	*ta*	*eh*			*ori(hata)*[32]	*ta*	*eh*		
	burn	c. i. r.	it			beat	c. i. r.	it		

[31] See below, q, "Groups of Words Round an Idea," II.

[32] *Hata* is omitted in the "imperative."

Here we have in (1) the mere stems *harök*, burn; *ort*, beat. In (2) we have the predicator (be) unexpressed. In (3) we have the subject (thou, you) unexpressed. There is no instinct whatever of an "active" or "passive voice." Of the suffixes, *a* is merely a suffix of transfer indicating the class (e.) to which the stems have been transferred from their original class (p.): and *hata* is really a suffix of differentiation, giving a definite turn to the original sense of the stem.

l. — Use of Radical Affixes of Differentiation.

The Nicobarese differentiate connected words of the same class and derived from the same root (original meaning) by radical affixes, precisely as they indicate transfer of words from class to class. There is no difference in method or form in the affixes thus used. *E g.*,

Radical Affixes of Differentiation for Connected Indicators (Nouns).

Prefixes.

hen-tain (basket)	mahen-tainya (basketful)	en-kòiña (a male)	men-kòiña (a male of a given race)
wētare (goblet)	ta-wētare (gobletful)		
yai (price)	mi-yai (value)	mòngko (cup)	mo-mòngkôa (cupful)

Infixes.

sh-âyo (sack)	sh-am-ayōwa (sackful)	k-âhē (moon)	k-am-ahenwa (lunation)

Combined Prefix and Infix.

p-omlē (bottle) — ta-p-ah-ōmlē (bottleful)

For Connected Explicators (Adjectives).

Suffixes.

kēh (violent)	kēh-tô (ill-tempered)	kēh-ngayan (difficult)
lapā (good)	lapā-yan (well)	lapā-yantô (glad)
hēang (one)	hēang-ashe (alike); hēang-e (same)	hēang-ayan (equal); hēang-she (first)
karū (large)	karū-ngashe (extensive)	karū-she (abundant)
yôl (together)	yôl-hashe (same kind); yôl-ten (accompanying)	yôl-shī (beside)

m. — Working of Correlated Radical Affixes.

In the following instances one can see side by side the working of the correlated radical suffixes both of transfer and differentiation.[33]

(1) Lost or obscure root; *tang* (?) arrive.

CLASS.	WORD.	SENSE.
e.	tang-ngashe	complete.
e.	tang-tashe	accurate.
p.	tang-hat	arrive eastwards.
p.	tang-ngato	approve.
p.	tang-ngayan	satisfy (hunger, thirst).

(2) Lost or obscure root; *yâh* (?) attract.

CLASS.	WORD.	SENSE.
e.	yâh-ngamat	pretty
e.	yâh-ngatô	happy
e.	yah-ngayan	kind
p.	yâh-ngashi	fond of (to be)
p.	ha-yâh-ngashi	love (family) (to)
p.	hen-yâh-ngashe	family love

In the last two instances it will be noticed that correlated prefixes of differentiation have been called in to make the sense clear in the usual way.

n. — In the "Comparative Degrees."

In working out his "comparative degrees" the Nicobarese exhibits the uses of the radical affixes in most of the ways above explained. He adds the suffix *a* and then sometimes the infix *en* or the prefix *en* and *ong*, and sometimes he uses correlated prefixes. This addition he effects by agglutination, change of form, or inflexion.

[33] The mental process observable in these cases becomes quite clear from a reference to the Languages of the Torres Straits, as pointed out to me by Mr. Sydney Ray. Thus:

Palai (intransitive form *pali*) expresses the idea of separation, division into two parts, motion apart. Then
dan-pali (*dan* = eye), to open eye, be awake.
gud-pali (*gud* = mouth), to open (flower, mouth).
poi-pali (*poi* = dust), to shake off.
galu-pali (*galu* = cold), to tremble.
gagai-palai (*gagai* = bow), to shoot.
iadai-palai (*iadai*, plural of *i'a*, word), to cause one to chatter.
kerket-palai (*kerket* = smarting sensation), to cause to smart.

The connection with the root idea in these cases is not always easy for a European to follow.

Table of the "Comparative Degrees."

(Suffix always a.)

Unchanged Form of Suffix.

Infix en.

changed form	*ch-òng* (high)	*ch-in-ònga* (higher)
inflected	*l-apā* (good)	*l-en-pāa* (better)
inflected	*ch-aling* (long)	*ch-in-linga* (longer)
inflected	*sh-iang* (sweet)	*sh-inn-ēanga* (sweeter)
inflected	*p-ōap* (poor)	*p-enn-ôapa* (poorer)
inflected	*la-ngan* (heavy)	*l-en-ngâna* (heavier)

Changed Form of Suffix.

inflected	*f-uòi* (thick)	*f-enn-òiyo* (thicker)
inflected	*pa-chau* (cold)	*p-en-chauwa* (colder)

Unchanged Form of Suffix.

Prefixes en, ong.

inflected	*eñh* (near)	*enn-eñha* (nearer)
agglutinated	*koâng* (strong)	*ong-koânga* (stronger)

Changed Form of Suffix.

Correlated Prefixes.

mi-tâñto (short)	*en-tânta* (shorter)

The "superlative" does not come into the argument, as there is, strictly, no such "degree," the illustrator (adverb), *ka*, 'indeed,' following the "comparative" for the purpose. Thus;

chòng (high)	*chìnònga* (higher)	*chinònga ka* (highest)

o. — In Expression of "Continuing Action."

So also in working out a plan for expressing "continuing action," the Nicobarese employs the same method. He adds a suffix *yande* to the suffix *a*, and then proceeds as in the former case.

Continuing Action.

(Suffix always a + yande.)

Infix en.

inflected	*t-op*	(drink)	*t-enn-opayande* (c. drinking)
inflected	(*ok*)*-ng-ôk*	(eat)	*ng-enn-ôkayande* (c. eating)
inflected	(*i*)*-k-âsha*	(sing)	*k-enn-òishayande* (c. singing)
inflected	(*ong*)*-sh-òngha*	(walk)	*sh-inn-ôngayande* (c. walking)

Correlated Prefixes.

i-teak (sleep)	*en-teakayande* (c. sleeping)
ka-tôka (dance)	*ken-tôkayande* (c. dancing)
et-ēt (write)	*en-ētayande* (c. writing)
a-miñh (rain)	*en-miñhayande* (c. raining)

p. — In Expression of Naturally Connected Words.

So further in the case of expressing the depth of water, a matter of much consequence to a people constantly navigating canoes and boats along a coral-bound shore.

Water and canoes are measured by the arm-span, which is something over five feet, or roughly a fathom: *hēang tamâka*, one fathom. But for the more commonly used 2 to 10 fathoms there are expressions specially differentiated by means of the prefix or infix *en* and the suffix *o* (for *a*), attached on the principles noted in Appendix A in the case of the numerals.

ROOT.		WORD.	SENSE.
âñ	two	enn-ây-o	2 fathoms
l-ôe	three	l-enn-òiy-o	3 fathoms
f-oan	four	h-enn-oan-no	4 fathoms
t-anai	five	t-enn-ēy-o	5 fathoms
t-afual	six	t-en-fūal-o	6 fathoms
issat	seven	en-shât-o	7 fathoms
enfoan	eight	enfōan-no	8 fathoms
sh-om	ten	sh-inn-am-o	10 fathoms

Sudden emphasis on these terms is very often necessary in navigation, and further differentiation is effected by the attachment of the prefix *ma* or the infix *am*: *e. g.*,

m-enn-āy-o	only 2 fathoms	t-amen-fual-o	only 6 fathoms
l-amen-òiy-o	only 3 fathoms	m-en-shat-o	only 7 fathoms
ma-h-enn-ōann-o	only 4 fathoms	m-enfoan-no	only 8 fathoms
t-amen-ey-o	only 5 fathoms	sh-aminn-am-o	only 10 fathoms.

q. — In Expression of Groups of Words Round Ideas and Groups of Ideas Round Words.

The Nicobarese carry this plan of differentiating connected words of the same class by radical affixes very far, and manage by this means to create groups of words round one idea or set of ideas, or *vice versâ*, groups of ideas round one word or set of words.

Groups of Words Round an Idea Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

I. Idea: "Same Sort."

(Prefixes or Infixes Employed.)

enkòiña	a male	m-enkòiña	a male of the same race
enkâna	a female	m-enkâna	a female of the same race
kenyūm	child	k-am-enyūma	child of the same race
paiyūh	a Nicobarese	p-en-yūh / p-amen-yūh	a Nicobarese of the same community.
nōt	pig	men-nōta	pig of the same village
âm	dog	enm-âma	dog of the same village
chông	ship	ch-inm-ônga	ship of the same rig
mattai	village	m-en-tai	village of the same people
kentôka	dance	k-am-entôka	dance of the same kind
kanòishe	song	ka-menn-òishe	song of the same kind
kaling	foreigner	ka-ma-lenga	foreigner of the same country

This last word is an instance where a foreign word has been subjected to Nicobarese grammatical forms; for Kling, Kaling is an Indian word for the foreigners settled in the Malay countries, from Kalinga, the Northern coasts of Madras.

Example.

hēang	*kamennòishe*	*ta*	*kòisha*	*ān*	*kamentôka*	*ta*
one	same kind-of-song	c. i. r.	sing	two	same kind-of-dance	c. i. r.
katôka	*tai*	*chüa*	*wāhē*			
dance	by	I	last-night			

(one sort of song was sung and two dances of the same kind were danced by me last night).

II. Idea: "Complete Condition."

(Suffixes Employed.)

Root or Stem.	Connected Words.	Sense.
dī (bulk)	dī-re / dī-ngashe	all good (of a hut, goods)
	dī-shire / dī-ngare	all bad (of a hut or goods)
	dī-ngareshe	all absent (of a quality, substance)
hēang (one)	hēang-lare	all good (contents of anything)
	hēang-ngare	all bad (contents of anything)
düat (length)	düat-shire	all (of a long object)
hēang-leät (one-finished)	hēang-leät-tare	the whole set

Example.

linheñ	*dingareshe*	*mattai*	*nēe*	*hat*	*ōt*	*toak*	*ta*	*taiñ*
to-day	all-absent	village	this	not	is	toddy	c. i. r.	fermented

(there is no fermented toddy at all in this village to-day).

Groups of Ideas Round a Word Differentiated by Radical Affixes.

Word : la, a portion; then l-inn-a, less.

(Suffixes Employed.)

linnâ-ngashe / linnâ-ngayan }	less than——
linnâ-hala	less than (a height; a distance northwards)
linnâ-hashe	less than (a shortness; a distance westwards)
linnâ-haiñe	less than (a nearness; a distance to landing-place)
linnâ-hanga	less than (a distance southwards)
linnâ-hahat	less than (a distance eastwards)

Examples.

an	*linnâ-hala*	*chinònga*	*kōi*	*ten*	*ch'ia*
he	less	taller	head	o	I

(he is not so tall as I am).

an	*linnâ-ngayan*	*ongkoānga*	*ten*	*men*
he	less	stronger	to	you

(he is not so strong as you are).

r. — Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction.

When one comes to consider the suffixes of predicators (verbs), we find the principle of differentiating and grouping connected words by radical affixes carried to an extraordinary extent. Thus, there are sets of suffixes attached to roots or stems indicating motion, which give them a speçial force, though, when attached, as they frequently are, to other roots or stems, they have no particular force traceable now, whatever might have been possible once.

Differentiating Radical Suffixes of Direction attached to Roots and Stems Indicating Motion.

hala	lare	le	la	al	northwards, upwards, out of.
hanga	ngare	ngo	nga	ang	southwards, from self.
hahat	hare	he	hat	ahat	eastwards, inwards.
hashe	shire	she	she	aich	westwards, downwards.
haiñe	ñire	ñe	ñe	aiñ	towards the landing place, outwards, away.
hata	tare	te	ta	at	towards any direction on same lead, towards self.

As the differentiating radical suffixes of direction play an important part in Nicobarese speech, some examples are given here.

I. Root o, go.

go north	o-le	go up (ascend)	o-le
go south	o-nge		
go east	o-he		
go west	o-she	go down (descend)	o-she
go to landing place	o-ñe		
go anywhere	ote		

II. Root af, go.

go north	af-al[34]
go south	af-ang
go east	af-ahat
go west	af-aich[34]
go to landing place	af-aiñ
go anywhere	af-at

III. Root tang, arrive.

arrive northwards	tang-la
arrive southwards	tang-nga
arrive eastwards	tang-hat
arrive westwards	tang-she
arrive at landing place	tang-ñe
arrive somewhere	tang-ta

IV. Root oid, hither.

hither northwards	òid-lare
hither southwards	òid-ngare
hither eastwards	òid-hare
hither westwards	òid-shire
hither to landing place	òid-ñire
hither to anywhere	òid-tare

V. Root, shwâ, bring back.

bring back northwards	shwâ-hala
bring back southwards	shwâ-hanga
bring back eastwards	shwâ-hahat
bring back westwards	shwâ-hashe
bring back to landing place	shwâ-haiñe
bring back anywhere	shwâ-hata

s. — Extreme Extension of the Use of the Radical Suffixes of Direction.

These suffixes explain a set of illustrators (adverbs) of direction, which are to be explained as consisting of a lost root *nga* + suffix of direction, *e. g.*,

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Direction.

ngâ-le	north, above	nga-iche, ngâ-she	west, below
nga-nge	south down		
ngâ-hae	east	nga-iñe	to landing place

Example.

due	*ngaiñe*	*chamang*	*chì ?*
canoe	at-landing-place	belong	who ?

(whose is the canoe at the landing place ?)

Transferring these illustrators (adverbs) to indicators (nouns) by means of using the connector of intimate relation, *ta*, as a prefix, we get —

The Four Quarters.

Ta-ngâle	North	Ta-ngange	South
Ta-ngâhae	East	Ta-ngaiche	West

Transferred to yet another set of illustrators (adverbs), the sense of "ago" is conveyed to predicators (verbs) of motion in the same curious manner.

Illustrators (Adverbs) of Time Past.

hala	ago (of movement, occurrence in the North)
hanga	ago (of movement, occurrence in the South)
hat	ago (of movement, occurrence in the East)
hashe	ago (of movement, occurrence in the West)
hata	ago (of returning)
hashī	ago (of a death)

Example.

tanai	*hanga*	*kamaheñwa*	*an*	*kâpâh*
five	ago-to-the South	month	he	die

(five months ago he died in the South).

[34] *Afal, afaich*, like *ōle, ōshe*, mean also "go up," "go down" (a hill).

The interrogative prefix *ka, kâ, kan,* has been already explained and when attached by inflexion to *ôt,* be, together with an inflected suffix of direction, it produces a curious and common set of forms of question and answer.

Interrogatives of Direction.

Root *ôt,* be, plus prefix *ka* for the question, plus suffix *ta* of "any direction" inflected with suffix of definite direction.

k- òd-de ?	be ?	*k-ò-hare ?*	be east ?
k-ò-lde ?	be north ? be up-stairs ? be above ?	*k-ò-itde ?*	be west ? be downstairs ?
k-ò-ngde ?	be south ? be below ?	*k-ò-iñde ?*	be at landing place ?

Examples.

Q. *Kòdde ta ane dâk ?* Any water there ? A. *Kakat.* There is.

Q. *Kòlde ta ane dâk ?* Any water up there? up north ? A. *Kòlde.* It is up there ; up north. A. *Ngâlde.* It is up here.

Q. *Kôngde ta ane dâk ?* Any water down there ? down south ? A. *Kôngde.* It is down there ; down south. A. *Ngange.* It is down here ; down south.

Q. *Kôhare ta ane dâk ?* Any water to the east ? A. *Kôhare.* There to the east. A. *Ngâhae.* Here to the east.

Q. *Kòitde ta ane dâk ?* Any water downstairs ? to the west ? A. *Kòitde.* There to the west. A. *Ngashe* (and *ngaiche*). It is down here to the west.

Q. *Kòinde ta ane dâk ?* Any water at the landing-place ? A. *Kòinde.* It is there at the landing-place. A. *Ngaiñe.* Here at the landing-place.

Q. *Kakat ?*	*enkòiña*	*enkâna*	*ta*	*itâ*	A.	*Kakat.*
Q. Be ?	man	woman	c. i. r.	here	A.	Be.

(Q. Are there any men and women here ? A. There are.)

In the above instance *kakat* is a case of a double prefix *ka + ka + (ô) t.*

t. — Use of Terms for Parts of the Human Body as Supplementary Radical Affixes of Differentiation.

Words relating to some parts of the body are used as supplementary radical suffixes both of differentiation and transfer to indicate action or relation naturally referable to those parts. Thus :

-tai (hand) refers to what is done by the hand or by force: *-lâh* (foot, leg), to movement by the foot : *-kōi* (head), to anything relating to the head or top : *-nâng* (ear), to what can be heard : *-chakâ* (face), to what is done before one or in the presence : *-ngē* (voice), to speech : *-mat* (surface, eye), and *-ok* (skin, back), to what is outside, on the surface. *E. g.,*

Supplementary Radical Suffixes Derived from the Parts of the Body.

tai (hand)	*hodh* (starve)*-nga-tai*	(make to starve)
lâh (foot)	*ō* (go)*-nge-lâh*	(to) leave
kōi (head)	*kenyüa* (a leaf[35])*-nga-kōi* (head)	(to) cover a pot
nâng (ear)	*hima* (bequest)*-nga-nang*	(advice)
chakâ (face)	*oreh* (before)*-chakâ*	(to) advance
ngē (voice)	*opyap* (overhear)*-nga-ngē*	(to) eavesdrop
mat (surface)	*ettat* (polish)*-mat*	(to) wipe
mat (eye)	*dâte* (water)*-mat*	(to) wipe a tear
ok (skin)	*ettaich* (husk)*-nga-ok*	(to) flay

(To be continued.)

[35] *Kenüya* is the name of the plant which produces the leaves used as the covering of pots for steaming *pandanu* paste.

NOTES ON ANCIENT ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND TITLES IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

A STUDY of the old designations of officials and administrative divisions in the Pañjāb would undoubtedly throw much light on the ancient system of administration. Unfortunately, the material for such a study is very scanty and is almost confined to the names and titles given incidentally in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Chambā State, some of which were published in the *Archæological Report* for 1903. A full collection is being published by the Pañjāb Government in a separate volume.

The Chambâ inscriptions allude to the "eighteen elements of the State," but do not describe what these eighteen elements were. They would appear, indeed, to have been given a more or less conventional number,[1] according to a theoretical system borrowed from the more powerful State of Kashmīr, rather than a description of the indigenous organization of the State in actual force at any period. Besides these so-called eighteen elements, the inscriptions enumerate a horde of officials, whose functions are not described and are not known at all clearly from other sources. From three of the inscriptions a list of no less than thirty-five official, or *quasi*-official, titles is obtainable, as the following table, which is taken from three Chambâ copper-plates of 960—1080 A. D., shows: —

Official Titles in Chambâ, circ. 1000 A. D.

Plate II. Text.	Plate IV. Text.	Plate V. Text.
1. rājā.	1. rājā.	1. rājā.
2. rānā (rājāṇaka).	2. rānā.	2. rānā.
3. rājput (rājaputra).[2]	3. rājāmātya.	3. rājpūt.
4. rājāmātya, royal minister.	4. rājā-putra.	4. rājāmātya, royal councillor.
	5. parikara-sanniyuktaka-viniyuktaka: ? 'those appointed and commissioned (out of the Rājā's attendants).'	
		5. brāhmana.
		6. kshatriya.
		7. vaisya.
		8. sūdra.
5. rājasthāniya, chief justice.		9. rājasthānīya.
		10. parikara-samniyuktakaviniyuktaka: *cf.* No. 5 of Plate IV.
6. pramātar, ? measurer.		
7. sarobhanga.		
8. kumārāmātya, councillor of the prince.		
9. uparika.[3]		
10. vishayapati.[4]		
11. nihelapati.		

[1] It can hardly be more than a coincidence that the well-known Right-hand castes in Madras comprised eighteen sorts of people: *cf.* Nelson's *Scientific Study of Hindu Law*, pp. 98, 99, and 100. And, according to Dubois (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 6th Ed., p. 15), the Śūdras of Madras comprise eighteen chief sub-castes.

[2] Rāwat (Guzarātī) and Rāut (Marāthī) = horse-soldier, trooper, also appear to be derived from *rājaputra*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, p. 218.

[3] A fiscal term, ? fr. Pr. *upari*, may denote a tax levied on cultivators who have no proprietary rights in the soil: *C. I. I.*, III, 97, etc.

[4] Lord or governor of a *vishaya*, probably a sub-division of a *dêśa* or *maṇḍala*: *C. I. I.*, p. 327.

12. kshatrapa (kshetrapa).		
13. prāntapāla, frontier guard.		
14. hastyaśvoṣṭra balavyāvṛ(pṛ)ataka, those occupied with elephants, horses, camels, and the forces.		
15. dūta.[5]	6. dūta.	11. dūta.
16. gamāgamika.	7. gamāgamika.	12. gamāgamika.
17. abhitvaramāṇa.	8. abhitvaramāna.	13. bhitvara-śāmāna.
18. khasha.	9. khaśa.	14. khāśa.
19. kulika.	10. kulika.	15. kulika.
20. śaulkika.[6]	11. śaulkika.	16. śaulmika.
21. gaulmika, inspector of police, patrol.[7]	12. gaulmika.	17. gaulmika.
22. khaṇḍaraksha.	13. khaḍagaraksha.	18. khaṇḍaraksha.
23. tara patika, ? bridge-guard.	14. tarapati.	19. tarapati.
24. chhatrachchhāyika, umbrella-bearer.		
25. veṭakila, betel-carrier.		
26. vīrajāyātrika, ? those belonging to the expeditionary force.	15. vīrayātrika.	20. vīrajāyātrika.
27. chauroddharṇika, thief-catcher.	16. chauroddharaṇika.	21. chauroddharaṇika.
28. daṇḍika, jailor.[8]	17. daṇḍika.	22. daṇḍika.
29. daṇḍavāsika, executioner,	18. daṇḍavāsika.	23. daṇḍavāsika, 'and all others that constitute the eighteen elements of the State.'
30. bhogapati.[9]		
31. viniyuktaka.		
32. bhāgika, land-owners.[10]		
33. bhogika, land-holders.		
34. châṭa (modern *chār*), head-men of a *pargana*.		
35. and sevakâdûn their subordinates and servants.		
	19. brāhmaṇa.	
	20. kshatriya.	
	21. viṭ (vaiśya).	
	22. chūdr (śūdra) and all others that constitute the eighteen (*sic*) elements of the State, and etc.	

In Plate III (*Arch. Report*, 1903, pp. 257-258) are mentioned a *mahâmâtya*, or chief councillor, and a *mahâkshapaṭalika* or chief record-keeper, who do not appear in Plates II, IV, or V.

[5] *Lit.*, 'a messenger': *cf.* Hindī *dūt*, especially in *dūt-bhūt*, evil spirits, and also the messengers of Yāma, the god of death. Is P. *daurā*, 'runner' or 'messenger,' a doublet? For an interesting note on *dūtaka* (occasionally *dūta*, e. g., in Nirmand copper-plate), *cf.* Fleet in *C. I. I.*, II, p. 100[3].

[6] *Cf. śulka*, 'superintendent of tolls or customs': *C. I. I.*, III, p. 52[3].

[7] But *cf. gulma*, 'superintendent of woods and forests': *C. I. I.*, III, 52.

[8] *Dândika*; *lit.*, a punisher: fr. *daṇda*, fine or rod: *C. I. I.*, III, p. 218[4]. *Daṇḍ* is still used for 'fine.'

[9] *Bhoga*, *-ika*, 'one who enjoys or possesses': *C. I. I.*, III, 100; *bhoga*, 'enjoyment of shares,' p. 120[1].

[10] *Cf.* the modern Balochī *bhâgyâ*, and Pañjâbī *bhâgwand*, 'wealthy.' *Bhâga* is a territorial term, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 248.

Of all the designations given in the above list, only one, *viz.*, *chár*, the Sanskrit *chaṭa*, survives, or can, at least, with any certainty be said to survive in the modern language of the State. Within quite recent times an entirely different set of names was in use, but these are now nearly obsolete in their turn and are being displaced even in popular use by designations borrowed from the British Revenue Codes.

But before describing the more modern or the present official titles it will be best to note the names of the old administrative divisions. The ancient administrative division or unit was the *maṇḍala*,[11] which corresponds to the more modern *parganâ*. Popular belief holds that Chambâ was once divided into or comprised 84[12] of these *maṇḍalas*, when it was larger than it is now. Even at annexation it contained 72 *parganâs*, since reduced by amalgamating the smaller *parganâs* to 52. Till recently the Bhaṭṭiyât or Bhaṭṭi *wizârat* contained 12 *parganâs* and was accordingly known as the Bârah Bhaṭṭiâṅ. These *parganâs* are now grouped into 4 *wizârats*, corresponding to the *tahsîls* or sub-collectorates of a British District. The *wizârats* are, as the word itself indicates, of modern origin. It is perhaps worth noting that each *parganâ* contained a State granary (*koṭhî*) in which the revenue of the State, collected in kind, was stored, and in which the officials of the *parganâ* lived.[13] As a rule there is only one *koṭhi* in each *parganâ*, but when the *parganâ* consists of two or more amalgamated smaller *parganâs* it possesses two or more *koṭhis*, each with its *pahrî*, *hâlî*, and *jhotiâr*.

The officials at the capital were as follows: —

(1) *Wazîr*, chief minister.

(2) *Thare*[14] *dâ mahtâ*, chief financial minister.

(3) *Bakhshî*, who used to keep the military accounts and was responsible for the internal administration of the State forces.[15]

(4) *Hâzrî dâ kotwâl*, magistrate in attendance on the Râjâ.

(5) *Thare dâ kotwâl*, magistrate who performed miscellaneous duties and disposed of petty cases arising in the town.

For the outlying tracts special officials were appointed — *wazîrs* for Pângî and Barmaur *wizârats*, and elsewhere a *mahtâ* and a *kotwâl* for each *parganâ*. The two latter posts were held by men appointed in the capital, whence they transacted all the business of their charges. Not unnaturally these posts became all more or less sinecures.

The chief local officials varied in different parts of the State: —

In Chambâ and Chaurâh *wizârats* each *parganâ* was in charge of a *châr*, collector, a *likhnehârâ*, clerk, and a *bhatwâl*, personal assistant called collectively *kârdârs* or *kâmdârs*. Of these —

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11 *Maṇḍal*, s. m. disk, circle, ring . . . . region, country, district, province (extending 20, or, according to some, 40 *yojanas* in every direction); the country over which the 12 princes Chakravarti are supposed to have reigned.

12 84 is almost certainly a conventional or auspicious number: *cf. Panjab Notes and Queries*, I, 1884, § 465, for the Tribal Collocations of 12 (Bârah), 22 (Baiyâ), 52 (Bâwani), 84 (Chaurâsî) and 85 (Pachâsî) villages.

13 The *koṭhîs* varied in size and appearance, but most of them were built on one plan: a square structure, 20 or 30 yards long on each side, consisting of rooms surrounding an open court-yard. The buildings are usually two or three storeys high and divided into rooms and *dâlâns* or halls. There is a principal entrance, and in the court-yard a staircase leading to the upper storeys. Some of the *koṭhîs* are very ancient, several dating back even to the times of the Rânâs whose rule preceded the foundation of the State itself.

14 *Thara*, high place, where justice was administered. Hence *thareth*, an attendant at the *thara*, an official whose functions are not more fully defined.

15 For the functions of the Bakhshi, see Irvine's *Army of the Moghals* in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1896, p. 539.

(i) The *chār* was the collector of revenue and the officer responsible for the internal management of the *parganās*.[16]

(ii) The *likhnehārā* kept the revenue accounts and did clerical work.

(iii) The *bhatwāl*[17] carried out their orders and held under them a position analogous to that of the *hāzrī dā kotwāl* at the capital.

The other officials, who were all subordinate to the three *kārdārs*, were—

(iv) The *jhotiār* (from *jhotā*, 'an errand'), a messenger, who was under the immediate orders of the *bhatwāl* and carried out the *kārdār's* orders conveyed through him.

(v) *Ugrākā*,[18] a tax-gatherer, who collected the revenue demand under the *chār*.

(vi) *Jinsālī* (from *jins*, 'grain' or goods, and *āl*, a store), a store-keeper, who was in charge of the storehouse of the *parganā*.

(vii) *Pahrī* (from *pahr*, watch), a record-keeper, who was in charge of the State's *koṭhī*, records, and revenue, both in cash and kind.

(viii) *Bhāṅḍ* (? from *bhāṅḍā*, a vessel), a cook, who cooked the *kārdārs*' food and cleaned their utensils.

(ix) *Hālī*, a care-taker, who kept the *koṭhī* clean and looked after the storage and safe-keeping of the grain.

(x) *Kāgadiārū* (from Persian *kāghaz* and *ārū*, bringing), a letter-carrier.

(xi) *Lakkaṛhār*, who supplied wood to the *koṭhī*.

(xii) *Ghiārū*, who collected *ghī* from those who paid their revenue in that commodity.

(xiii) *Dudhiārū*, who similarly collected milk.

In certain parganās there used to be **a high official** called *odhṛū*, who was superior to the *kārdārs*, and had under him more than one *parganā*.

In Barmaur, the ancient Brahmapura, all the above officials are known, but the *ugrākā* is called *durbīāl* or *drubiyāl*, and although the *jhotiār* is not unknown, his duties are performed by a *kothēru*. There is also an official called *ahṛū*,[19] below the *durbiyāl*, who collects milk. Neither the *kothēṛu* nor the *ahṛū* are paid servants of the State, but they are allowed certain concessions and privileges in their *wizārat*. Formerly an official called *patwārī*[20] had woollen blankets made for the Rājā out of the wool collected as revenue.

In the Bhaṭṭiyāt *wizārat* certain *parganās* had an *odhṛū* over them and others an *amīn*. Both were superior in rank to the *kārdārs*. There the *bhatwāl* was called *tharēth*;[21] the *jhotiār*, *bhatwāl*; the *ugrākā*, *muqaddam*; and the *ahṛū*, *jhiwar* or *jhar*.

The remote *wizārat* of **Pāngī** used to be under a *wazīr* (who visited it every third year to collect the revenue), and under him was a *pālsrā*. Otherwise Pāngī had all the officials except No. xiii, above described, the only difference being that the *ugrākā* was called *muqaddam*.

(To be continued.)

[16] Hence his charge (the *parganā*) was also called *chārī*. Some *parganās* also have a *chhoṭa chār*, whose jurisdiction is separate from that of the *baṛā chār*.

[17] It is possible, but hardly probable, that the *bhatwāl* is the *bhata* of the copper-plates.

[18] *Ugrākā*, *cf.* Pañjābī *ugrāhā*, a collector or gatherer of tax. The *ugrākā* and *jhoṭiār* were appointed as occasion required.

[19] Possibly from *ahṛī*, beestings, the first milk of a cow after calving. If so, the word is practically synonymous with *dudhiārū*.

[20] Probably from *paṭṭu*, blanket.

[21] See *ante*, p. 350, note 14.

BOOK-NOTICE.

ACHYUTARÂYÂBHYUDAYAM OF ŚRÎ RÂJANÂTHA, with a commentary by PANDIT R. V. KRISHNAMACHARIAR (ABHINAVA BHATTA BANA). Part I, Cantos 1—6. Srirangam: Sri Vani Vilas Press, 1907. Pp. 156.

THIS beautifully printed little volume contains the first half of a hitherto unpublished Sanskrit poem, accompanied by an excellent commentary in the same language. The hero is king Achyuta (A. D. 1530—40) of the second dynasty of Vijayanagara. On this prince a recent historian has justly pronounced the verdict that he "was a craven, and under him the Hindu empire began to fall to pieces."[1] The author of the panegyrical poem of course represents him as a mighty, pious, and warlike sovereign.

As in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, Achyuta is stated to have belonged to the family of the Tuluva kings (*sarga* III, verse 38), and his pedigree is traced from the Moon to the mythical king Turvasu (I, vv. 5—18). To this race belonged Timma I. (v. 23), whose son Îśvara (v. 25) had by Bukkamâ two sons: Nṛisiṁha (v. 27) or Narasa (v. 28) and Timma II. The latter is not mentioned in the Vijayanagara inscriptions. The former took Mânavadurga from a Śaka (*i. e.*, Musalmân) chief (v. 29). As in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, he is reported to have dammed up the Kâvêrî and to have stormed Seringapatam (v. 30). He slew the Marava king and took Madhurâ (v. 31 f.). He captured Kônêṭirâja (v. 33). Vidyâpurî (*i. e.*, Vijayanagara) became his capital (v. 39). His three favourite queens were Tippâmbikâ, Nâgamâmbâ, and Ôbamâmbâ (v. 52). Tippâmbikâ's son was Vîranṛisiṁharâya, Nâgâmbikâ's Kṛishṇarâya (v. 53), and Ôbamâmbâ's Achyuta (II, v. 32), whose chief queen was Varadâmbikâ (III, v. 15), the daughter of the Salaga king (v. 48).

Vîranṛisiṁha (v. 17) was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇarâya, who took Koṇḍavîṭi and other forts from the Gajapati king and set up a pillar of victory at Puṭupeṭṭanûpura (?) (v. 18 f.). Then Achyuta, the third of the brothers, was anointed at Śêshâdri (*i. e.*, Tirupati, v. 23) and entered Vidyânagarî (v. 24). The kings of Kaliṅga, Magadha, Śaka, and Siṁhala are represented as his servants (v. 46). His son Chinaveṅkaṭâdri, who is mentioned as Veṅkaṭarâya in the Vijayanagara inscriptions, was appointed heir-apparent (v. 51 f.).

Once Achyuta's minister addressed his master in private in the Veṅkaṭa-vilâsa maṇḍapa (IV, v. 46). He submitted that the Chôla king had fled to the Chêra kingdom, and that those two kings deserved to be "punished" (v. 56), while the Pâṇḍya king, who had lost his throne, would have to be "protected" (v. 57). Thereupon the king gives the necessary instructions to the commander of his army (v. 58) and starts himself on horseback (V, v. 1). His movements are a little erratic. He enters Chandragiri (v. 22), ascends Śêshâdri (v. 23), worships the god (v. 30), and makes presents to him (vv. 39—42). From Veṅkaṭagiri he proceeds to Kâlahasti (v. 44). At Vishṇukâñchî (v. 47) he performs the *tulâpurusha* ceremony in the Varadarâja temple (v. 49). Then he travels *viâ* Aruṇâchala (*i. e.*, Tiruvaṇṇâmalai, v. 51) to the Kâvêrî (v. 55) and visits Śrîraṅgam (v. 57), whence he sends (his brother-in-law) the Salaga prince to bring the Chôla king from the Chêra country (v. 64).

The Salaga prince marches *viâ* Madhurâ to the Tâmraparṇî (VI, v. 1). He encamps there and sends his general in advance to meet the enemy (v. 13). Then follows the description of a battle, which is opened by the Tiruvaṭi king (*i. e.*, the king of Travancore, v. 14), and in which the army of the Kêrala (v. 25) or Chêra (v. 28) is defeated. The latter delivers the Chôla king Tiruvaṭi into the hands of the Salaga prince (v. 29 f.),[2] who pardons him, but places the Pâṇḍya king over him (v. 31).

The published portion of the poem closes in the middle of the description of a journey which the king undertakes in order to worship the god at Anantaśayana (Trivandrum, v. 32).

E. HULTZSCH.

Halle, 26th October, 1907.

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[1] Mr. R. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 165.

[2] These two verses shew that the author treated "the Chôla king" and "the Travancore king" as synonyms. On Tiruvaḍi see Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, p. 28.

A PLAN FOR A UNIFORM SCIENTIFIC RECORD OF THE LANGUAGES OF SAVAGES.

Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

(Concluded from p. 347.)

IV. — PHONOLOGY.

a. — Mode of Speech.

THE Nicobarese speak in a deep monotonous tone and with open lips, thus adding to the many difficulties presented by their language by giving it an exceedingly indistinct sound. The pronunciation is guttural, nasal, drawled, and indeterminate: *i. e.*, the Nicobarese speak slowly from the throat with the flat of the tongue and open lips. Final consonants are habitually slurred, especially labials, palatals, and gutturals. All this is the result of the habit of betel-chewing till the lips are parted, the teeth greatly encrusted and the gums distended, rendering the articulation of speech most imperfect.

b. — Man's and de Röepstorff's Enquiries.

Mr. Man was at very great pains to catch the real sound of Nicobarese words, and his reproduction of them on Mr. A. J. Ellis's scheme may be taken as being as near to complete accuracy as one is likely to arrive at. Mr. de Roepstorff, who was a Dane, used in 1876 his national system of representation, which has been followed by Danish and German writers, but is entirely unsuited to English readers. *E. g.*, he writes *j* for *y*, and the usual Danish and German complications to represent *ch* and *j* and so on. He had also the common Danish and German difficulty in distinguishing surds from sonants, which has made his transliterations puzzling.

c. — Reduction of the Speech to Writing.

There are a great number of vowel sounds in the language, which have been reproduced by Messrs. Man and Ellis as follows: —

The Vowels in the Central Dialect.

English.	Central.	English.	Central.
a ide*a*, c*u*t	yūang (fruit)	ò p*o*t	òmtōm (all)
ā c*ur*[36]	dāk (come)	ô *aw*ful	lôe (cloth)
à c*a*s*a* (Ital.)	kâkàtôk (a month[37])	ȯ k*o*nig (Ger.)	hȯi (far)
â f*a*ther	kân (wife)	u infl*u*ence	puâ (catch)
a f*a*thom	leȧt (finished)	ū p*oo*l	dūeṅ (monkey)
e b*e*d, chaotic	heng (sun)	u *ü*ber (Ger.)	düe (canoe)
ē p*ai*r	lēang (name)	ai b*i*te	tanai (five)
i l*i*d	kaling (foreigner)	au h*ou*se	kareau (spirit-scarer)
ī pol*i*ce	wī (make)	àu h*au*s (Ger.)	oàu (vomit)
o ind*o*lent	koâl (arm)	òi b*oi*l	enlòin (wallow)
ō p*o*le	enlōin (axe)		

Almost every vowel is nasalised and the following are reproduced in the written form adopted: —

Nasalised Vowels in the Central Dialect.

aṅ	holiaṅ (spinster)	ōṅ	kenhōṅa (pocket)
āṅ	miāṅ (spear)	òṅ	òṅh (fuel)
âṅ	âṅ (two)	ôṅ	môṅhuyâ (albumen)
àṅ	koyàṅwa (guava)	uṅ	chyuṅ (sweet)
eṅ	eṅh (near)	aiṅ	mifaiṅya (cloud)
iṅ	amiṅh (rain)	auṅ	aṅhauṅ (parboil)
īṅ	fīṅha (hogshead)	òiṅ	ombòiṅ (tobacco)
oṅ	haroṅh (stalk game)		

[36] With untrilled *r*.

[37] The name of the first month of the North-East monsoon.

The consonants do not require much explanation, but the following may be noticed: —

	ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.		ENGLISH.	CENTRAL.
ch	*ch*ain	chakâ (face)	ṅg	spri*ng*iest	iñgol (nearly ripe)
hw	*wh*at (Scotch)	benhwâva (ashes)	r	rest (Eng. *r*)	karū (large)
ñ	ga*gn*er (Fr.)	enkòiña (man)	sh	*sh*e	shohōng (south-west monsoon)
ng	si*ng*er	yangtare (follow)			

d. — Stress.

Stress is on the root or stem, or on what is now thought by the Nicobarese to be so. These can to a great extent be separated out from the affixes by the stress. In stems of two syllables the stress is on the second syllable, unless the first contains a long vowel.

V. — COMPARISON OF DIALECTS.

a. — Man's Enquiries.

Mr. Man gives a long list of words in the dialects, and when considering the currency of the people in Appendix A the comparative terms for the numerals and words connected with enumeration have also been given. From these last the deduction seemed to be clear, that the six dialects of the Nicobarese are variants of the same fundamental tongue. The same inference seems inevitable from the following examination of a selection of words from Mr. Man's *Dictionary*.

b. — Comparison of Words.

Roots will be separated out of the words by placing the affixes in italics. This separation of the roots is of course, at present, tentative, as roots can only be ascertained beyond doubt by a comparison with other connected languages in the Far East. The present attempt will, however, be useful to students.

The following abbreviations will be used in the accompanying tables: —

C. N. = Car Nicobar
T. = Teressa
S. = Southern
Ch. = Chowra
C. = Central
S. P. = Shom Peṅ

Words in the Six Dialects Compared.

ENGLISH.	C. N.	CH.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
bachelor	*lâ*mòk	*maiâ*l	*mai*yòh	ilū	ilū	*hak*âòit
maiden	dō*la*	*lâ*mòk	*lâ*mòk	hol*īaṅ*- (wīhla)	*pen*hōn- (wīhla)	
child	*nīa*	ken-yū*m*	ken-yū*m*	ken-yū*m*	pin-ī*eṅ*	ak*au*
female	*kik*âna	*en*kâ*na*	*en*kēä*na*	*en*kâ*na*	oyü*ha*	apà*u*
male	*ki*kōña	mohē*o*	*mai*o*h*	*en*kòiñ*a*	otä*ha*	akò*it*
man	tâā, tâ*rik*, tâò*iṅ*	pâ*ch*	pai	pai*yūh*	pô*h*	akò*it*
back (the)	ok	ok	ok	ok	*tom*nô*it*	*ho*kō*a*
blood	mâm	pâhe*òit*	vâ	wâ	wâ	döb
breast	tāh	tòh	tòh	toah	toâh	tō*a*
ear	nâng	nâng	*a*nang	nâng	nâng	nâng
finger	*kun*tī	*kenüsh*nòi	*mâh*tī	*kane*tai	*ke*wēt	noai-tī
hair	kü*ya*	hēòk	hēòk	yôk	yôk	jūo, jō*a*
hand	*el*tī	nòi	*mâh*tī	*kane*tai	*ke*wēt	noai-tī

ENGLISH.	C. N.	CH.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
head	kūi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi
leg	kaldrūn	lāah	läh	lâh	lâh	làu
nose	elmeṅh	mòṅh	mòṅh	noaṅh	moàṅh	mahūṅ
stomach	elīūan	wīang	vīang	wīang	wīang	kàu, kàṅal
bird	chechōn	shichūa	shichūa	shichūa	shichūa	sichūa
canoe	âp	düe	rôe	düe	henhôat	dōai, hōa
cocoanut-tree	taôka	owōàu	ovēàu	oyàu	gàu	kalēal
dog	am	òm	òm	âm	âm	kab
fire	tâmöya	palô	heōe	heōe	hentôṅha	yôp
fruit	rong	eang	äng	yūang	oag	
hut	pâtī	ñī	ñī	ñī	ēn, ñī	ñī-yâng ñī-ngâm
meat	alâhah	eṅha	eiṅho	âṅha	eṅha	eiṅha
moon	chi-ngeät	manēana	ka-hai	kâ-hō	kâ-hē	hawōp
name	mīnaiña	lēang	lēang	lēang	lē	lēd
North	lâôla	lâôl	lâō	tangâle	laôl	
north-wind[38]	kofat-kapâ	fäh-kapä	hâṅsh-kapâ	hâṅsh-kapâ	hâṅsh-kapâ	
paddle	paiyūah	kâhēal	kàhēa	pōwah	pâūah	kâkal
pig	hâun	nōt	nōt	nōt	pakòit	mōn
pig (wild)	hâun-chōn	milīah	eū-ha	sharuâl	chūam	nōng
place	chiuk	chuk	chuk	chuk	chū	lōichau
village	pânòm	pânam	mattai	mattai	pattai	
sea	mai	shamaràu	enlīang	kamalē	ô	heôa
seed	kōlal	enshūng	enshūng	opēp	opēp	kēap
storm	rashat	fēh	hurâsha	hurâsha	oriasha	
tabu	tâkôya	kāl	yeòich	chij	yīi	yüid
to-morrow	hurēch	tâha-kōi	horòich	hakī	hakī	yâbö
year	sòmyūhu	samâiha	samennēoh	shomenyūh	shâü	aṅhöi
yes	haṅ, hòṅ	aṅ	aṅ	aṅ	haṅ	
all	ròkhare	chiöi	chiöi	òmtōm	hē	kâapöi
bad[39]	at-lāk	hat-lu	hat-lapā	hat-lapā	ngâ-kö	wu-àuhu
good	lāk	lu	lapā	lapā	kö	àukö
not	ar, at dran	hat	hat	hat	ngâ	wu
hear	haug	hēang	heäng	yâng	hâng	hâng
see	māk	harra	ha	harra	haka	tūa
say	rô	kânyūa	ennēola	olyōla	hâhal	tēit
steal	olâya	malānga	kalôhanga	kalôhanga	palait	
he	ngôa	än	än	an, na	aa	nhô
I	chyūa chīan	chiā	chiā	chüa	echīahaṅ	chiàu

[38] The first of the conjoined words signifies "wind."
[39] The first syllable of the word means "not"; "bad" = "not good."

English.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
we-two	hôl-chyū	chīa-hân	haiṅ-hâ	heṅ	hâṅa	â-mô
we	īha	hē	hē	hē	hēi	*fu*shöe-mô
you-two	nâa	inâ	inâ	inâ	ñâë	
you	yīa	ehē	ihe	ifē	hēe	

c. — Comparison of Roots.

We can now compare the above words by roots, so far as these are at present apparent, which will sufficiently show the unity of origin of all the dialects, and should help to fix the identity of the general Nicobarese Language with that of the tongue of some definite group of speakers in the Far East.

Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.

English.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
bachelor	mòk	âl	yòh	lū	lū	kâ
maiden	dē	mòk	mòk	ho	hōn	
child	ī	ken-yū	ken-yū	ken-yū	pin-ī	ak
female	kân	kân	keän	kân	yü	ap
male	kôñ	hē	o	kòiñ	tā	ak
man	tâ	pâ	pai	pai	pô	ak
back (the)	ok	ok	ok	ok	nô	kō
blood	mâm	pâh	vâ	wâ	wâ	döb
breast	täh	tòh	tòh	toah	toâh	tō
ear	nâng	nâng	nang	nâng	nâng	nâng
finger	tī	nòi	tī	tai	wēt	noai-tī
hair	kü	heòk	heòk	ōk	ôk	jū, jo
hand	tī	nòi	tī	tai	wet	noai-tī
head	kūi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi	kōi
leg	kal	läah	läh	lâh	lâh	lâu
nose	meṅh	mòṅh	mòṅh	moaṅh	moaṅh	hūṅ
stomach	lōan	wīang	vīang	wīang	wīang	kàu, kâ
bird	chechō	shichū	shichū	shichū	shichū	sichū
canoe	âp	dü	rô	dü	hô	dō, hō
cocoanut-tree	ô	weàu	vēàu	yàu	gàu	lō
dog	am	òm	òm	âm	âm	kab
fire	tö	pô	heō	heō	tôṅ	yô
fruit	rong	eang	äng	yüang	oag	
hut	tī	ñī	ñī	ñī	en, ñī	ñī-yang, ñ[illegible]gâm
meat	lâ	eṅ	eṅ	âṅ	eṅ	eṅ
moon	chi-ngeä	nēa	ka-hai	kâ-hē	kâ-hē	ha
name	naiñ	lē	lē	lē	lē	lē
North	ô	ô	ō	ngâ	ô	
N.-wind	fat-pâ	fäh-pä	hâṅsh-pâ	hâṅsh-pâ	hâṅsh-pâ	
paddle	paiyū	kâhē	kâhē	pō	pâū	kâk
pig	hâun	nōt	nōt	nōt	pak	mēn
pig (wild)	hâun-chō	lī	eū	shu	chū	nōng
place	chīu	chu	chu	chu	chū	chau
village	pân	pân	mat	mat	pat	
sea	mai	shàu	lī	lē	ô	ô
seed	kōl	shūng	shūng	ēp	ēp	ēap
storm	rash	fēh	râsh	râsh	riash	
tabu	kô	kā	ye	chi	yī	yü

English.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
to-morrow	rēch	tâh-kōi	ròich	kī	kī	yâb
year	syüh	saih	sēoh	shyüh	shâü	hö
yes	haṅ, hòā	aṅ	aṅ	aṅ	haṅ	
all	rök	chiö	chiö	tŏm	hō	pöi
bad	at-läk	hat-lu	hat-lapä	hat-lapä	ngâ-kö	wu-hu
good	läk	lu	lapä	lapä	kö	kö
not	{ar, at dran}	hat	hat	hat	ngâ	wu
hear	hang	hëang	heäng	yâng	hâng	hâng
see	mäk	har	ha	har	ha	tä
say	rô	yu	eo	yo	hâh	tō
steal	lâ	lā	lô	lô	la	
he	ngô	än	än	an, na	an	nhô
I	chyū, chi	chi	chi	chu	chī	chi
we-two	hôl-chyū	chī-hâṅ	haiṅ-hâ	heṅ	hâṅ	â-mô
we	īh	hē	he	hē	hē	hoe-mô
you-two	nâ	nâ	nâ	nâ	ñâ	
you	yī	hē	he	fē	hō	

VI. — COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.

a. — Comparison with the Indo-Chinese Languages.

I am able to compare some of the Nicobarese roots with those of corresponding sense in the Indo-Chinese Languages, civilised and uncivilised, — of which Mon (Peguan) and Khmer (Cambodian) form the civilised group, — and in the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula as contained in Mr. Otto Blagden's paper on the *Early Indo-Chinese Influence in the Malay Peninsula.*

b. — Elements of Uncertainty in the Comparison.

In making the comparison, the elements of uncertainty are these. In Nicobarese a root is nowadays surrounded and obscured by a long growth of affixes (prefixes, infixes, and suffixes) attached by agglutination, phonic change of form, inflexion and duplication, the effect of the affixes being often to induce phonic change in the root itself. So patience and a knowledge of the affixes and their effect is necessary to separate the root correctly from its surroundings. In the Far Eastern words treated by Mr. Blagden there is the uncertain element of misapprehension in the original reporters. However, Mr. Blagden put his words together with great care and personal knowledge, and my specimens are based on the exceedingly accurate reporting of Mr. Man: so that results may be looked on to be as accurate as is possible in the present stage of the enquiry.

I.

Table of Comparative Roots and Words Relating to the Human Sexes.

English.	Nicobarese.	Malayan Aborigines.	Indo-Chinese.
father	tâ (man), otä (male)	ita	ta (grandf.)
	pâ, pô, pai, ap (woman)		
	ak (man), ku, ika (man)	iku, ikun	kuuh, kuñ, konh
	kâu (woman), kôñ, kòiñ (male)		
	dòin		
	chīa		
child	küan, küan, köat	k'non, kenod	kon
	ken-yū		
	(yu, male and female)		
son	kòiñ, kân (daughter)	koṅ	ken

The mixing of the sexes in the roots of the terms for describing human beings is common to all languages (*e. g.*, the modern English, "girl") and Mr. Man has supplied me with a valuable table of words denoting generically tribal and family connections and showing how they are differentiated sexually.

English.	C. N.	Ch.	T.	C.	S.	S. P.
a Nicobarese	târ*ik*	pâc*h*	pai	paiyūh	pôh	
parent	yang	yang	yīa	chīa		ēm
child	{ nīa kūan	ken-yū*m*[40] kōan	ken-yū*m* kōan	ken-yū*m* kōan	pin-īeṅ kōan }	kōit

To these[41], in order to differentiate the male and female of each kind must be added, the appropriate words for the sexes as given above in the Table of Roots in the Six Dialects Compared.

II.

Table of Comparative Roots and Words.

General Terms.

English.	Nicobarese.	Malayan Aborigines.	Indo-Chinese.
back (the)	ok, kō (nô)	kiah, ki-ah	cha'
breasts	tō		da
	tāh, tòh, toah	tuh	tah
ear	nâṅg		na (Burmese)
eye	mât, mat	mat, mot	mat, mot
	mēāt, mẹ̄t		
	maiṅ		
foot			
		jaung, chung, chan	jiung, jung, jong giong
			chung, chong, cheun
			cho'n
			'sang, sinh
			young
		chau	
	lâh, drān		
hair	hēòk, yôk	so', sak, sok, sogk, suk	sak, sok, souk, shok
			tiok'
	kū, jū		
hand	tī, tai	t'hi, the, tu	ti, tay, toa, day
		tung, tong, tein	
	(both[42] = hand *and* finger)	ting (hand *and* finger)	
	nòi (h. *and* f.)		
head	kōī	kòi, koī, koe	tuwi, toụi
	kūi	kui, kuya, kay	
mouth	fâng	pang, ban	paing
		hain, hein	
	foâ, wâ		
			mieng
nose [43]	mòṅh, meṅh, moaṅh	moh, muh, mah	muh, mouh
	mahūṅ		
		mo, mu	mo, mui, mus

[40] This word seems to combine in itself the roots *ken*, male, *yu*, female. [41] Except to *nia*, *kenyūm*, and *pinieṅ*.

[42] Both *ti* and *tai* denote the hand and the finger.

[43] In Nicobarese, however, this word is, I think, *aṅh*, breath, soul, life, plus prefix, *ma*, *mo*.

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	MALAYAN ABORIGINES.	INDO-CHINESE.
tongue	letâk, litâk	letik, litig, letig	lataik
		lontak, lentak, rentak	n'tak
	mâl		andat
bird	chechū, sichū, shichū	chim, chem, chep	chim, chiem, kiem, kachem
egg	pēn	k'poh, kepoh	pong
	kâtēab		
	hā, huyā		
fish	kâa, kalö	ka, ka', kah	ka
mosquito	misôka, mihōya	kemus	mus
	pishūiñha, mōañh		
	obūat		
wood	chiô, chōn	chue, chuk (tree)	chhu
	hōñö, hòp, hôap (jungle)	jehu	
	oñī, wī		
	peñ (jungle)		
stone	mang, mwâma	t'mu, g'mu	t'ma, th'ma, t'mo
			taman, tamao
	kūb, hong, patu		
hut	pâtī	deh, derk, dug	tong, doung, dong
sun	ngīa		t'ngoa, th'ngay
		tunkat	
	hēg, heng		
	mū, wū		
moon	kâhō, kahai		khe, kato
	chi-ngeä	chi, kachik, kichek, kachil, guchah, gechai, geche, giche, biche	kachai, mechiai kaosai
	ma-nēana		
	hawō		
water	dâk, râk	dak	daik, dak, tak, tuk, trak
	dūi (river), pūi	deu, daü, diau	doi
		do, d'hu	do
	tâhē (river)	teu, bi-teu, ba-teau bi-teu (river)	
	mak		
rain	amiñh	gema, kumeh	koma, ma
	kòmrâ	gumar	
	yàu, kâp		
male	enkòiñ, ikôñ	ongkon	angyuang
	enkân (female)		
go	chūh, chau, shô	cho'	cho
	chīah (come)		cheo, chea
	do, ēwa	chup, chip, chiop, chiup chohok, jok	jib (come)

ENGLISH.	NICOBARESE.	MALAYAN ABORIGINES.	INDO-CHINESE.
eat	shâ	chi, cha, cha', chioh chacha, inchi, inchih nacha, nachi	cha, chha, si
	kâ, kô ña, ngâ, ngô pūah, hâm		
sleep	teak, tīak	teïk, tiok tag, taig jetek, jettik, ietek letik	theak, tep dek takla
	ngā, ngōi harrôh		
stand	shòk, shīak, kōag chôl, ō	jög	chho
cry	chīm, chīam puin, hēa	j'm	jom

c. — Nicobarese Radically an Indo-Chinese Language.

Now, the Nicobarese have been on the same ground for at least 2000 years, and they have a tradition of migration from the Pegu-Tenasserim Coast. They have been quite isolated from the coast people, except for trade, for all that period. Their language has been affected by outside influences almost entirely only in trade directions, and then not to a great degree. It has been subjected to internal change to a certain degree by the effects of tabu. Yet we find roots in the language, of the kind that remain unchanged in all speech, to be apparently beyond question identical with those that have remained unchanged in the dialects of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula; these very roots owe their existence among the wild tribes to the effect on them of the influence of the Indo-Chinese Languages, civilised and uncivilised.

Considering, then, the long isolation of the Nicobarese, it is a fair inference that these islanders probably preserve a form of the general Indo-Chinese speech that is truer to its original forms than that of any existing people on the Continent. We may, therefore, find in the Nicobarese speech the real foundation on which to build up the philology of the whole Indo-Chinese Group of Languages. In this view the Nicobarese dialects are of great scientific value and well worth a thorough investigation.

APPENDIX A.

Nicobarese Reckoning.

a. — System.

Like most half-civilised people the Nicobarese have evolved an elaborate and clumsy method of enumeration, in their case [as in that of the Kafirs of Kafiristan whose *hazār* (1,000) = 20 × 20 or 400] based on tallying by the score. And in order to project oneself into their minds and to grasp numbers as they present themselves to the Nicobarese, one has to set aside preconceived ideas on the subject dependent on the European decimal notation. The old English tally by the dozen and the gross (which still survives commercially mixed up in the higher figures with the general decimal system) for small articles made and sold in very large quantities, forms an almost exact parallel.

The Nicobarese have not much use for large numbers, except for their currency and export article of commerce, the cocoanut, and hence they have, except the Shom Peṅ, evolved two concurrent systems of enumeration, viz., one for ordinary objects, and one for cocoanuts.

In applying terms for numbers to objects and things they use special **numeral co-efficients,** as do all the Far Eastern races, the explanation of which will be found, *ante,* II (Grammar), *o* (Numeral co-efficients).

b. — The Numerals.

For ordinary objects the Nicobarese enumerate by a curiously isolated set of terms up to half a score (ten) by separate words — thus in all the dialects: —

Comparative Table of Numerals.

	CAR NICOBAR.	CHOWRA.	TERESSA AND BOMPOKA.	CENTRAL GROUP.	SOUTHERN GROUP.	SHOM PEṄ.
1.	kahōk (heng[44])	hēang	hēang	hēang	heg	heng
2.	neät	âṅ	âṅ	âṅ	âṅ	àu
3.	lūo	lūe	lūe	lōe, lūo	lūe	luge
4.	făn	foòn	foòn	fōan	fôat	fuat
5.	tanī	tanī	tanī	tanai	tanī	taiṅ[45]
6.	tafūal	tafūal	tafūa	tafūal	takôal	lagàu
7.	sât	ishât	isseät	issât	ishât	aiṅ
8.	häo-hare	enfän	enfoòn	enfōan[46]	enfôan	towe
9.	maichūa-tare	kalafän	rōe-hata	heäng-hata	häch-hata	lungi
10.	sam	shòm	shòm	shòm	shab	teva

After the half score and up to nineteen the enumeration is ten — one and so on for all the dialects, except Car Nicobar where they count one — ten and so on, using then *stan* for *sam.* Among the Shom Peṅ, the inland tribe, who have no export commerce, there are no such special systems of enumeration as the other people have, but in addition to direct reckoning they count by pairs, a point of some interest as will be seen hereafter. Thus *àu,* two, becomes *ta-du,* a pair. Then 2 = *heng ta-àu,* one pair; 3 = *heng ta-àu heng,* one pair one; 4 = *àu ta-àu,* two pair, and so on. For numerals beyond ten the Shom Peṅ have an expression for half-a-pair *mahàukoḋ,* which again will be found later on to explain a point in the system of the other tribes, and count thus up to 19; *heng mahàukoḋ teya,* one half-pair (and) ten = 11, and so on.

When approaching the first or any score, all the dialects use a plan, in common with many other people, of counting "more reach a score." *E. g.,* in the Central dialect *lōe tare tangla hēang momchīama,* 3 more reach one score = 17 : *âṅ tare tangla fōan momchīama,* 2 more reach four score = 78.

A score in all the dialects is named as follows: —

CAR NICOBAR.	CHOWRA.	TERESSA AND BOMPOKA.	CENTRAL GROUP.	SOUTHERN GROUP.	SHOM PEṄ.
michāmà[47]	noòng	momchīama	momchīama	pomchīama	inai
anai[48]	tom	tom	inai	inai	

And after the score the Central and Southern Groups have a term for half-a-score (*dòktai*), just as the Shom Peṅ have, as we have seen, one for half-a-pair. Thus in these two dialects 30 is respectively *hēang momchīama dòktai* and heg-pomchīama-dòktai one score (and) half-a-score.

Between the scores the numerals otherwise run as above explained — "one score one" and so on.

---

[44] For cocoanuts and money.

[45] *tī, tai,* hand: then with infix *an, t-an-ī,* t-an-ai five; and with suffix *ṅ, tai-ṅ,* five.

[46] *âṅ,* two; *fōan, foòn,* four: then *en-fōan, en-foòn,* eight.

[47] Of general objects.

[48] Of cocoanuts and money.

The large figures 100 and so on are merely 5, 10, 15, 19 scores up to 400, which is a score-of-scores in all the dialects, except Shom Peṅ which says *heng-tēo*, *i.e.*, one *tēo*, or score-of-scores, another point of importance in reckoning, as will be presently seen. For expressing score-of-scores the other dialects use the alternative term for the first score, also a point of interest later on, *e. g.*, in Central dialect *hēang inai momchiama*, one score (of) scores.

The numeral we call 500 all the Nicobarese dialects call "one score (of scores and) five scores," except Shom Peṅ which says "one-*tēo* (score of scores) five (scores)." So 600 is in the Central and Southern dialects "one score (and a) half (score of) scores": in Shom Peṅ it is "one *tēo* (and) ten score": in Teressa it is "a score (and) ten (of) scores": in Chowra and Car Nicobar it is "a score (and) five pairs (of) scores." So also 700 in the Central and Southern dialects is "one score (and) half (score and) five (of) scores": in all the rest it is one score (and) fifteen scores." Beyond 600 the Shom Peṅ and beyond 700 the other dialects, except Car Nicobar, do not ordinarily reckon. For 1,000 the Car Nicobarese say "two score (and) five pairs (of) scores": for 2,000 they say "five score scores." Beyond 2,000 they do not ordinarily have to reckon.

c. — Reckoning by Tally.

We are now in a position to reckon according to the Nicobarese fashion, supposing ourselves to tally as we go along.

Tally by the Score (1 to 20).

(All dialects) one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

(All dialects but Shom Peṅ and Car Nicobar) ten-one, ten-two, ten-three, ten-four, ten-five, ten-six, ten-seven, ten-eight, ten-nine, or, sometimes, for 17, three-more-one-score, for 18, two-more-one-score, for 19, one-more-one-score. **Tally.**

(All dialects but Central and Southern) (20 to 40) score-one, score-two . . . . one-more-two-score, two score. **Tally.**

Tally by Score of Scores (20 to 400).

(All dialects but Shom Peṅ) one-score, two-score, three-score . . . . one-more-one-score (of) scores, one-score (of) scores. **Tally.**

Further Tally by Score of Scores (500-700-2,000).

All dialects except Shom Peṅ by varying expressions, meaning, one-score (and) five (of) scores, one-score (and) ten (of) scores, one-score and fifteen (of) scores . . . . two score (and) five (of) scores . . . . five score scores.

The Shom Peṅ stop tallying altogether at 600: and the others, the Car Nicobarese excepted, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, except for cocoanuts, for which there is a separate system.

Tally is usually **kept by nicks with the thumb-nail** on strips of cane or bamboo, and in Car Nicobar **by notches cut in sets of five** on a stick. Each nick or notch represents a score of whatever is being enumerated.

d. — Reckoning by the Score.

As regards the exceptions above noted. For **tally up to a score,** beyond ten, the Car Nicobarese say "one-ten" and so on, to nineteen. For even numbers the Shom Peṅ use besides direct numerals, "one-pair, two-pair," etc.: and for odd numbers "one-pair-one," and so on: and beyond ten to nineteen they say "one half-pair (and) ten" and so on.

For **tally beyond a score** the Central and Southern people use a term, *dòktai*, for "half-score" in the same way as the Shom Peṅ use "half-pair." This word is of great interest, as it is a lost stem, meaning "(waning to) half," which can be shown to be the case by the term for

5,000 pairs in Car Nicobarese, *drònġte lâk*, half *lâk*, *i.e.*, half 10,000 pairs. Here *lâk* is borrowed from the Far Eastern *laksa*, *lak*, 10,000 (one form of the Sanskrit *laksha*, just as *lâkh* for 100,000 is another in modern India), and *drònġte* (*dòktai*) is not otherwise found in Car Nicobarese. This term *drònġte* is applied also to the "half (waned) moon" while *drâṅga* means "waning."

It will have been noticed that there are alternative terms for "score"; one *old* one, as shown by the Shom Peṅ form, and one newer: the newer term being now used for "score" and the old one to tell or multiply it by the score. In going into the cocoanut-counting system these alternative terms will be found put to yet another use. Again, the Shom Peṅ have a special term for score-of-scores, *tēo*: and can tally up to large figures by scores: one score, two scores, three scores, one more one *tēo*, one *tēo*. This idea, too, will be found to be of value when going into the system of counting cocoanuts.

Another subversion of inter-island custom is to be noticed in Car Nicobar, where one is ordinarily *kahōk*, but for cocoanuts one is the universal *heng*.

Beyond the score-of-scores (400) the Nicobarese have so seldom to enumerate ordinary objects that their nomenclature for the numerals then becomes, though clear, uncertain, as will be seen from the different method by which the various islanders arrive at the same sum. At the same time the fact that the Shom Peṅ stop at 600, the others, except the Car Nicobarese, at 700, and the Car Nicobarese themselves at 2,000, is not due to want of intelligence, but to want of practical use: just as we stop practically at a million and most people are uncertain as to whether a billion is 10 or 100 or 1,000 or even a million millions, and as beyond the billion the terms become academic.

e. — The Small Numbers.

As regards the smaller simple numbers, the terms for them have got quite away from any idea now of connection with the hand or multiplication of each other, though both can be seen after examination to be present. The word for hand, *tai*, in Nicobarese is a "lost root" and now only exists for parts of the hand, thus — *ok-tai*, back (of the) hand; *oal-tai* (in-hand) palm; *kane-tai* (stick-hand) and even *tai*, finger. So *tanai* is certainly a derivative of *tai*, formed with the differentiating infix *an*, thus — *tai*, hand, fingers, *t-an-ai*, five. Next we find clear roots *â* (*àu*, *aṅ*, *âṅ*) two and *fū* (*kô*) pair: whence in various forms, *âṅ*, two; *fōan*, four (two pair); *en-fōan*, eight (twice two-pair). So in Shom Peṅ three, six and nine (*luge*, *lagàu*, *lungi*) are clearly the inflected remains of some such connected multiples, and in the other dialects "six" is three pair; *lūe*, three, (*ta*)-*fū-al*, six, a pair of three (*ta* is a common radical prefix in the language). *Tafūal* (*tafūal*, *takôal*, *tahòl*), which in that case is really a numerical coefficient, also means a pair in all the dialects except Shom Peṅ, and is built up etymologically in the same way as the homonym for six quite legitimately, thus — *ta-fū-a*, prefix-root-suffix; while we see the root again in Shom Peṅ in the (probably mixed) compound term for "half-a-pair" *ma-haù-koā* (?)-two-pair. The term *heäng-hata* for nine is an elliptical phrase *heäng hata* (*shòm*), one less (ten); as will be seen later on.

f. — Commercial Reckoning.

Turning now to the second system—the Nicobarese method of reckoning cocoanuts for commerce and currency, and from cocoanuts money, which they do not possess themselves, carries them into large figures. It is still a tally system, adopted for commercial purposes by all except the Shom Peṅ, from the system of tallying by the score.

Cocoanuts as currency are seldom used in small quantities and the Nicobarese get quickly to the score by counting the nuts in pairs — thus, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine pairs, one score. Tally.

The term used for "**score**" in this case is *inai* (*tom*), the alternative already noted, and not *momchīama* (*pomchīama, michāma, noòng*) as in the case of ordinary articles, *momchīama* being adopted, *quâ* cocoanuts, for "score-of-scores."

It must be remembered that cocoanuts, except when stated in scores or multiples of scores, are always stated in pairs (*tafūa, tafūal, takōal*), the term for which is omitted in reckoning, unless it is necessary to express it for very small quantities, or in the case of odd numbers, when 3 becomes "one-pair-one, *hēang-ta fūal-hēang*," and so on.

In tallying cocoanuts by the score, the various islands have set up different **standards of tally**, which are complicated and in many cases in alternative use. The number of standards in fact indicates the trade, where trade is briskest, the standards are most numerous. It may be noted that in counting cocoanuts "ten pàir" may be substituted for "one score" in the lower tally everywhere, except in Chowra, where "one score" is used without an alternative.

g. — Commercial Tally by the Score.

It is now necessary to use some **abbreviations** — C. = Central, S. = Southern, T. = Teressa, C. N. = Car Nicobar, and Ch. = Chowra.

The least developed method of tallying by the score is in C. and S., where there are only **two standards**, *inai* score (20) and *momchīama* score-of-scores (400). There the counting by the score is — one, two, three . . . . score, one *momchīama* (score-of-scores); then one two, three . . . . up to any number of *momchīama*. This method is very awkward in the higher figures, thus—

500 1 *momchīama* 5 (score) [400 + 5 (20)]
600 1 " and-a-half (*dòktai*) (400 + 200)
700 1 " and-a-half 5 (score) [400 + 200 + 5 (20)]
1,000 2 " and-a-half [(2 × 400) + 200]
3,000 7 " and-a-half [(7 × 400) + 200]
10,000 1 score 5 *momchīama* [(20 + 5) × 400]
20,000 2 , 5 pair *momchīama* [(40 + 5 [2] × 400]
100,000 10 , 5 *momchīama* [10 × (20 + 5) × 400]
200,000 1 , 5 (of) score (of) *momchīama* [(20 + 5) × 20 × 400]

Car Nicobar adopts the score and score-of-scores (*inai*-momchīama) standard, but only alternatively and only as far as the higher of the two (400). T. and Ch. will talk about 11, etc., score, but as far as 15 score only.

h. — Standards of Ten and One Hundred Score.

All these three islands, Car Nicobar, Teressa, and Chowra, have a third **standard of ten score** (200), which is in these dialects called

C. N.	T.	Ch.
'òng[49]	nòng	lâ

Then alternatively Ch. and C. N. will reckon by the *lâ* or *'òng* up to 15 score, and C. N. alternatively up to 20 score. Beyond the *nòng*, T. always reckons by the *nòng* thus[50]:—

200 1 'òng (nòng, lâ)
400 2 'òng (nòng, lâ)
500 2 'òng (nòng, lâ), 5 score (tom),

The standard of ten score (200) is carried by all the three islands C. N., T., Ch., up to 2,000, *i. e.*, 10 *'òng* (*nòng, lâ*), when alternatively a **new standard of hundred scores** commences in C. N. called *kaiñe*, in T. and Ch., *mamīla*. Thus —

2,000 1 kaiñe (mamīla)
3,000 1 kaiñe (mamīla), 5 òng (nòng, lâ).

[49] Inflectionally (1) nòng, (2) tòng, (3) yòng, (10) mòng according to the terminal of the previous numeral.
[50] Except in case of 300 which is 15 score.

i. — The Higher Numbers.

After this the islands break off on their own lines. Thus T. carries on the standard of ten score (*mamila*) for all the higher figures: 200,000 being in that dialect simply 5 score *mamila* (5 × 20 × 2,000). C. N. and Ch. do so also as far as 100,000, which is in all the three dialects 2 score 5 pairs *mamila* (*kaiñe*) or [2 × 20 + 5 (2)] × 2,000; but Ch. alternatively commences a new standard at two *mamila* or two hundred score (4,000) called **metñētchya** and carries that on to all figures. Thus for Ch. —

20,000 is alternatively 5 *metñētchya* (5 × 4,000)
100,000 is 1 score 5 *metñētchya* [(20 + 5) × 4,000]
200,000 is 2 score 10 *metñētchya* [(40 + 10) × 4,000]

At 10 *kaiñe* (10 × 2,000 = 20,000) C. N. commences a new alternative **standard, lâk** (borrowed from the Malay and Far Eastern *laksa* 10,000[51]), meaning 10,000 pairs (= 20,000) cocoanuts. This is carried on to all the high figures. Thus —

20,000 is 1 lâk
100,000 is 5 lâk
200,000 is 10 lâk

By an interesting expression C. N. says *drongte lâk*, half *lâk*, for 10,000. This proves that *dòktai*, "and-a-half" (scores) of C. and S. really contains a lost root for "half." Also it is to be noticed that when C. and S. get into large figures they have borrowed the T. Ch. alternative term for score. Thus —

200,000 in C. and S. is *hēang inai tanai tom momchīama*, one score (and) five score (of) score-of-scores (20 + 5 × 20 × 20 × 20).

j. — Cocoanut Reckoning Standards.

The following table will show briefly the standards for reckoning cocoanuts:—

I.	pair ...	... all islands	1	tafūa (tafūal, takôal, tahòl) ...	2
II.	10 pairs or score	... all islands	1	inai (tom)	20
III.	10 score ...	... Ch. T., C. N.	1	lâ (nòng, 'òng)	200
IV.	score of scores	... C., S., C. N.	1	momchīama (pomchīāma, michāma)	400
V.	10 ten-scores	... Ch., T., C. N.	1	mamīla (kaiñe)	2,000
VI.	score of ten-scores	... Ch.	1	metñētchya	4,000
VII.	10,000 pairs	... C. N.	1	lâk (borrowed trade term) ...	20,000

C. N. and Ch. have thus six standards and Car Nicobar has the highest: T. has four standards: C. and S. have three. These standards exactly indicate the relative trading opportunity of the various islanders.

The Shom Peñ have no trade, but they can easily reckon up to 80,000, thus *teya inai tēo* 10 score (of) *tēo* [(10 × 20) × 400 = 80,000]. They have three standards — I, pair, 1 *ta-àu*, 2: II, score, 1 *inai*, 20: III, score of scores, 1 *tēo* 400. They do not, in fact, fall behind the other islanders in the capacity for grasping and reckoning in abstract figures.

[51] Not from the Indian *lâkh* 100,000. Both *laksa* (10,000) and *lâkh* (100,000) are from the same root as the Sanskrit *laksha*.

k. — Scales for Reckoning Cocoanuts.

For European trade the table of scales would be as follows :—

I.

For all islands.

10	tafüa or takôal or tahòl (pair)	make	1	inai or tom (score), (20)

II.

C., S., C. N.

10	tafüal or tahòl	make	1	inai (20)
20	inai ... ,, ...	,,	1	momchīama or michāma (400)

III.

Ch., T., C. N.

10	tafüal or takôal or tahòl (pair)	make	1	inai or tom (score), (20)
10	inai or tom (score)	,,	1	lâ, nòng, or 'òng (200)
10	lâ, nòng, or 'òng	,,	1	mamīla (kaiñe) (2,000)

IV.

Ch.

10	takôal	make	1	tom (20)
10	tom	,,	1	lâ (200)
10	lâ	,,	1	mamīla (2,000)
2	mamīla	,,	1	metñëtchya (4,000)

V.

C. N.

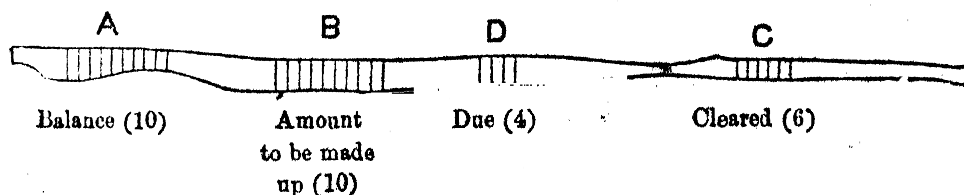
10	tahòl	make	1	inai (20)
10	inai	,,	1	'òng (200)
10	'òng	,,	1	kaiñe (2,000)
10	kaiñe	,,	1	lâk (20,000)

One can see, when put in this way, which is, of course, distinctly not Nicobarese, where trade has sharpened wits.

l. — Tallies.

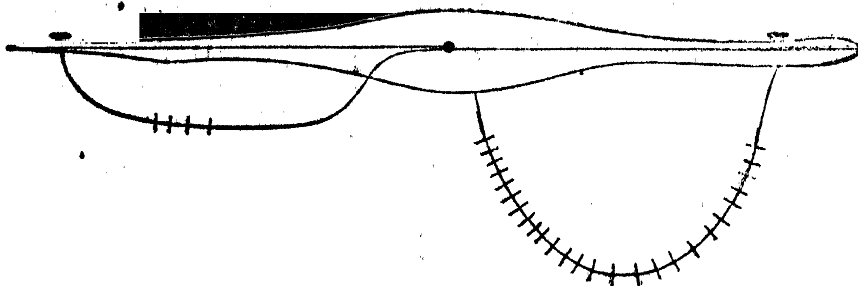
In a Car Nicobar tally stick, *kenrāta-kòk*, in my possession, unfortunately already dry-rotted in the notches, which are thus lost for the future, a running account of cocoanuts with a trader, who has advanced rice for cocoanuts, is shown. The balance due on the rice was 2,000 cocoanuts, *i. e.*, 10 *'òng* or 1 *kaiñe* denoted by the 10 notches at **A**. The 10 notches at **B** represent the total sum 10 *'òng* to be made up. The 6 notches at **C** denote that the owner has cleared 6 *'òng* (1,200, the 4 notches at **D** that 4 *'òng* (800) are still due.

Kenrāta-Kòk.



I have another tally of beads on a string from Car Nicobar (*kenrāta-ngiji*) which shows that 26 *michāma* (400 × 26 = 10,400) of cocoanuts are due out of a sum and that 4 *michāma* (1,600) have been paid. The original debt was therefore 30 *michāma*, *i.e.*, 12,000 cocoanuts, or as a Car Nicobarese would say, 6 *kaiñe* or *drôngtē lāk heng kaiñe* [half *lāk* (and) one *kaiñe*].

Kenrāta-ngiji.



APPENDIX B.

a. — Reckoning of the Days of the Months.

Each "moon" is divided into phases and divisions in all the islands on the same system, except Car Nicobar, which has a differing one. There is for descriptive purposes a waxing and a waning moon; dividing the "moon" into halves. There are also a descriptive First Phase (*Hēang Lā*, one piece): Full Moon (whole or swollen moon): Last Phase (*Kaneāl*, Boar's tusk). For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and four phases — I (*she*), 1st to 10th (10 days); II (*yām*), 11th to 20th (10 days); III (*tatlānga*) 21st to 25th (5 days); IV, 26th to 30th (5 days). In the fourth phase the days are not counted, but separately named.

In Car Nicobar the following descriptive phases are recognised: — (*a*) First Phase (*Kānel-hāun*, Boar's tusk), 2nd day: Second Phase (*Tutlaal*), 8th day (First Quarter): Third Phase (*Chawi Chingeät*), 14th day (Full Moon): Fourth Phase (*Dròngte Chingeät*), 22nd day (Last Quarter); and (*b*) Waxing moon, 1st to 10th (10 days): whole moon, 11th to 16th (6 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days. In Car Nicobar also the full moon, and the day before and the two days after, are all recognised by separate terms. For reckoning, the month is divided into 30 days and 3 phases: waxing moon, 1st to 16th (16 days): waning moon, 17th to 26th (10 days): disappearing moon, 27th to 30th (4 days): total, 30 days.

In reckoning the month the Car Nicobarese reckon straight through the waxing moon from 1 to 16 and simply say "*kahōk chingeät*, one moon . . . . *tafūal sian chingeät*, sixteen moon." They then go straight through the waning moon from 1 to 10 and say "*kahōk drônga chingeät*, one waning moon," and so on. Lastly they run through the disappearing moon from 1 to 4, "*kahōk sālnōwa chingeät*, one disappearing moon," etc. If intercalary days then ensue, they are all called *aiya āp-chingeät*.

In the other islands the plan of counting the days is the same, but the method differs and is more complicated. They count 1 to 10 (*she* moon); thus "*hēang she kāhē*, one *she* moon . . . . *shòm she kāhē*, ten *she* moon." Then 1 to 9 (*yām*, whole); thus "*hēang yām kāhē*, one *yām* moon . . . . *heāng hata yām kāhē*, nine *yām* moon." But the 20th is "*hēang*

momchiama yâm kâhē, one score *yâm* moon," to finish the reckoning, because it now takes on a new phase. The 21st to 25th are reckoned backwards thus—

21st	enfōan tatlānga	8	*tatlānga.*
22nd	issât	„	7
23rd	tafūal	„	6
24th	tanai	„	5
25th	fōan	„	4

After this they reckon by separate names:

26th ongâwa
27th hinai
28th hinlain
29th manūt
30th kanat

Any following intercalary days are all called *kanat.*

b. — Explanation of Terms for Numerals.

There is a term for the 19th in the Central Group, which explains **the curious form heäng-hata for nine.** The ordinary term for the 19th day is *heäng-hata yâm kâhē*, nine *yâm* moon: but *shòm heäng hata tom yâm*, which is obviously "ten one less score *yâm*," is also used, because the 20th is *hēang momchiama yâm kâhē*, one score *yâm* moon. *Hat* means "not" and *hata* here is clearly "less" and so *heäng-hata*, nine, is an elliptic phase for *hēang hata shòm*, one less ten.

Another pair of expressions is *drònga chingeät*, waning moon, and *dròngte chingeät*, half moon, which explains *dròngte lâk*, half *lak* (20,000), and *dòktai* "and-a-half (score)." Here is a "lost root" *dròng*, *dòk*, "lessen," which when combined with (*te*, *ta*) *tai* "lost root" for "hand," means "the lessened hand" or "half."

The only other term which might be disputed is *chamānga chingeät*, ten moon, the word for ten in Car Nicobar being *sam*, but it is quite a legitimate extension for differentiation by infix and suffix, thus; ch-*am*-āng-*a* (for s-*am*-ām-*a*), or according to root forms, *chang* for *sam*.

c. — Calendar Tallies.

In a Car Nicobar Calendar (*kenrāta*) in my possession the days are notched as follows to indicate a monsoon. It is in the form of a sword-blade.

The first month	notches	31	days
The second	„	29	„
The third	„	26	„
The fourth	„	28	„
The fifth	„	26	„
The sixth	„	29	„
The seventh	„	28	„
		197	days

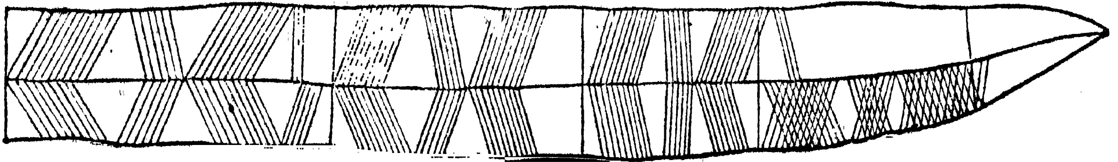
or well over half the year, which would require readjustment during the next monsoon.

It will be observed that the notches are meant to go 10, 6, 10, 4 = 30.

That is, in this *kenrāta* the Car Nicobarese four phase system is taken in calendaring the months, *i. e.*, the months are divided into waxing, full, waning, and disappearing moon.

When the notches fill one side of the *kenrāta*, they commence on the other, and are thus able to keep tally of time for a short while.

Car Nicobar Calendar.
(Kenrāta.)



Note.

Mr. de Röepstorff's Calendar.

In Mr. de Röepstorff's posthumous *Dictionary of the Nancowry (Central) Dialect*, of 1884, is given a complete and most interesting Calendar, found among his papers, for the year 1883 day by day, but unfortunately there is something wrong about it. He has given Danāh-kapâ and Kabâ-chuij as two separate solar months, whereas they are duplicate names for the closing month of the N.-E. Monsoon, and thus gives 13 and not 12 solar months to the year. He has also got the months Channī and Hammua in the reverse order. Further, his months work out thus for the solar year, giving an intercalary day each to (7) Hammua (May-June) and (9) Manâkngapoah (August-September).

Month					
	1.	9th January	to	7th February	30 days.
	2.	8th February	to	8th March	29 „
	3.	9th March	to	6th April	29 „
	4.	7th April	to	6th May	30 „
	5.	7th May	to	5th June	29 „
	6.	6th June	to	3rd July	29 „
	7.	4th July	to	3rd August	31 „
	8.	4th August	to	31st August	28 „
	9.	1st September	to	1st October	31 „
	10.	2nd October	to	30th October	29 „
	11.	31st October	to	29th November	30 „
	12.	30th November	to	28th December	29 „
	13.	29th December	to	8th January	11 „
					365 days

This would have resulted in the Nicobarese full year of two monsoons being completed in 383 days, and this reckoning would have brought about a muddle in the ensuing year, 1884, which does not as matter of fact occur.

It is to be observed that the S.-W. Monsoon was taken in that year as commencing on 7th May and the N.-W. on 1st November, so that the S.-W. Monsoon half year lasted 177 days and the N.-W. about 188.

It is to be noted also that in Mr. de Röepstorff's calendar the *She* days are 10, the *Yām* days 10, and the *Tatlānga* days 5 in each month, while the odd dark nights run thus: for 1 month none, for 1 month 3, for 6 months 4, for 3 months 5, for 2 months 6 in the month.

A REPORT ON THE PANJAB HILL TRIBES.

From the Native point of view.

BY MIAN DURGA SINGH.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

(Concluded from page 315.)

LXXVIII. — Social Customs.

263. Methods of salutation among different tribes are : —

(1) Brâhmans salute one another, as *pairî pônâ; namaskâr*. They salute Râjpûts with *asîrbâd*, *srî bachan*, *Râjâ kô srî Raghu Nâth sahâî* (God be with the Râja). Other tribes, except the low castes, with *kalyân* or *asîrbâd*. Low tribes with "May you long live or flourish."

(2) Râjpûts say to the Brâhmans, *matthâ têknâ*, *pâlag*, *pairî pônâ* (I fall at your feet) ; to others, except low castes, *Râm Râm*, and to low castes, "May you long live or flourish."

(3) Bôhrâs, Baniâs, Bhâbrâs, Sûds, Kshatriyâs, say *Râm Râm* to one another, or *bandagî* or *matthâ têknâ* or *pairî pônâ*; to Brâhmans, *palag*, *pâiri pônâ*, or *matthâ têknâ* ; to Râjputs, *mahârâj jaidêâ* or *jaidêâ mahârâj* or *jaidêâ*.

(4) Kanaits, goldsmiths, Jats, barbers, gardeners, milkmen, potters, masons, say *Râm Râm*, *dhâl*, *bandagî* and *jai Sîtâ Râm*; to Bôhrâs, as above, *bandagî* or *Râm Râm*; to Râjputs, *mahârâj jaidêâ* or *jaidêâ* or *dhâl*.

(5) Washermen, dye-sinkers, carpenters, smiths, Thathêrâs, Dhagîs, Chanâls, Kôlîs, Rêhrs, sweepers, cobblers, boatmen, weavers, say to one another, *Râm Râm* or *dhâl*; *dhâl* or *pairî pônâ* to Kanaits ; *dhâl* or *pairî pônâ* to Bôhrâs, etc.; *mahârâj jaidêâ* or *jaidêâ*, or *jai*, to Râjpûts ; and *pairî pônâ* or *matthâ têknâ* to Brâhmans.

(6) The women of Brâhmans, Râjpûts and Bôhrâs, etc., say *matthâ têknâ* or *pairî pônâ* to one another. The women of Kanaits, etc., say *dhâl* or *sûî* to one another, and those of low castes say *dhâl* to one another.

(7) The above-mentioned tribes say *namô Nârâin* (reverence be to God) to the Sanyâsî mendicants or make *dandâvat* (going round the person) to them, who in answer say *Nârâin*. Bairâgîs are addressed with *jai mahârâj dandaut*, who reply *jai Râmjî* or *jai Sîtâ Râmjî*. *Adês* is said to a Jogî, who replies *Ad purush* (the First Cause). Adasîs are made a *dandaut* and they reply *chiranjîv* (long live).

264. Modes of salutation by relatives : —

(1) Brâhmans. A son, son-in-law, nephew, etc., says *matthâ têknâ* and *pairî bandan*, to a father, mother, maternal uncle and wife, maternal grandfather and grandmother, father-in-law and mother-in-law. Women say *pairî bandan* to their relatives. The elders in reply say *chiranjîv* to a man, and *suhâgan sanpati* (may your husband live long) to a woman.

(2) Râjpûts, Bhâbrâs, Baniâs, etc. To the above-mentioned relations, if males, they say *jaidêâ* or *dhâl*, and if females, *pairî pônâ* or *matthâ têknâ*. The elders, in reply, say *chiranît* to a man, and *suhâgan sanpati* to a woman.

(3) Kanaits. Younger males say *dhâl*, *Râm Râm* or *bandagî* to an elder relation, who in reply says "long live" or "flourish" *charanjîv*. Women say *sûî*, and receive in reply *sadâ*, *suhâgan*.

(4) Low castes. Both males and females, if the younger say *dhâl* to elders, who in reply say "be happy," or *dhâl*.

(5) Râjâs or Rânâs. Brâhmans say to a Râjâ or Rânâ *asîrbâd*, *srî Gôpâl sahâî* or *srî Raghunâth sahâî* (may God help you). Other tribes say *jaidêâ* to them. They reply *pâlag* to Brâhmans and *Râm Râm* to others, *jai* to Râjpûts and "be happy" to low persons.

(6) Miâñs (Râjâ's younger sons). — Brâhmans say to a Miâñ *asirbâd* or *srî bachan*; others say *jai*, *jaidêâ*, or *dhâl*. They reply *pâlag* or *matthâ têknâ* to a Brâhman; *Râm Râm*, *jai*, *jaidêâ* or *dhâl* to the Râjpûts; *Râm Râm* to others, and "be happy" to low persons.

(7) Baniâs. — They say *bandagî* and *Râm Râm* to merchants. Brâhmans say *asirbâd* or *srî bachan* to them. Low persons say to them *dhâl* or *pairî pônâ*.

(8) Nêgis, Mehtâs, Wazîrs, Mukhiâs, etc., say *bandagî* or *salâm* or *Râm Râm*.

(9) If a man belongs to any other tribe, then he is saluted with the words fixed for his tribe.

265. The methods of **greeting** among the members of a family, friends, relations, and strangers are given below: —

(1) **Members of a family.** — The younger places his head on the feet of the elder, and then says *jaidêâ*, *dhâl*, *bandagî*, or *Râm Râm*, according to the fixed custom, with both the hands brought together. The elder places his hand on the back of the younger, accepts the salutation asks after his health, and places him near himself with a great show of love.

(2) **Friends.** — Friends shake hands. The younger in age or rank says *bandagî*, *jaidêâ*, *dhâl* or *Râm Râm*, after which the elder takes hold of the hand of the younger, accepts the salutation, asks after his health, and gives him a seat near himself.

(3) **Relations.** — The younger honours the elder, and puts his head on the feet of the latter. If the relation be that of an equal position, or if the introduction be effected through a near relative, then after *pairî bandnâ* they embrace each other, or say *dhâl bandagî*, *jai*, *jaidêâ*, etc., to each other. The younger leaves his seat and offers it to the elder, and himself sits lower on the floor.

(4) **Strangers.** — Men prepare good food for their guests according to their capacity. If a guest comes to the house of a Chief, Râjâ, or Nawâb, then in addition to the feast he gets presents, and even money, in proportion to the rank of the guest and host. Chiefs generally give presents to their neighbours and relations.

266. There are no special rules for salutation, greeting or address.

267. There is no particular rule about treatment of guests, women, old men, and invalids.

268. Relations and neighbours **entertain** one another mutually.

269. No **special language** is used. The guests are politely spoken to. The host, of whatever rank or capacity, will treat the guest respectfully. If the guest be one belonging to the family of the host's wife, then he is ridiculed. Brothers-in-law call each other names and **mimic** one another. Their servants also will behave in the same way.

270. The brothers-in-law or men of their respective families **make jokes** with each other, and also **abuse** each other through mother, or daughter, or sister. They call one another a thief, a rogue, a cobbler, a shoemaker, sweeper, etc. **But no one may assail the religion of another.**

LXXIX. — Social Intercourse.

271. Customs of social intercourse among Kanaits, goldsmiths, barber, potters, Jâts, gardeners, and masons: —

(*a*) The Brâhmans can eat flour, rice or fried grain from the hands of the above-named clans. They have no scruple to use *pûrî*, *kachôrî*, and everything fried in oil or *ghî* that has been touched by the latter.

(*b*) The high castes do not use the food cooked only in water (not fried in oil, etc.) by these sects, but low castes do not observe such restrictions.

(*c*) Water touched by them is drunk by everybody.

(*d*) The people do not smoke the same pipe with them.

The high castes do not eat food touched by low castes, such as Kôlîs, shepherds, cobblers, etc., nor do the former drink water touched by the latter, nor do they smoke the same pipe with them. The low castes can eat food prepared by anybody. But every tribe, even among themselves, have some restrictions concerning diet.

272. Members of all tribes can eat the food, whether fried or unfried, prepared by a Brâhman, but they do not smoke pipes together. Every tribe — nay, even every sub-division — has its own pipe. The same rule holds in the case of fried food. The people do not take fried food with persons not of their own blood, and this custom holds particularly among Brâhmans, Râjpûts, and Baniâs.

LXXX. — Clothing and Ornaments.

273. (1) **Garments** generally differ in fashion, and a distinction between the Hindus and Muhammadans can be made so that the Hindus keep their buttons to the right, while the Muhammadans keep them to the left. Hindus do not use black cloth, except for trousers, but the Muhammadans use it freely. And the Hindus do not use blue cloth, while Muhammadans do. The Hindus do not shave their heads, while Muhammadans shave their heads clean. The Muhammadans cook big cakes and Hindus small ones.

The names of men's garments are: — *Chôbaghlâ, kurtâ, kamîz* (shirt), *sadrî* (vest), *pâjâmâ* (drawers or trousers), *suthan, salâr, gâchî, tôpî* (cap), *futûhî, kôt* (coat), *chôgâ, châdar* (blanket or sheet), *doshâlâ* (shawl), turban, *kamarband* (belt).[9]

The names of women's garments are: — *Dhâthu, gâchî, dôrâ, chôltî, tambâ, suthan, lôiyâ, lêôtâ, ghôndî, chadar* (blanket), *kurtâ sadrî* (vest), *kamîz* (shirt), *choltû* (coat), *chabaghlâ* and *kamarband* (belt).

(2) The following are some of the **ornaments for women**: — *Kaṛâ* (arm-rings) of gold and silver, *kangan* (arm-rings) of gold and silver, *ponchî, marêdru, chûṛî* (arm-rings), *môndî, ârsî, dôrâ, chandrmân, chak, kanbâlî, mongrê, sêdû, kanphul, tanôṛê*, chains for *sêdûs* or *kanphuls* or *tanôṛês, jhômak, nath* (nose-ring), *bulâk, bêsar, pîpal pattâ, lông, phûl* and *thûthî* (?), *kâch* and *chhâta, kanthî, jômâlâ, chandarmani har, dazrî, dolri, chaup kâlî, indarsênî har, kônvârû dôdâ, tavîz, mâlâ, bâzûband, tôṛâ, paizeb, pêchâtî, chôkhûtî, gûnthrê, hanslî, jhanjâr.*

Ornaments for men are — *Zîga, chandarmân, gôkhrû, murkî, drôtu, bâli* or *kunbal*; *kantha*, gold and silver; *kaṛa*, gold or silver; *môndi*, gold or silver; *taviz, mâlâ*, and *bâzûband.*

LXXXI. — Dancing and Singing.

274. The women of all the tribes, except those of the Brâhmans and Râjpûts, can dance. They dance among men in their villages at night. The women of Brâhmans and Râjpûts do not dance, except at marriages, when they also sing. The *tûrîs* (minstrels) are, by profession, dancers and singers.

LXXXII. — Table of Occupation.

No.	Name of Tribe.	Occupation.
1	Kshatriyas or Râjpûts	Military service.
2	Brâhmans	Teachers of the *Vêdas* and Scriptures; receivers of gifts and alms.
3	Sûds	Merchants and agriculturists.
4	Baniâs	Merchants.
5	Bôhrâs	Do.
6	Kanaits	Agriculturists; servants of Brâhmans and Râjpûts.

[9] [It is to be observed that one Portuguese word *kamîz* and one English word *koṭ* occur in these lists. — ED.]

No	Name of Tribe.	Occupation.
7	Khatrîs	Like Râjpûts; merchants and servants.
8	Kayasths	Clerks and merchants.
9	Goldsmiths	Makers of gold or silver ornaments.
10	Barbers	Shaving.
11	Potters	Make earthenware vessels; keep beasts of burden, such as mules, camels, etc.
12	Washermen	Washing of clothes.
13	Chhimbâs	Dyeing and washing of clothes.
14	Carpenters	Build houses; carve wood and sculpture; and do all kinds of work in wood and stone.
15	Blacksmiths	Make instruments and vessels of iron.
16	Thathêrâ or Bharêrâ	Make instruments and vessels of brass, copper, and spelter.
17	Tûrîs, Dhâkîs, and Dhâdîs ...	Play upon instruments, sing and dance.
18	Kôlîs or Dums	Agriculturists and menials to others.
19	Rêhrs or Nagâlûs	Do. and graze the farmers' cattle; shepherds.
20	Sweepers	Do. do. do.
21	Cobblers and shoemakers ...	Do. make shoes and other things of leather.
22	Chanâls	Do. and make bows and arrows.
23	Boatmen	Do. and help people in crossing rivers.
24	Weavers	Do. weave woollen cloth.
25	Bairâgîs	Beggars.
26	Sanyâsîs	Do.
27	Udâsîs	Do.
28	Jôgîs	Do.

LXXXIII. — Professions and Occupations.

275. The Brâhmans, Râjpûts, Kshatriyas, and Sûds have adopted the profession of commerce and agriculture in modern times. The Brâhmans and Râjpûts are also given to private service. No tribe, except in the case of individuals, sticks to its original occupation.

276. Different tribes have different occupations. No tribe sticks to one occupation as a whole. People earn their livelihood by different pursuits. The women of Brâhmans and Râjpûts do no work, but make silk embroidery, sew clothes, knit socks, and so on.

277. No particular profession deserves mention.

278. There is nothing particular to say as to instruments.

279. The Tûrîs, Dhâkîs, and Dhâdîs allow their women to practise prostitution, whether they be maids or married, and live upon their earnings.

280. **The change of religion is necessarily accompanied with change of profession.** The convert adopts the calling of his new religion.

281. Persons **changing** their **profession** do not necessarily change the name of their tribe, nor is their connection with it slackened, nor does it pervert their religion or sect. However, if a person adopts a profession forbidden by either the Hindu or Muhammadan religion, then his religion is degraded and he is **excommunicated**. For instance, a person whose food and water can be taken by Brâhmans and Râjpûts becomes, on adopting a low profession, degraded and is excommunicated.

LXXXIV. — Agriculture.

282. The conditions of land cultivation are: —

(1) Agriculturists are to be found in every tribe. However, the high castes of Brahman and Râjpûts do not cultivate the land themselves, but by their **servants**.

(2) The Kanaits and Kôlîs are the best cultivators. Their men and women live by cultivation. Cultivators are generally Kanaits, Kôlîs, Rêhṛs (shepherds), who are **tenants-at-will**. Generally the tenants are without rights of occupancy. **Occupancy tenants** are very few.

(3) (*a*) Some tenants serve the landlords and do not pay any **rent**. They serve him daily.

(*b*) Some tenants pay **rent in cash**, together with *malikânâ*. Some pay in kind as much as half the produce.

(*c*) They pay, in addition to the fixed rent, expenses of deaths and marriages to the landlord. Also they serve him now and then. No portion of the chaff is given to the landlord. At the time of division of produce, in some places, a quantity equal to the seed is deducted and the remainder is divided into halves, while in other places the whole of the produce is divided.

(*d*) There are no **wandering tenants** in the hills.

(*e*) **Daily wages** are seldom paid. But when well-to-do people engage poor men on wages at the harvest time, they give to the latter 2½ seers of grain daily, *i.e.*, cakes weighing one seer in the morning, as much in the evening, and half a seer of cakes at noon. Such labourers are called *buwârâ*, and the wages are known as *chhâk*. If the wages are to be paid in cash, three annas a day is given.

283. There is no tradition regarding the cultivators.

LXXXV. — Rights in the Land and its Products.

284. Following is the detail of the rights of a tribe in the land :—

(*a*) No one has any right to have land on a rent less than that paid by his neighbours.

(*b*) Rêhṛs and Kôlîs cultivate the common land of the village without paying any rent, and this is for their serving the *shâmlât* (community). Sometimes they graze cattle as remuneration for this.

(*c*) Every one gives some grain (the quantity is not fixed) at the time of harvest to the Brâhmans, the goldsmith, the barber, the Tûrî, the Kôlî, the cobbler, the washerman, the smith, and the shepherd, who in return serve the landlords. The shepherd is also given some corn. Each of these can receive from each family not more than four maunds and not less than two seers. These people go from village to village at the time of harvest and collect corn from all the persons with whom they are connected.

285. There is no contract, but the customs are fixed. As the land is divided into portions, so is the *birt* (custom). If any person, who has been giving corn to one man for a long time does not give it to him but to another man, a severe quarrel arises.

286. This they do not receive by right of superiority, but by right of service. Six monthly grants are fixed as remuneration for their services.

287. This is only the reward of service.

288. The Brâhmaṇs, barbers, Tûrîs, Kôlîs, and Rêhṛs have hereditary rights. Other menials can be dismissed or re-employed. This right is termed *shikâthâ*.

LXXXVI. — Increase of Agriculture.

289. There is no reason to believe that the forefathers of the agriculturists were of the same caste or tribe as themselves. Neither can this be admitted nor denied. Only so much is certain that in ancient times agriculturists were very few.

290. No such marks are to be found in any tribe or caste as to show likeness between villages or villagers. Distinction between cultivators is necessary. It is not to be found among the followers of any other profession.

291. No tradition worthy of mention is available.

292. Agriculture is increasing day by day, and every tribe is taking to it. Even the Râjpûts, Brâhmans, goldsmiths and barbers, who shrank from cultivating land, have adopted agriculture and are trying hard to improve their lands.

293. Want is not the reason.

LXXXVII. — Pasture.

294. This is a general custom in the hills. The culturable land situated near the village is either divided and cultivated or is possessed separately. In villages where pasture grounds to graze cattle are scarce the *banjar* (barren land) is neither divided nor cultivated, for the want of pasture injures the increasing value of land. But this custom is going out of use nowadays, for the agriculturists have been declared the owners of culturable lands, while the Chief or the British Government owns the unculturable lands. However, the *shâmlât* (common land) is in possession of the villagers.

295. All the pasture lands of the hills belong to the Chief of the place. But the inhabitants of villages are privileged to graze their cattle in pastures situated within the boundary of their respective villages. None have such a right except the natives of the villages. If the Chief thinks any area to be more than sufficient for the purposes of pasturage, and wants to improve it, then he can give it to any one of the natives of the village for improvement on a fixed rent. The farmers can sell or mortgage the land which they own as the *maliks*, but they cannot do so with the pasture lands, and can use them only for private purposes.

LXXXVIII. — Distribution of Land.

296. There is no arrangement for social communion of tribes. However, the subdivisions of a tribe have social intercourse with one another. No custom prevails as to the redistribution of a tribe or religion. The distribution already effected cannot be cancelled.

297. Portions of land are fixed for sowing particular grains for particular crops. For instance, wheat is sown for the *rabî* crops, and rice, etc., for the *kharîf*, and a limited area of land is set aside for each crop.

LXXXIX. — Water.

298. Divisions of watering-places and habitations in a village are according to the tribes. High castes have their houses, watering-places, and cremation-grounds in one part of the village, and in the same manner every tribe or sub-division thereof has its separate places. Every tribe has also a fixed place in the village to be used at times of marriages and deaths. This partition of the villages by tribes is of long standing, but it has no concern with partition of land. The land is divided into fields.

299. The partition into fields affects all kinds of land, whether it be the individual property of any person or the common land of the village.

श्रीरस्तु.

RUKMINI KALYANAM.

BY G. R. SUBRAMIAH PANTULU.

(An Episode in the Srîmat Bhagavata from the text of Bammara Potanna.— The Telugu Poet.)

You have heard from me, O Parîkshit, some time ago that under the commands of Brahmâ, Rivata bestowed the hand of his daughter Râvatî on Balarâma. Afterwards, Kṛishṇa married the sweet-scented Rukminî, an incarnation of Lakshmî and the daughter of Bhîshmaka, after gaining a victory over Salva and others who came to aid Sisupâla, as Garutmanta took possession of the nectar, overthrowing Indra in days of yore.

Then, Parîkshit questioned Sûka, the narrator of the story, to furnish him with a satisfactory explanation of the state of affairs which lead Kṛishṇa, who came to Bhîshmaka's court on account of a *swayamvara*, to carry off Rukminî and marry her in the *râkshasa* form, after overthrowing a host of powerful kings single-handed.[1]

"Exalted Brâhman, Sûka, a person who hears the stories of Vishṇu, the hearing of which is the best road to salvation, would not be satisfied even after a certain stage is attained, as hearing them afresh imparts fresh pleasure to the hearer. As these stories appear fresh every time they are heard, kindly narrate to me the *Rukminî Kalyânam*, as my mind is at present bent upon hearing it. O sage, the words which narrate the characteristics of Vishṇu are ornaments to the ears of the hearers, are pleasure-giving to the *paṇdits*, are destroyers of sins committed in various lives[2] and contain soul-stirring words."

After hearing these words from the king, Sûka spoke thus: — "O Parîkshit, there lived a king, Bhîshmaka by name, ruler of Kundina in Vidarbha. He had five sons, of which the eldest, Rukmi by name, was a spotless person. The last and most beloved of the lot was a daughter Rukminî by name.

"The house of Bhîshmaka glowed with the growth of his daughter Rukminî, as the western horizon glows with the rising of the moon. She, growing day by day, indulged herself in

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[1] There are eight different sorts of marriage — (1) *brahmya*, in which a girl of noble descent is married to one of the same order who is also a good Vedic scholar, after adorning the girl in the best jewels possible; (2) *daivam*, in which a girl adorned with the most fashionable and valuable jewels possible is married to a *ritvika* at the beginning of a *yajna*, or sacrifice, after worshipping him; (3) *arsham*, in which a girl is married to one after accepting from him the gift of a cow for the propagation of *dharma*; (4) *prajâpatyam*, in which a girl is given to a person after telling him that they should jointly propagate *dharma*; (5) *râkshasa*, where the girl is carried off by force without the consent of the girl's party; (6) *gandharvam*, where clandestine marriage is done by mutual consent; (7) *asuram*, where money is paid for the girl for marriage; and (8) *pisacha*, where a person marries a girl who is not able to maintain her virtue on account of administering to herself soporific drugs. There is yet another kind of marriage called *atra*, where the parents marry the two people after noticing strong signs of love in both.

[2] The five excrementitious products: (1) Anavamala — where *Satyaguna* preponderates, although at times the thought of "I am Brahmâ" is presented to the mind to be soon forgotten. (2) Karmikamala — in which a person gives a deaf ear to the Vedantic teachings of his best *gurûs*. (3) Meyikamala — in which the thought about Brahmâ does not strike the mind at all. (4) Mayayamala — where the mind is led to the performance of sinful deeds of whatever kind. (5) Throtanamala — in which a person after knowing all about Parabrahmâ is led to the belief that there is something other than that Being and in consequence suffers eternal damnation and undergoes a series of rebirths.

performing make-belief marriages; in serving sweet-flavoured food to other girls of her own age, which pleased them very much; in the growth of creepers and flowers in the park adjacent,; in rocking herself in golden cradles, in houses set with diamonds and other precious stones; in playing at ball very elegantly with other girls of her own age; in teaching parrots; in teaching methods of walking to peahens and slowness of pace to fresh-bloomed swans. The growth of Rukminî's body varied with the growth of Kṛishṇa's love towards her; her lotus-face varied with the lotus of Kṛishṇa's mind; her breasts with Cupid's finely-pointed darts varied with Kṛishṇa's growth; her loins waved with the waving of Kṛishṇa's patience; her braided tresses increased with the increase of Kṛishṇa's love-chord towards her, so that her growth might keep pace with Kṛishṇa's pleasures. Thus Rukminî, the sister of Rukmi, Rukmaratha, Rukmabâhu, Rukmakeśa and Rukmanêtra, being in her teens, heard of the accomplishments of Srî-Kṛishṇa from the hosts who came to her house, and came to a resolution in her mind that Kṛishṇa would be the fittest man for her to take as her husband.

"Srî-Kṛishṇa, also after hearing of the beauty, intelligence, character, and general accomplishments of Rukminî, and being satisfied on every item, thought that she would be the fittest woman for him to take as his wife. While all his relatives were holding consultations with the wise about giving Rukminî in marriage to Kṛishṇa, the foolish Rukmi came to a different conclusion and wanted her to be given to Siśupâla. Rukminî, after having ascertained her brother's intentions, sighed in heart, called in a confidential Brâhman and told him that her hot-headed brother had come to a firm resolve to give her in marriage to Siśupâla somehow, and that she wanted him to go to Dvâraka and inform Kṛishṇa of the affair. 'Best of Brâhmans, as my father, too, cannot set aside the firm resolve of my brother, kindly go on this mission to Dvâraka, inform Kṛishṇa of the whole affair, and fetch him hither as soon as possible and thus baffle the endeavours of my brother.'

"The Brâhman, after hearing these and some other secret words, proceeded to Dvâraka, informed Kṛishṇa of his coming through the guards stationed outside, received Kṛishṇa's orders, entered the palace, saw Kṛishṇa seated on a seat of gold, and blessed him to become a bridegroom. Whereupon Kṛishṇa, ever bent upon observing Vedic ritual, vacated his seat smiling, requested the Brâhman to sit on the same seat and worshipped him, as he is himself worshipped by the angels, fed him sumptuously, approached him most heartily and slowly, and with his hands, which wield sway over the whole world, pressed his legs and addressed him thus: —

"'Best of Brâhmans, I see you are always contented. Such a state is attained very happily. This *dharma* is acceptable to the elders. A Brâhman, however wealthy he may be, should be contented and happy and should not be swayed by a feeling of pride. Whoever does not quit this *swatharma*, would have all his desires satisfied. Whoever is not content with the little that he gets would always be crushed, even though he gets Indra's riches. Whoever is content with the little that he gets would be quite happy, even though he be a pauper. Therefore, I would prostrate before those who show signs of friendship to all beings, who are content with the little they get, who are patient, who are good and not proud. O intelligent and best of Brâhmans, I like that king, under whose sway all the people live comfortably, in whose kingdom you are, and by whom you are protected. Kindly let me know what induced you to enter this impenetrable island-home at this unusual hour. I promise to satisfy your desire and you may depend upon it.'

"Having heard these words from Kṛishṇa, the divine being in human form, the Brâhman replied thus:—'Lord, there lives a king in Vidarbha, Bhîshmaka by name. He has a daughter whose name is Rukminî. She, being intent on serving you, requests you to marry her, and has sent

some news to you through me which, if you be pleased to hear, I am ready to narrate in her own words :— O killer of Kamsa, punisher of the vicious, plunderer of the wealth of beauty, robber of women's hearts. Kṛishṇa, by hearing whose name all the *tapās* (*adhyatmika, adhidaivika, ădhibhautika*) would vanish; by seeing whose frame, the eye would derive the pleasure of seeing every thing in the Universe; by alway serving whom a man can attain eminence; by repeating whose name a man is freed from the trammels of *sansûr* — to such a man is my mind united. You are the best witness to all this. Although the members of my sex feel generally shy of expressing such secrets, I, quitting aside all sense of shame, speak my heart before you, as the feeling of *bhakti* preponderates in me, for which I beg to be excused. Kṛishṇa, to your enemies as a lion to fattened elephants, the pleasure of the whole world, illuminated by family, education, beauty, age, wealth, health, strength, charity, bravery, and mercy — is there anyone among women that does not love you? Even Lakshmî, the best among women, has loved you. Say, has this love emanated from me alone?

"'Purushottama, you who have Lakshmî in your breast, the proud Sisupâla, king of Chedî, intends to carry me off soon, — me who always thinks of you and you alone, as the fox desires the food best adapted for the lion. The meanest of mortals knows not your wondrous valour. If, in my previous births, I had worshipped angels, Brâhmans, *gurûs*, *paṇdits*, and others, and if I had given gifts to the entire satisfaction of Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa would now carry me off and marry me after slaying in battle Sisupâla and other such meanest of kings. Kṛishṇa, who have in your navel the lotus which is the birthplace of Brahmâ, you who are the best of *purushas*, you have no reason to find a pretext. If, to-morrow, you come with your armies and slay Jarâsandha, Sisupâla, and others in battle and carry me off with your valour, I am ready to accompany you and marry you in the *rākshasa* form. Kṛishṇa, if you should think as to how best you can take me off from the palace, — for you will be labouring under the impression that in carrying me off you will be obliged to shed, unnecessarily, the blood of so many relatives, friends, and servants, who would offer resistance to you — I have devised a measure, which I shall carefully suggest to you if you be pleased to hear. My people are accustomed to send the bride, previous to the marriage proper, to worship the tutelary deities outside the town. I shall be sent on this occasion outside the town to worship Pârvatî according to custom, and that will be the most opportune moment when you can come and carry me off. Kṛishṇa, my protector, if you think I am not fit to receive your mercy, the receiving of which is the goal of the learned and the old by dispelling their ignorance, and if in consequence you do not choose to take me to wife, I shall assume at the least one hundred rebirths, perform *vratas* in the meanwhile, always think about you and attain your mercy and then marry you. You may rest assured that this is truth and nothing but the truth. Do not, therefore, give a deaf ear to my entreaties but carry me off soon. My protector, the ears that do not hear your soothing words; the beautiful frame which cannot enjoy with you — the best of beings; the eyes that cannot see you that are beloved by the world at large; the tongue that cannot drink the nectar which emanates from your lips; the nose that cannot smell the fragrance of your beautiful bunch of flowers; the life that cannot serve you, the best type of mankind — all these are next to useless, even though they live. They should be considered as dead rather than living. All the *jñānarthis* (seekers of wisdom), if they should live at all, should serve you and you alone and any other form of servitude is next to useless.'

"The Brâhman, sent by Rukminî, having fulfilled his mission to her entire satisfaction, told Kṛishṇa of her exceeding beauty, and wanted him to do the best he could under the circumstances and told him that she was the best object for his love. 'O Kṛishṇa, Rukmini's feet are the best resorts for all tendrils; her thighs laugh at golden plantain trees; her hands are beautiful with a coating of redness; her neck is exceedingly beautiful, being turned a little and being as white as a conch. There is a suspicion whether she possesses a waist or not. Her breasts give pleasure to

the eye; her forehead laughs at the semi-circular moon; her braided tresses laugh at black wild bees; her sight resembles the finely-pointed darts of Cupid; her eye-brows resemble the branches of Cupid arrows; her words invigorate the mind; her face resembles the moon. Kṛishṇa, you are the best person fitted for her and she for you. All others are useless to both. I tell you, on my *gurû*, you should be married. Why do you make unnecessary delays? Take all people by whom you wish to be accompanied and come with me to fetch Rukminî. Slay your enemies, do good to the world and obtain fame.'

"When Kṛishṇa heard all that the Brâhman had said, he took hold of the Brâhman's hand, and, laughing, spoke to him thus:— 'O Brâhman, my thoughts are fully centred on Rukminî and that is why my nights are always sleepless. I knew already of Rukminî's hindrance to this marriage. Therefore as fire is taken out by the contact of wood with wood, so I shall bring Rukminî after slaying the armies of my enemies. I shall immediately go to Vidarbha, enter Bhîshmaka's territory in a fitting manner and slay all my enemies who come across my path and tear open their bodies.'

"Kṛishṇa ascertained from the Brâhman the auspicious moment of Rukminî's marriage and ascended with him the chariot drawn by four of his best horses harnessed to it by the charioteer under his own instructions, and reached Vidarbha in a single night. There Bhîshmaka, king of Kundina, who could not set his son aside, had resolved to marry his daughter to Siśupâla and had made the necessary preparations for its performance. At this juncture the public streets, lanes, and thoroughfares of the city were swept and kept scrupulously clean, excellent sandalwood water was sprinkled in them, they were adorned with beautiful flowers of various kind; all houses were repaired and kept in good order, incense and camphor were burnt; all the men and women were in their best and appropriate attire, were adorned with beautiful flowers, the best jewels and excellent scents; drums and instruments of all sorts were beaten and played. Thus the whole city presented a gay and lively appearance. Then Mahârâja Bhîshmaka first propitiated the *pitris*, fed the Brâhmans, purified the city, had Rukminî bathed, adorned her with the best jewels and in the best attire possible, performed all observances in accordance with the strict injunctions of the *Vedas*, engaged Brâhmans to chant the various *mantras*, and the *purohit* to perform *navagraha homa* and to give away gifts of sesamum seeds, cows, silver, gold, and cloths.

"At this juncture the proud Siśupâla came to the city with the object of marrying Rukminî, accompanied by various armies under his command, his innumerable relatives, friends, and others. Jarâsandha, Dantavaktra, Salva, Biduratha, Paundraka, Vasudeva, and other kings came to the firm resolution that they would defend Siśupâla against Kṛishṇa and Balarâma and all their innumerable armies, relatives, and friends and drive them off the field, and overcome any objection to making Siśupâla marry Rukminî. Very many other *râjâs* came to witness the marriage. Of these Siśupâla was lodged by Bhîshmaka in the best lodgings possible, and when Balarâma heard this, he went to the place with a host, all the while thinking that Kṛishṇa went there single-handed, and that very many kings were there to help Siśupâla, and that when the girl was to be brought, a fight would necessarily ensue and that at that juncture Kṛishṇa would need assistance.

"At that time when the host of *râjâs* were approaching the town, Rukminî entertained grave doubts about Kṛishṇa's coming thither. 'To-morrow is the auspicious moment; the marriage is fast approaching; my mind is wavering as to why Kṛishṇa has not come as yet; whether Kṛishṇa has given a deaf ear to my news; why it is that the Brâhman resembling the fire has not come here as yet; whether my attempts to marry Kṛishṇa are to be fulfilled or frustrated; whether Brahmâ has thought otherwise' — such were the thoughts passing in the mind of Rukminî at this moment.

'Whether the enlightened and best of Brâhmans did repair to Kṛishṇa or no; whether he was fatigued on the way or reached the place safely; whether he found fault with me for having given unnecessary trouble to the Brâhman or accepted my entreaty; whether the Almighty will help me in my undertakings or baffle my endeavours; whether my tutelary deity, Pârvatî, will protect me or otherwise, and after all whether my fortune is favourable or the reverse. I am at a loss to know all this' — such were the thoughts that she entertained at this moment. 'The Brâhman may not have gone to Dvâraka and therefore Kṛishṇa has not been able to come here. There is no confidential person whom I could hereafter send to fetch Kṛishṇa thither. There is not an atom of justice to be got from my brother Rukmi. He intends to give me to Siśupâla, the staunchest enemy of my lover, Kṛishṇa. Even my Pârvatî has lost her pity for me.' The above were her thoughts at that time.

" She would not communicate her thoughts even to her mother. Her face had turned very pale. She would not even smile, nor would she try to remove the wild bees which used to sit on her face, thinking it to be a lotus. She would not unwind the twisted pearl necklaces on her breast. She would ever be bent on eagerly looking at Kṛishṇa's arrival. She would weep, thinking she was not to be blessed by marrying Śrî-Krishṇa; she would not braid her tresses; would not talk even to her favourite maids; she would not take food, nor drink water. She would not teach her pet parrot a song. She would not play on the lyre and would shun society as much as possible. As sorrow was great at her heart on account of Kṛishṇa not having come to marry her as yet, as he was in justice bound to do, Rukmiṇî, — the lion-waisted, lotus-scented, mirror-faced, flower-bodied, lotus-eyed, swan-gaited, creeper-framed, the jewel of jewels, the flower of all women, with hands formed after the lotus, — would not daub her body with musk, would not bathe, would not see a looking-glass, nor wear flowers, nor resort to parks, nor tame swans, nor grow creepers, nor wear jewels, nor wear marks on the forehead, nor swim in water; she, being unable to bear the finely pointed darts of Cupid, would shiver at sweet soft winds, would be terrified at the noise of the wild bees, would be struck with horror at the song of nightingale, would be annoyed at the noise of parrots and run away from them, would not bear the heat of moonlight and would stand aloof from the shade of the sweet mango-tree. While thus eagerly waiting for the coming of Hari and looking carelessly at all other business, and being scorched by Cupid's arrows, there occurred a tremor of her left eye and left shoulder, which foreboded something good. Then the Brâhman, being sent by Śrî-Kṛishṇa, arrived, when Rukmiṇî went and stood before him with a glowing face and smiling, then the Brâhman told her:—' O Rukmiṇî, Śrî-Kṛishṇa was exceedingly pleased at your good character, has given me immense wealth, has also himself arrived here. He is at present outside the town. He would marry you in the *râkshasa* form, even though the whole host of angels and *râkshasas* come and oppose him. You have this day reaped the fruit of your labours.' Afterwards Rukmiṇî replied thus: — 'You have protected me by carrying my news to Kṛishṇa and bringing him here. I live by your mercy. There is in the whole world none other like you. I cannot repay the good you have done me except by a prostration before you.' Thus saying, she prostrated before him and dismissed him.

" Afterwards Bhîshmaka, having heard of the arrival of Balarâma and Kṛishṇa at his daughter's marriage, went to meet them with beating of drums, received them kindly, presented them with clothes and ornaments, showed resting-places for their armies, friends, and relatives, showed hospitality to all the other kings as became each of them, and supplied them with all necessaries. Then the townsfolk having heard of the arrival of Śrî-Kṛishṇa at Rukmiṇî's marriage, came and saw him and soliloquised thus: — 'This Kṛishṇa must be the fittest man for that Rukmiṇî and she for him. Brahmâ can be called intelligent only when such a pair are brought into unison with each other. What matters it if only by the good deeds that we have done in our previous births Kṛishṇa becomes the husband of Rukmiṇî after slaying all those who offer resistance to him in battle.'

"At this juncture, while the soldiers fully armed were accompanying the dancing-women and were advancing with offerings for the god, the Brâhman women wearing flowers, fruits, sandalwood, cloths, and jewels, were proceeding singing, while there was a tremendous noise caused by the beating of drums, the playing of different kinds of music, and while damsels were following, Rukminî, with the utmost feminine modesty, with ringlets falling on her forehead, proceeded from the palace to worship Pârvatî. While a host of people of various sorts were accompanying her, she was all the while thinking of Kṛishṇa in her mind, and went to the temple of Gaurî, washed her hands and feet, sipped water thrice, and with a pure heart approached and stood before her. Then the Brâhmaṇ women bathed Gaurî and Siva, applied sandalwood, worshipped them with flowers, offered various offerings which were brought for the purpose, and made Rukminî prostrate. Then Rukminî said: — 'I fully believe in my mind the everlasting, time-honoured couple of Pârvatî and Maheśvara. I pray you to bless me. You are the chiefest and oldest of all mothers. You are the ocean of mercy. Whoever conscientiously and firmly believes in you will not suffer. Kindly, therefore, have mercy on me and bless me that I may have Kṛishṇa as my husband.'

"Rukminî then worshipped the Brâhman couples with *pân-supârî*, salted cakes, fruits, and sugar-canes, upon which they were exceedingly delighted and blessed Rukminî when she again prostrated before Pârvatî, and quitted the temple and came out. As a spark of lightning in the wintry sky, as the animal in the orbit of the moon, as the *mohini* which appears on the scene when the curtain is drawn by Brahmâ, as Lakshmî who came out from the milky sky when it was churned by the angels and *râkshasas*, using Mount Manthara as the churning staff and Vasuki as the chord, glittering with the rays of the finest ornaments, Rukminî came out of the temple of Gaurî with the pace of the fattened swan that lives in the golden lotuses of Mânasasarovara, with the waist which is troubled by the weight of her heavy breasts which resembled a pair of golden pots, with her diamond-ringed hands twisted round the hands of a maiden, with chins sparkling with the lustre of diamond ear-rings, with ringlets which cover the round forehead like fattened wild bees which encircle sweet-scented lotuses, with beautiful smiles which shed a lustre of moonlight at an unseasonable moment, with lips red as ruby which shed a ruddy lustre to the rows of teeth white as jasmine, with the upper garment resembling the flag of Cupid, with precious stones glittering in the gold belt as rainbow out of season, with sight resembling the glitter of arrows drawn by Cupid from his sheath which broke open the hearts of valorous kings, with measured step and slow eagerly waiting for the arrival of Kṛishṇa and attracting the hearts of all brave *râjâs*. With ringlets black as wild bees, with face resembling the full moon, with the eyes of the hare with coral lips, with the voice of the nightingale, with feet soft as tendrils, with breasts resembling the frontal lobes of the fattened elephants, with sand-heaped buttocks, with the best elephant gait, with red lotus hands, with rose-scented body, with lion's waist, Rukminî came and was seen by all the brave *râjâs*, who were troubled in their hearts very much.

. . .

"Rukminî passed by the post of kings who were confused when the smiling look, indicative of feminine bashfulness, fell upon them. They lost their valour, nobility, and honour, lost their senses, let slip the weapons from their hands. They were not able to mount their elephants, horses, or chariots. They were so much bewildered that they leaned towards the ground. Rukminî removed the ringlets from the forehead with the nails of her left hand, and, looking askance at this host, saw Srî-Kṛishṇa, with face resembling the rays of the full moon, with waist resembling that of the lion, with eyes broad as the lotus, with a beautiful chest, with body shining as a newly-formed cloud, with shoulders resembling the trunk of Airâvata, with cloths of gold and best ornaments, and with neck turned like a conch. Rukminî saw this world-enchanter and was delighted with the beauty, age, character, nobility, valour, and glitter of Kṛishṇa, and being enraptured with love she intended to climb his chariot when he saw her and with the face of fattened elephant approached and lifted her up and placed her in his chariot, not caring a straw for the host of kings who were

viewing, as the lion carries off the piece of flesh lying amidst foxes. He then blew his conch and proceeded towards Dvâraka, while Balarâma and others were following him with their armies. Jarâsandha and others of his host were not able to brook this and questioned each other as to why they were seeing all this, so much perplexed. A crew of shepherds are robbing us of our honour and are carrying off the girl as the low animals rob the honour of the lion. When else can we show our valour if we cannot show it on this occasion? Are our bows and arrows fit to be thrown away into fire if we cannot use them now? Would the people of the world fail to laugh if we let slip this opportunity and let go the girl? Jarâsandha and others having thus reasoned with one another, became exceedingly angry, put on mail armours, bore arrows and bows, and began bragging to one another, and being joined by the charioteers, infantry, and cavalry, went in pursuit of the Jâdava forces, telling them to stop. This increased their valour and they showered a volley of arrows on them when these were returned by a similar shower from the Jâdava leaders.

"While the troops of the enemy showered a volley of arrows and encircled Krishṇa and his armies, Rukmiṇî, with a look, indicative of extreme terror and shame, saw the face of Krishṇa, when he told her: 'My dear girl,' you may in a moment witness Jâdava warriors opposing the enemy and they will be very much troubled and would either run away or die.' Thus did Krishṇa console Rukmiṇî when Balarâma and others of Jâdava warriors showered a host of arrows, which resembled the heavy thunder and clouds that spread over the whole sky at the time of the deluge, over Jarâsandha and others, the enemy's camp presented an appearance of pieces of horses, chariots, and foot-soldiers, of head-severed *mahâwats*, charioteers and horsemen of powdered chests, hands, legs, of broken skulls, of extensive hair, of severed feet, knees, calves of the legs, of powdered teeth, of thrown-off ornaments and other similar ones worn by the brave at the battle-field, of the weepings of the valiant, of broken pieces of instruments of war, of umbrellas, of tattered armour, of dust raised to the skies caused by the trampling of horses, of motionless chariots, of the low cries of horses and elephants, of the sounds of battle-drums, of tattered host of kings, of rivers of flood, of the noises of devils, of foxes and other animals eating the flesh and drinking the blood of corpses, of she-devils feasting on skulls and flesh of carcases.

"Jarâsandha and others, the enemies of Krishṇa, being unable to bear his attack, turned their backs and fled, assembled at a certain spot, wept and soothed Siśupâla, who was before them pale-faced and as one who lost his wife, emitting hot breath by asking him whether he is alive after being relieved from the hands of the enemy. Jarâsandha and others said to Siśupâla: 'Man can live anywhere, provided there is life in the body. If a man lives, a wife will somehow come of her own accord. You are now alive and therefore a wife can be secured from somewhere. Do not, therefore, weep over this affair very often.' Jarâsandha again said to Siśupâla, 'Siśupala, hear me. Man is not the agent of any deed. He would do a deed being held tight by the Almighty, as the puppet plays being led by the leading strings of the man in a pantomime. I invaded Mathurâ seventeen times, when my whole army was reduced to nothing by Krishṇa and I was captured by Balarâma, whereupon Krishṇa, out of mercy, released me. I again invaded Mathurâ the eighteenth time with twenty-three *akshauhinis*, when I drove out my enemies, Krishṇa and Balarâma, and gained a complete victory. I neither felt sorrow over a defeat, nor joy over a victory. If we should enquire carefully into this day's proceedings we cannot vanquish Krishṇa, even though we join Siva and wage a war against him. Nor is this all. The whole world is pervaded by omnipotent time. As this was a good day for the Jadâvas, they overcame us with the bravery of Krishṇa — us, whose valour is recognized in the three worlds. We, too, can gain victories over our enemy if fortune be in our favour. Weep not, therefore, for this trifle.'

"Jarâsandha and others thus consoled Sisûpâla and went each his own way to his own country. Sisupâla, too, went home with his armies. Then Rukmi, the brother of Rukminî, not agreeing to the carrying off of his sister by Krishṇa and not reconciling himself with the state of affairs, pursued him with an *akshauhini* and spoke thus to his charioteer:— 'This shepherd boy has slighted me and carried off my sister Rukminî, as if he were a daring valiant soldier. He knows not my prowess and descent. I must chase him swiftly, drive on the chariot so as to overtake him. I will, with my glittering arrows, put him down and show my valour.' Having thus addressed the charioters, Rukmi, not knowing Krishṇa's prowess, drove near him and said:—'Stop a little, you butter-stealing shepherd boy. You shall very soon see your fate.' Having thus slighted him, he aimed three sharp arrows at him and spoke to him in a manner which irritated Krishṇa very much:— 'Thou shepherd, you are not our compeer to carry off our child. What *dharma* do you follow? What caste do you belong to? Of what family are you? Where were you born? Where brought up? What is your calling? What is your *gôtra*? Who knows you? You have no sense of shame or honour. Wherever you come you assume a disguise and do not appear at all in your true colours before your enemies. Moreover, you are no king. You are not tied to the world. Therefore leave our child and depart, otherwise I will put down your pride in battle by steel-pointed arrows which appear as flames of fire at the time of *pralaya*.'

"Srî-Krishṇa laughed at Rukmi, tore asunder his bow with one arrow, with six others his body, with eight others his chariot horses, with two more his charioteer, with three pointed ones his banner, he broke another of his bows and arrows and reduced to pieces all his other weapons. Rukmi not being pleased at this state of affairs, descended from his chariot, held a knife in his hand and came upon Krishṇa once more, when the latter powdered his knife and armour. Then Krishṇa grew exceedingly angry at the conduct of Rukmi and drew his knife from his sheath and was about to cut off his head, when Rukminî interfered and fell upon her knees before Krishṇa and said: 'Enlightened and honourable being, seat of mercy incarnate, angelic god, my brother, not knowing your omniscience and omnipresence, has committed a grievous fault, for which I intercede on his behalf and request you to excuse him. My preserver, I am not come here to say that my brother has committed no fault. Whatever may be the heinous nature of the crime he has committed, if you should kill him, my parents would weep over the death of their son and pine away instead of feeling glad at their being able to secure Vishṇu as their son-in-law, and therefore you should excuse him.'. Thus, with a shivering tone, in extreme terror, a convulsed frame, a great fallen countenance, dishevelled hair and ever-weeping eyes, Rukminî prayed to Krishṇa, when he desisted from murdering Rukmi and went back intent on punishing him differently. He then tied him to his chariot and shaved him in the most awkward way possible. Meanwhile, the Jadâva leaders drove the enemy's troops off the field and came near Krishṇa. Then Balarâma, seeing the almost lifeless frame of Rukmi and being very much moved, untied the strings, liberated him, approached Krishṇa, and said:— 'O Krishṇa, it is not proper for you to shave the head and face of a relative like Rukmi. If a relative should come to battle knowingly or unknowingly, instead of telling him to go away, committing such a deed is more shameful than severing the head off the body. O Krishṇa, you make no difference between a friend and a foe. You neither show favour to one, nor disfavour to another. You treat all men equally. That you should now have thought otherwise and offered such a treatment to a relative is exceedingly bad in you.'

"He then turned round to Rukminî and said:— 'Blame not our Krishṇa for the deed he has committed. We should not think that one ought to protect another for the good he has done and punish him for the evil committed. This depends entirely on the *karma* of our previous existence.

Karmic law pervades through the whole universe. Therefore your brother has but suffered for the deed he has committed in a previous existence. We should not kill a relative, though he deserves death. To him a sense of shame should be more than death. When Brahmâ created the four castes and defined the Varnâsrâma *dharma* of each, he said that it is but proper to kill any person in battle, be he a brother, father, or son. That is why kings in their thirst for dominion slay any person in battle, irrespective of the relationship they bear. Those kings who want to earn a reputation of being great, being desirous of dominion, wealth, sustenance, women or honour, and not for a moment thinking of the troubles they would endure in the other world, always drag other people to quarrel for one reason or another. O Rukminî, hear me. To the ignorant one that makes a difference between God and man, being surrounded by the *mayâ* of Vishṇu ; to those that draw a distinction between *sthûla*, *sukshma*, and *karana sarîras*, and between *jñanendrias* and *karmendrias*, there exists a difference between friend, foe, and acquaintance. As the sun, moon, and stars appear in mirrors, waters, and precious stones, as the horizon presents various shapes in the waters of pots, ponds, lakes, wells, and rivers, so the all-pervading Universal Soul (God) appears differently to different living beings. This *sthûla sarîra*, capable of undergoing life and death, assumes the form of the five elements and makes the *jiva* wander in this miserable *sansâr* and undergo life and death in utter ignorance. As the eye and the objects of vision appear bright when sun is shining, the *jñanendrias* and *karmendrias* follow their own calling when the soul is shining. As there is no relation between the sun and the objects of vision, so no relation exists between the soul and the body. As waxing and waning disturb only the fifteen phases of the moon and not the nectar-phased moon itself, so birth and death disturb the body and not the soul. As the sleeping person enjoys the appearances presented to him in a dream, so the person who has no knowledge of the soul thinks the transient pleasures of this world to be immortal. Therefore, think not that Krishṇa has put your brother to shame and that he has suffered from it. Put off, therefore, all sorrow from your heart. O Rukminî, put off all your sorrow which arises out of ignorance by your knowledge of self. It is not proper for you, who knows the self, to weep like the ignorant.'

"When Rukminî was thus taught by Balarâma, she learnt fully of the soul and left off weeping. Rukmi, who was put to shame by Krishṇa, suffered like one under the pangs of death, sobbed in his fulness of heart over his disfigured frame and resolved that he would not enter Kundinanagara, without defeating Krishṇa. He therefore stayed outside the town. Thus did Krishṇa take Rukminî to his abode after slaying all his enemies. Preparations for marriage were being made throughout the town. There were dances, songs, and the beating of drums. Men and women put on their best attire. Public thoroughfares became damp from the perspirations of the elephants of the kings who came to witness the marriage. Plantain and areca trees were tied at the front of every house. Camphor and incense were burnt. The walls, terraces, doorways, doors, and pillars of every house were beautifully adorned. Festoons and cloths, flowers, and precious stones were tied, and standards were raised everywhere.

"On this occasion Srî-Krishṇa married Rukminî (Lakshmî), a woman best adapted to his tastes, possessing an extreme sense of honour, capable of making others exceedingly rich, honored by her relatives, and in turn honouring them, of good character, capable of removing immense poverty, and wearing the best jewels and putting on the best cloths. By such a marriage Krishṇa obtained an everlasting fame. Then the townsfolk, wishing for their welfare, came to see the newly-married pair and gave them valuable offerings. The kings of the various kingdoms of the world were delighted and wondered at hearing of the marriage of Rukminî and Krishṇa. O Parîkshit, the people of the city were overjoyed to the happy union of Rukminî and Krishṇa."

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